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GOV. JON. TRUMBULL, SEN. AND HIS WIFE

From an Original Painting in the possession of Hon. Joseph Trumbull, Hartford, Conn.

LIFE

OF

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, SEN.,

b. Oct 12. 1710. d. Aug 1785

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

BY

I. W. STUART.

"A long and well-spent life in the service of his country places Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots."—*Washington.*

BOSTON:
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1859.

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TO

HONORABLE JOSEPH TRUMBULL,

A GRANDSON

OF THE

SUBJECT OF THIS MEMOIR,

The Work,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGH ESTEEM,

IS

BY THE AUTHOR

CORDIALLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

The Life of Governor Trumbull, Senior—a man profoundly and most honorably interwoven with the American Revolution, and, as pronounced by Washington himself, among "*the first of patriots*"—has never, until now, been attempted. To relieve the silence of biography respecting him, and present his name and fame to the Public, in their true light, is the object of the writer of this Work.

Of the manner in which the task has been accomplished, the Reader, of course, will judge. Suffice it to say here, that for its due execution the writer has explored every pertinent and authentic record within his reach, and believes himself to have had access to all the most important. Among these—besides numerous works of General History, biographies of noted personages, and old newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets—which it is not necessary here to specify—he has consulted carefully a large and instructive mass of documents, from the Trumbull family, in the Connecticut Historical Society—another voluminous collection, from the same source, in the Massachusetts Historical Society—the Johnson, Deane, Wolcott, and Wadsworth Manuscripts in the archives of the former Institution—many Letters in the possession of Hon. Joseph Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut—Letters also in the State Paper Office at Washington—and much other Trumbull correspondence which has been derived from various private hands. In addition to this, he has scrutinized the Journals of the Continental Congress, and numerous records

in the State Capital at Hartford—especially those of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and of its Council of Safety, during the War of the Revolution. Memorials also from Governor Trumbull's native town of Lebanon, and reliable memories from his kindred, and from others well acquainted with his character and conduct, have been gathered for the purposes of this Work. Authentication of statements, when deemed necessary, will be found, generally, current with the text. Readers are assured, that the author has labored sincerely, in all that he has written, to be accurate, impartial, and just.

To Honorable Joseph Trumbull, of Hartford, he feels especially indebted for the unfailing encouragement which this gentleman has bestowed upon a task, which has proved, at times, complicated and difficult. Those only who undertake a similar labor, can fully appreciate the embarrassments which it often occasions to a writer's pen—but the highly respected friend to whom I allude, has ever thrown over it the sunshine of his sympathy and hope.

That the work now given to the Public may prove acceptable to him, to the citizens of Connecticut, and to my fellow-countrymen at large—and may justly develop for a nation's veneration one of the most distinguished of its patriotic sons—is the fervent wish of

I. W. STUART.

HARTFORD, *April* 13*th*, 1859.

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PART I.

LIFE OF TRUMBULL.

CHAPTER I.

1710—1740.

TRUMBULL'S birth and ancestry. Of his father. Of his talents and early education. He prepares for College, and enters Harvard University. His course in College Of his classmates—particularly Church and Hutchinson. He graduates, and prepares for the ministry. This purpose is changed by the death of a brother, and he embarks in mercantile pursuits. He still continues his studies—what these were, and their effect upon his mind He is soon, and repeatedly, elected a Representative in the General Assembly from his native town. He is made Speaker. He is elected to the post of Assistant. His marriage, and his first child.

IN the thriving agricultural town of Lebanon,* Connecticut—upon a broad and beautiful street which extends upwards of a mile in length—in a house situated near the old Congregational Church—Jonathan Trumbull, the subject of this memoir, was born on the "12th of October, 1710."

He sprang from a family, which, it is now fully established, is a branch of the Turnbulls of Scotland, and owed its heraldic origin to the desperate gallantry of a young peasant, who when one of the kings of that country, being engaged in the chase, was attacked by a bull, and was in imminent danger—"threw himself before the king, and with equal strength, dexterity, and good fortune, seized the animal by the horn, turned him aside, and thus saved the royal life. The king, grateful for the act, commanded the hitherto obscure youth to assume the name of *Turnbull*, and gave him an estate near Peebles, and a coat of arms—three bulls'

*So named by the Rev. James Fitch, from a swamp of *cedars* in the "One Mile Propriety."

heads, with the motto, *Fortuna favet audaci*"—bearings which are still preserved in the American branch of the family.

The first ancestor of Jonathan Trumbull in this country, John *Trumble*—for so the name was spelt until the year 1766—came from Cumberland County in England, and settled in Rowley, Essex County, Massachusetts—from whence one of his sons, also named John—a highly respectable man, who in 1640 had been made a freeman, in 1686 a deacon in the church, and in 1689 a lieutenant in the militia—emigrated to Suffield, Connecticut, somewhere near the close of the seventeenth century. This settler in Connecticut had four sons—John, Joseph, Ammi, and Benoni—the first of whom became afterwards a distinguished clergyman in Watertown, Connecticut, and was the father of John the poet and celebrated author of M'c Fingal. The second—when twenty-one years of age—between 1704 and 1708—moved to Lebanon in the same State, where he established himself as a merchant and a farmer. The third moved to East Windsor, where, probably, he tilled the soil. The fourth settled in Hebron, also as a merchant and a farmer, and was the father of the well-known historian Benjamin Trumbull.

Joseph, of Lebanon, the parent of the subject of this memoir, was "a respectable, strong-minded farmer," says his grandson John the painter. He was "a substantial man," affirm all the accounts we have respecting him.* It was a fine township, that in which he located himself—of a mod-

* "He seems to have been identified with most of the enterprises of the day," says Hon. L. Hebard of Lebanon—writing us respecting him, after a careful examination of records. He was long captain of the Lebanon Train-Band.

erately hilly surface, with a chocolate colored soil, generally a deep, unctuous mold, well adapted for grass and grains—and agriculture was almost universally the business of its inhabitants. It furnished quite a demand for merchandise, as did also the surrounding country, which was comparatively well-populated—so that in his double capacity of trader and planter, Joseph Trumbull had a fair field for exertion, and seems to have thriven well. His own advantages for instruction had been quite limited, but he had a high appreciation of knowledge, and determined—the more earnestly because of a sense of his own deficiency—to provide his offspring with every opportunity for cultivating their minds which the times could afford—sparing for this purpose no care or expense within his means. "He made it his first object," testifies his grandson, to give to his children "that first blessing of social life"—education.*

His son Jonathan, in the promise of his youth, answered all the fond desires of his father. He early developed fine talents, and a most amiable disposition. He was fond of books and study, and when placed, as was probably the case, with the clergyman of his parish—the Rev. Samuel Welles—to prepare for college, he made rapid and commendable progress. How far, and with what zeal, he entered into the sports of boyhood, we are not informed. Certain it is, however, that he was endowed by nature with a most vigorous constitution—that his habits were very active—and that he did nothing in the remotest degree tending to impair a body, or deteriorate a mind, formed for enduring industry and energy.

In 1723, at the age of thirteen, he entered college—well fitted, though very young—an ingenuous, modest boy—from his tender years, and retired life hitherto, quite bashful, it is reported. He at once applied himself carefully to his college studies, and soon became distinguished as a scholar. To an accurate knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, he speedily added a knowledge of the Hebrew, in which he

*He had eight children—four sons, and four daughters—viz.: Joseph, Jonathan, John, David, Mary, Abigail, one Hannah who died young, and a second Hannah. His wife was Hannah Higley of Simsbury Conn.

subsequently became so great a proficient that he was able to compile, chiefly for his own use, a grammar of the language, and to use its phrases, in after years, freely in his correspondence with learned men. He became soon also skilful in mathematics, and familiar with all the studies of the day. By his college mates he was universally beloved. The great steadiness and sincerity of his conduct, particularly, attracted respect—qualities which his subsequent life, in all its long extent, exhibited with unvarying constancy.

The natural turn of his disposition was decidedly serious—so much so that we find him, even while a Freshman in college—at an age and under circumstances not particularly calculated to promote the growth of piety in the youthful mind—joining a secret Religious Society in the Institution to which he belonged—which was organized for the special promotion of morality and devotion, and to encourage, among its members, love, charity, harmony, and all the virtues. The Articles or Canons of this Society, are fortunately preserved.* *Regulæ vitæ* as they were, both to the youthful student, and throughout life to the man, as divine, merchant, civilian, magistrate, parent, neighbor, and friend—as in the same manner, in striking similarity, were to Washington those excellent though quaint "rules for behavior in company and conversation," which, evincing his "rigid propriety and self-control," he in boyhood compiled with his own hand†—we here give them entire. They are dated "Cambridge January ye 10—Anno Domini 1723," and are entitled "The articles which all that belong to the Private Meeting, Instituted at Harvard College, 1719, assent unto."

"It being our indispensable Duty," they proceed, "as well as undeniable Interest, to improve all Opportunities and Advantages that God is graciously favoring us with, to his Honour and Glory, and our eternal welfare, as also to avoid all those Temptations and Allurements to evil, which we are in Danger to meet with, And to Edifie, encourage, and excite one another in the ways of Holiness, and Religion: we do to that end assent to the following articles, viz:—

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* Upon a scrap, in his own handwriting, among the Papers of Trumbull in the Conn. Historical Society.

† They still exist in manuscript in the handwriting of Washington himself.

1. "That we will meet together for the worship of God twice in a week, viz., on Saturday and Sabbath-Day Evenings.

2. "Being met together, we shall as God enables us, perform the several injunctions of our meeting, the first (as to his station in College) beginning, and so Proceeding to the last, except any one, for good reasons, shall Desire to be Excused.

3. "That we will bear with one another's Infirmities, and that we will Divulge Nothing, of what nature soever, that is done at our meetings.

4. "When we are absent from our meetings, we will endeavor to behave ourselves so that none may have occasion to speak Evil of us.

5. "That all manner of disagreeing Strifes or Quarrellings with one another shall be suppressed by us, and that we will live in Love, Peace, and Unity, one with another.

6. "That if any one sees or hears another speak anything unbecoming a Member of such a society, he shall reprove him as far as he shall think the Reproof worthy, but he shall do it with all Meekness, Love and Tenderness towards him."

Articles these, which breathe the beautiful spirit of charity, and guide to innocence of life, to peacefulness, and to happiness. Trumbull seems to have observed them carefully throughout his college career, and to have reaped their legitimate fruits. With gratified hope as a scholar—with a flattering academical honor—accomplished for usefulness in future life—he took his degree, and graduated in 1727—in a class consisting of thirty-seven members—all of whom, save one—Benjamin Kent, who died in 1788—and perhaps one other—Belcher Noyes, who died in the same year with himself—it was the remarkable fortune of Trumbull to survive.

Conspicuous among these his classmates were Benjamin Colman, Belcher Hancock, Benjamin Church, Thomas Hutchinson, and eight others—of which eight all were, subsequently, either professors of theology, or pastors of churches, of good repute, and two of them, together with Church, members with Trumbull, through college, of the secret Religious Society.

Church and Hutchinson deserve to be particularly noted here—because, in after years, they were so singularly contrasted in public life, with their former classmate and friend. Church, on the outbreak of the American Revolution—then distinguished as a highly skilful physician, and a member from Watertown of the Massachusetts General Assembly—

was accused, and justly, of a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, and was placed, by order of Congress, in strict custody, under the charge and keeping of Governor Trumbull—of which fact we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter.

Thomas Hutchinson—in after years the celebrated governor of Massachusetts, and able historian of that province—was as much noted for his tory principles and tory zeal, as Trumbull was for his convictions and conduct in the opposite direction. More than any other man of his day in America, he fanned the flame of discontent between the Colonies and the Mother-Country—espoused the views of the British Ministry—labored assiduously and ably, yet treacherously to his native land, in their support—and was visited with the supreme indignation of his countrymen.

Who would have thought that a common Alma-Mater should have nursed characters so utterly in contrast as Church and Hutchinson on the one hand, and Trumbull on the other—that the same lessons of liberty and patriotism, from the same glowing pages of Greek and Roman history, could produce upon youthful minds—similarly fostered, under circumstances of birth, age, and country all alike—divergencies so world-wide apart—that the wounds of a bleeding fatherland, should have turned those sympathies which in college life ran calmly and sweetly in the same direction, in the one case into the gall of contempt, in the other into the anodyne of pity—that all the impulses of the two former should have centered in tyranny, and those of the last, nobly and exclusively in freedom!

Immediately after graduating, Trumbull returned to his home in Lebanon. His feelings on the subject of religion—as might naturally be expected from one who had carefully observed the articles of that private Society in college, to which we have referred—becoming every day more and more earnest, ripened at last into the saving faith and hope of the Christian believer. He then at once joined the Church at Lebanon in full communion, and, following the strong bent of his inclinations, commenced the study of theology with his revered pastor and intimate personal friend, the Rev. Solo-

mon Williams. After applying himself with assiduity to all the preparatory studies, he was in due time licensed to preach—and very soon after commencing this duty, was received with such satisfaction in the church at Colchester, that a cordial invitation was extended him to settle over it.

But Heaven had otherwise decreed. While deliberating on this call, a domestic affliction turned the current of his life into another channel. An elder brother, his brother Joseph, who had been engaged in business with his father, and who had sailed upon a commercial adventure abroad in one of the vessels belonging to the family, was lost at sea. This sad calamity occurred in June 1732, upon a voyage to London. For a long time a forlorn hope was entertained that the vessel in question might have been captured by the Algerines; but this hope proved fallacious. Joseph was never heard of more.

The loss of this son, together with that of the ship and cargo, which wholly belonged to the family, was very distressing to the aged father. He found himself, in consequence, unfitted to adjust his mercantile concerns without the assistance of his son Jonathan—who was the only member of the family qualified, in the then complicated state of an extensive business, to adjust them, and to administer upon the estate of his deceased brother. This son, therefore, he called to his aid. Jonathan at once undertook the duty, and devoting himself to it with industry, became at length so involved in commercial occupations, and so essential, through his services, to their success, that upon the urgent request of his father, he declined, though with reluctance, the call of the church at Colchester—abandoned his early and favorite pursuit—and became a merchant. This new employment diverted him, of course, from ecclesiastical into the study of business affairs, and threw him at once into active intercourse with men. It placed him in position to take part, if he chose, in all civil affairs, and to figure, if he so desired, in the sphere of politics, legislation, and public office—a sphere which he almost immediately, as we shall see, began to occupy, and which, in connection with mercantile business, he filled till nearly the close of a long and most honorable life.

It is a remark of Trumbull's classmate Hutchinson, that "many of the first characters in Massachusetts were at first probationers for the ministry, and afterwards made a figure at the bar, or in the legislative or executive courts of the province." Stoughton, Read, Gridley, and Judge Stephen Sewall, illustrate this remark in the Old Bay State. Gurdon Saltonstall, and Jonathan Trumbull, strikingly illustrate it in Connecticut, and the latter more remarkably, we think, than any who preceded him. Such persons, after their ordination particularly, adds Hutchinson, "ought to have very special reasons for leaving their profession for a civil employment." The reason in Trumbull's case has been already noted. It was a special and an imperative one. But independently of this—as we progress with his life, that will be found to have been a most wise dispensation of Providence, which even through a startling bereavement—through the sad accident of a brother's death, and the infirmities of a father almost broken with sorrow—took him from the comparatively narrow sphere of pastoral life in a humble country village, to move in the grander orbit of a whole State, and a whole Country, for their political salvation and deliverance.

Though exceedingly occupied, immediately after his brother's death, with the cares of business, his mind, accustomed to thoughtfulness, and trained to investigation, sought and found new resources in the pursuits of literature, and in the study, particularly, of history and civil jurisprudence. Of law, in all its bearings upon the relations of business, he soon made himself master. With the history especially of his own country, and of the Motherland, and with that of communities and nations generally as it develops the causes of their rise, decline, and fall, and instructed him in the various policies and principles of government, he made himself familiar. Civil jurisprudence, in fact, became with him now a most favorite study, and to quite an extent supplanted his old taste for divinity, though he never, throughout his life, neglected this last important science.

So well informed did he soon become upon public affairs generally, and such was the confidence reposed in his fidelity

and discretion, that in 1733, at the early age of twenty-three, he was elected by his fellow-citizens of Lebanon to represent their interests in the General Assembly of the Colony. He was again elected to the same office in 1736—again in 1737—again in 1738—again in 1739, during which year he was also chosen to the honorable post of Speaker of the House—and again in 1740, during the May Session of which year he found himself chosen, by the whole body of Freemen, to the post of an Assistant, and Member of the Council of his native Colony. Positions these of honor and trust—in quick succession, and while he was but a youth—which show, on the part of Trumbull, a rapid growth in the public esteem. How he conducted himself in them—with what vigor or wisdom—we have no records to show—but certain it is that to have attained the Speakership, in the highest deliberative body of Connecticut, when he was but twenty-nine years old, and the post of Assistant in a body, which, both in theory and in practice—such was the taste and demand of the age—was to be composed of "grave and reverend seignors"—was a flattering distinction, and indicated ability and good conduct of no ordinary character.

During this whole period of eight years, and on afterwards, down to the outbreak of the American Revolution, Trumbull pursued, with industry, his vocation as a merchant. Of his management and experience in this department we shall have occasion hereafter to speak particularly, after we have brought his public life down to the time of the Peace of Paris in 1763. Suffice it to say here, that his energy in mercantile affairs was great, his judgment sound, and his success, for some thirty-two years, certain and abundant.

In 1735, Love "showed his plumage" to the eyes of the young merchant. December ninth of this year—at the age of twenty-five—he married Faith Robinson, the daughter of the wise and venerable Rev. John Robinson, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, and the great grand-daughter of that famous John Robinson who stood at the head of the first Pilgrim emigration to the New World. She was then a blooming girl of seventeen—of fine intelligence and manners—of benevolent heart—of discreet and virtuous conduct—and

promised richly to become what she afterwards was, "an amiable and exemplary pattern," for nearly forty-five years that she lived with her husband, "of conjugal, maternal, and every social affection."

The first fruit of this marriage was a son, born March eleventh, 1737, who was baptized *Joseph*—and who was destined, after a partnership for many years with his father in business, to run a short but brilliant career in the service of his country—to figure as the first Commissary-General of the United States in our struggle for Independence—to be elected by the national American Congress one of the members of its Board of War—and finally, after being worn out in health solely by his arduous labors for his native land, to die in the midst of the Revolutionary contest, at a comparatively early age, a martyr to the glorious cause of American Liberty.

CHAPTER II.

1740—1750.

TRUMBULL'S public offices and services. War between Spain, France, and England. Connecticut takes an active part in it. Trumbull is deeply interested. As a military officer, he is busy in furnishing troops and supplies. He is charged by Connecticut with highly important and honorable trusts in connection with the war. Is a principal counsellor upon military enterprises, and upon ways and means. He renders valuable service, and is in high repute, but does not himself take the field. Three children are added to his family.

DURING the ten years which elapsed from 1740 to 1750, Trumbull, by a vote of the People, held every year the post of Assistant. In 1745, he was appointed to be of the Quorum for the County of Windham for the year ensuing—in other words, an Assistant Judge of the County Court. In 1746, in 1747, in 1748, and in 1749, he was appointed Judge of the County Court of Windham, and in the last mentioned year Judge also of the Probate Court for the same district.

Of the manner in which he discharged the various duties which thus, in a public capacity, fell to his lot, we are unable, from the want of memorials, to speak particularly. But it is clear that in their performance he was assiduous, and that from the General Assembly he received frequent marks of confidence. Upon himself—in addition to his general duties as legislator and Assistant—was repeatedly devolved the business of auditing, with the Treasurer, the public accounts—of inquiring into the state of the public loans—of enforcing payments due to the Colony, especially those from debtors whose affairs were in any degree complicated—of converting sterling bills of exchange into gold, and applying the proceeds to special objects—of superintending, at times, the repair of public buildings—occasionally of managing Indian difficulties—and particularly, in 1747, of adjusting, with a Committee appointed for the purpose, the boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts on the north—a deli-

cate and most difficult task, in the controversy as it then existed between the two Colonies.

But a controversy far more exciting and important than this about boundary, roused Trumbull during the period at present under consideration. For now occurred that French and Spanish War, which—declared first between England and Spain in 1639, and between England and France in 1744—was continued down to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748—nearly ten years. Commencing in resistance to an outrageous claim, on the part of Spain, to exclusive control of the Southern American seas, and of all territory on the southern confines of the British Colonies in America—the French—upon like claims to territory in the west, east, and north of America, to the fisheries at the east, and to the whole sweep of the seas from Maine to the coast of Labrador—joined in the contest. And from Porto Bello on the Bay of Panama to the easternmost point of Newfoundland—from Ontario to the Bay of Chaleurs—from the Hudson and Kennebec rivers to the majestic St. Lawrence—all was stir upon the water—all, but specially at the east, was bustle, danger, and contest upon the land.

There were expeditions against the Spanish West Indies—against the Floridas—against Louisburgh. There were French armadas—formidable to New as the Spanish armada was to Old England. There were alarming invasions by Spain of Georgia—but particularly, at the North and East, there were numerous land attacks by the French on English settlements, and molestation upon all the frontiers by the Indians of Cape Sable, St. Johns, Penobscot, Norridgwork, and Canada. In addition, there was the swarming of French privateers and men of war upon our coasts—plundering and capturing vessels to such an extent as not only at times to endanger our fisheries, but to close them absolutely against our sailors, and to render all maritime business whatever perilous without a convoy.

It was indeed a stirring and an anxious time, this whole period of the war, to all of New England—to no part of it more, except a portion of the east bordering more nearly on the seat of contest, than to Connecticut—and among the citi-

zens of this Colony, save to its Governor and the general officers in immediate command of its forces in service, to no one hardly as much so as to Assistant Jonathan Trumbull.

He had, in the first place, his own ships upon the ocean. As merchant, he sent them to the West India isles, and past Newfoundland, sometimes with cargoes in part derived from the fisheries in that region, on to Liverpool, Bristol, London, and to other places in England. He had, therefore, a deep interest in the security of maritime commerce. But, more than all—he knew the dangers and embarrassments which his country had suffered, for many weary years, from French and Spanish claims to dominion in the New World—that the French, particularly, had been a lasting scourge to New England, and New York—wasting their frontiers—sweeping off great numbers of their inhabitants—slaughtering their troops, most of them the flower of New England hope—and checking, consequently, the progress of trade, husbandry, the useful arts generally, and of literature, morals, and religion. He felt, therefore, the liveliest anxiety that their power to do future mischief should be, not only crushed, but extirpated. Like his fathers before him, he even fasted and prayed for a result so propitious—so momentous in its bearings on the progress of American civilization, prosperity, and peace.

Into all the war measures, consequently, taken by Connecticut, he entered with alacrity—not only so for the reasons already given, but also because of a military office which he then sustained—for at the outbreak of the war, in 1739, when the militia of the Colony were organized into thirteen regiments, Trumbull had been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twelfth.

It became his duty, therefore, as forces were ordered from time to time by the General Assembly, to aid in raising the quotas required from his own regiment—sometimes to beat up for volunteers, and, as requested specially by the Colonial Authorities, to "urge upon the people motives for enlistment"—to furnish those who did enlist with supplies—to see to the distribution of their bounty and wages—sometimes to impress men, arms, accoutrements, and clothing—to appoint

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places for the rendezvous of the soldiers, and see them ultimately marched, under proper officers, to their destinations for actual service.

Not a year of the war passed in which Connecticut did not raise troops—sometimes more, sometimes less—but at all times, considering her resources and population, for herself a very large proportion—now, at the beginning of the contest, some for the West India expedition under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, victims alas, nearly all, of a terrible plague at Cuba—now more than a thousand for the enterprise against Louisburgh—now one thousand for an invasion of Canada—and now many for frontier and sea-coast defence upon the D'Anville Alarm—at an expense during the contest, all told, of about one hundred thousand pounds. Trumbull, therefore, it is obvious, in his own sphere as military officer, had no small share of duty to perform.

But it was not with his own regiment alone, and within a limited military district, that his care was bestowed. He was frequently charged by the Colony with important general services in regard to the war, and sometimes with vital negotiations. He was called upon to supply arms and military stores for expeditions at large, and settle military accounts*—but more than all, and conspicuously—with Commissioners from other Colonies, and British commanders of highest rank—he was designated to act as a principal counsellor in

* Thus upon one occasion, with Hezekiah Huntington, he was appointed to provide, "in the best and most seasonable manner," firelocks, cutlasses, cartouch-boxes, and belts, for an expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Again, after an attack in this direction, he was to procure the arms belonging to a portion of the troops, and keep the same "clean and in good order," and receive and keep also their ammunition, and review and report upon the accounts of their officers. Thus again he was appointed to examine into the receipts given for premiums to troops employed at Cape Breton, and correct mistakes, and account with the Treasurer of the Colony. Thus again, with William Pitkin and George Wyllys, he was instructed to take into consideration the letters of Agent Palmer, particularly those relating to the muster-rolls of the forces employed at Cape Breton, and to secure the best proof of the services of these forces, and complete the Colony accounts in that quarter up to the time when the garrisoning of Louisburgh was taken into the hands of his majesty, and the troops from Connecticut returned. Thus, yet again—with such men as Ebenezer Silliman, William Pitkin, and Gurdon Saltonstall—he was employed to report to the Colony full statements of clothing, arms, accoutrements, bounties, and of all other expenses incurred in expeditions to the North.

the chief enterprises of the war—to decide when and how they should be undertaken, and with what outlay and disposition of men and means.

Thus in 1745, he was appointed, with Elisha Williams, a Commissioner from Connecticut to repair to Boston—and there, with Governor Shirley, and such other gentlemen from Massachusetts and from neighboring Colonies, as should be chosen for the purpose, to treat about all matters relating to the contemplated expedition against Louisburgh—that capital point, at once the Gibraltar and the Dunkirk of America—upon whose secure possession both France and England mainly depended for the preservation of their possessions in the New World, and for which they fought with the fierceness and tenacity of mastiffs.

Again in 1746, he was designated, with the same colleague, a Commissioner in behalf of Connecticut, in regard to a proposed enterprise against Canada. With Governor Shirley, Admiral Warren and others, he was to consult about the needful preparations and comfortable subsistence of the forces to be raised in Connecticut—to see to their proper protection by means of an armed convoy, if their services should be demanded—and generally, to decide upon the time, method, and resources of the expedition. Facts show that upon this occasion Trumbull was a principal adviser, and that his counsel was followed. The fleet from England—which was to rendezvous at Louisburgh, and thence, under Admiral Warren, proceed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec—was unaccountably delayed, until the season was too far advanced to risk it on the boisterous coasts of America. No troops from abroad, nor those yet to be mustered in the Colonies, could, in Trumbull's opinion, get to Quebec, until the winter, with its cold and almost inevitable waste of men and treasures, should have arrived. He so informed his associate Commissioners, and they had a second conference, and the expedition to Canada was postponed.

It is manifest from these, and other similar facts, that during the period we contemplate, Trumbull was extensively trusted by his native Colony—in positions all of them of much responsibility, and many of them of distinguished

honor. He had risen rapidly in public favor, and did nothing to forfeit it. His punctuality, his attachment to all the solid interests of Connecticut, as well as to those of the country at large, but particularly his financial skill, sound judgment, and earnest love of truth, were in universal repute.

That he did not—himself the Colonel of a Regiment—take part in actual warfare—may appear, considering the interest he felt in the war, and his own fame, somewhat strange. Had he done so, *his own*, perhaps, might have been the fortune—like that of the brave David Wooster of Connec-cut—to have figured before the bastions of Louisburgh—and in honorable notice of his services, to have received at the hands of the British Government, a lieutenant's commission and half-pay during life. Or haply, his might have been the opportunity, at the head of some impetuous brigade of his own, to have gloriously effected the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and an entrance into the heart of Canada. Or in some other form he might have signalized his prowess and his skill in the clash of arms. Certain it is that his qualifications for becoming a military commander, as time proved, were high. He showed them abundantly in his after life. But other public duties—such as those already described—and the cares of private business—monopolized his attention, and prevented him from drawing, in person, "the offensive blade." Perhaps—as we have sometimes suspected—from the impulses of a mild and clement nature—he had some lurking indisposition to become "an iron man,"

> "Turning the Word to Sword, and Life to Death."

Whatever may have been the causes, however, that kept him back from the blood-stained field, "it was all," we doubt not, "for the best." A different sphere had been decreed for his own display—one in which, indeed, he was to move armies, but not himself appear at their head—and in which he was to acquire laurels quite as triumphant as any which have ever graced the brows of any military conqueror, and a fame certainly more justly immortal.

During the interval which we have just now had under contemplation, three children were added to his family. The first of these was a son, who was born March twenty-sixth, 1740, and was baptized *Jonathan*, after his father. Like his elder brother, he too was destined to a remarkable career—like him to enter with zeal into the cause of his country when the War for Independence began, but in different departments of duty—soon to become in this war Paymaster-General for the Northern Department of the American Army—then Private Secretary to the Commander-in-chief of all the American Armies—next, surviving the war, to become a member of the first House of Representatives of the United States—then Speaker of this House—next a Senator of the United States—and last, succeeding his father, after a few years, as Governor of his native State, to expire, at a good old age, with the mantle of gubernatorial power still wrapped around him.

The second of the children of Trumbull within the period on which we dwell, was a daughter, who was born January twenty-fifth, 1742-3, and was baptized *Faith*, after her mother. She too, like her brothers already mentioned, had a Revolutionary destiny to fulfil—one of singular and startling import. She was to become the wife of Colonel Huntington, afterwards a General in the army under Washington—was to follow her husband and a favorite brother to the "Camp around Roston," and reach there—not to see a formidable army, as she expected, in quiet though watchful quarters—but just when the thunders of Bunker Hill broke over a scene of horrible carnage—which, alarming her "deep and affectionate" nature for the safety of those most dear to her, drove her into madness, and to a speedy death.

Another daughter, third of the three children of whom we now speak, was born July sixteenth, 1745, and was baptized *Mary*—probably after a long list of Marys who, in her maternal line, had borne this name, from the wife of John Robinson of Leyden, down. Her career too was to be conspicuously allied with "the times that tried men's souls." She was to become the wife of William Williams—a patriot who was a member of the Continental Congress—who signed

the Declaration of Independence—and who during the whole period of the Revolutionary War—as the epitaph on his tomb justly affirms—was "a firm, steady, and ardent friend of his country, and in the darkest times risked his life and wealth for her defence."

Striking destiny—that of all the children of Trumbull whose births we have thus far chronicled, and whose horoscope we have briefly cast! We shall have occasion, in a future chapter, to note, and cast the horoscope of more.

CHAPTER III.

1750—1763.

Trumbull's public offices and services. Case of the Spanish Snow St. Joseph and St. Helena, and his particular connection with it. He beneficially settles the controversy it involved. The second French and English War. The contributions of Connecticut towards it. Trumbull's agency in its prosecution. He again raises men and supplies, and with Commissioners from other Colonies, and British commanders-in-chief, decides upon its enterprises. Instances of consultation for this purpose. He is twice appointed Colonial Agent for Connecticut to the Court of Great Britain, but declines. His letters of declination. Comment. The war closes. Trumbull's gratification. The fruits of the war. General joy.

We come now to the period in Trumbull's life from the middle of the eighteenth century, down to the Pacification of Paris. It is one over which light from memorials shines again but dimly—but where yet we shall find something to reward our attention—one during which office still continued to heap its honors on the head of the Subject of our Memoir, and War to heap its public duties. Let us look at him then, as in our last chapter, under both these aspects.

And first as regards civil and judicial functions. In 1750, he was again elected Assistant—again in 1751—again in 1755—and again each year in succession, down to the close of the period upon which we are now engaged. In 1752, he was chosen member of the House of Representatives from Lebanon, and was made Speaker. In 1753, he was again elected to the House—and again in 1754, in which year he was for the third time honored with the post of Speaker. In 1750, he was chosen Judge of the County Court, and Judge also of the Probate Court for the County and District of Windham. To these two offices he was also chosen for the three succeeding years, with the addition, in 1752, and in 1753, of that of Justice of the Peace.

In 1754, he was elected Assistant Judge of the Superior Court, which, at this time, consisted of one Chief Justice, and of four side Judges, and which had jurisdiction of all

high crimes and misdemeanors, and of all civil actions that came to it by appeal from Inferior Courts. This honor, however, Trumbull declined—for reasons which do not appear, but which, in all probability, grew out of the multiplicity of his business in other directions. He declined also, the same year, the office of Judge of the County Court, but filled that of Judge of Probate. This last office, but not the former, he filled in 1755—and so also in 1756. In 1757, he was again chosen to both offices, and continued to hold them by annual re-election, to the close of 1763. Besides his ordinary duties as legislator, and member of the Governor's Council, which he fulfilled, as heretofore, with regularity, he was often called upon, as in previous years, to deal with the finances of the Colony, with its Indian affairs, and at times with ecclesiastical matters of public concern.*

But the most interesting matter of all in the present period, in a public view—save the renewed war—with which Colonel Trumbull was connected, was that involved in the famous case of the Snow St. Joseph and St. Helena—a Spanish ship—from Havanna, bound to Cadiz—which, in 1753, coming into the port of New London in distress, ran upon a reef of rocks, and was so damaged that it became necessary to unload her cargo—an exceedingly costly and valuable one—and deposit it, for safe keeping, with the then Collector of the port, Joseph Hill.

Upon attempting to reship her goods, the succeeding spring, her supercargo—Don Miguel by name—could find but a small portion of them—the residue being either withheld,

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* Thus in 1751, he was appointed to deal with the Pequot Indians, in relation to intrusions upon their lands, and upon their case at this time he made an able report—and in 1760 with the Mohegans, within whose lands he was directed to lay out highways. Thus he was appointed at one time to allay difficulties in the Church at Middletown, and fix the site of a Meeting House there—and at another time in Windsor, whither, with Hezekiah Huntington he repaired, and heard the parties at variance, and there also staked out the site for a new Meeting House. Besides all this, he occasionally had to look after Houses of Correction—to see to their construction, or their repair, and to appoint masters for the same, and superintend their discharge of duty. The public expenses of this period, because of the renewal of war, were extraordinary, and Trumbull's services, therefore, in auditing accounts, in adjusting them with subordinate collectors and commissaries, and in paying over to the Colony its loans, and debts due, were more than ever called into requisition.

lost, or embezzled. Whereupon he memorialized the General Assembly for aid and compensation, and the affair taking wind, soon created the greatest ferment in Connecticut. It looked injurious towards foreigners. It looked dishonorable for the Colony. It would involve the Colony, it was supposed, in a heavy debt to owners, by way of indemnification. It might lead, it was feared, to a serious rupture between Spain and the English Colonies in America. It gave rise, in its course, to the most unfriendly imputations upon some of the leading men in Connecticut—and soon, becoming mingled up with the politics of the day, had even the effect—on account of attributed tardiness, indifference, and even collusion in his management of the case—of displacing Governor Roger Wolcott from the Chair of State, and putting Thomas Fitch in his stead.

Upon this affair—for its thorough investigation, and peaceable settlement—Colonel Trumbull, with Roger Wolcott, Junior, for an associate, became engaged by special order of the General Assembly—and documents, particularly the Wolcott Papers, show that nearly all the labor connected with it devolved on himself—and was discharged with fidelity, and to universal satisfaction.

He repaired many times to New London about the matter—consulted with the King's Attorney there respecting it—examined the parties concerned, and numerous witnesses from various quarters—liquidated accounts against the Snow—made special search for all that part of her cargo which was missing, and also for the original offenders. He made a careful inventory of the stores that were left—delivered them at last, on board the Nebuchadnezzar, into the hands of the Spanish Agent Don Miguel—and received from him in return, by letter, warm acknowledgments of his "full satisfaction and thankfulness" for "the favor and justice" he had received. By Don Miguel, he wrote to Don Aguedo and Company, the owners of the Snow—communicating to them all that had been done for the security of their property, and in a warm-hearted spirit—wishing, as he expressed it, that God would "grant Don Miguel de St. Juan a prosperous voyage, and a kind and happy reception by his friends," and that the

effects, the misfortunes attending which he took occasion deeply to deplore, might come safely to hand—he dismissed the ill-starred, troublesome, strife-engendering agent and cargo to take their course for Spain.*

To the Assembly of his native Colony, in the course of his investigation, he made two reports, giving it as his own and as his colleague's conclusion, upon the whole matter, that the proceedings on the part of Connecticut, and of its Governors and agents, were such as wholly to relieve the colony from apprehensions of liability for the damages sustained—and that the conduct of Don Miguel, the supercargo, as "appeared in the course of the evidences," had been "in many respects, *very strange and extraordinary*"—thus impliedly exonerating the colony from blame, removing suspicion from those among its leading characters who had been severely censured, and restoring the people to tranquillity and content.†

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* Trumbull also at this time conferred specially with Charles Crosby, a King's Commissioner from on board the British ship of war Syren, upon the affair of the Snow—and delivered to him papers and evidences respecting it, carefully prepared—for the purpose of having them transmitted to his Majesty's Secretary of State.

† Some curious indications of Trumbull's care while examining this case of the Snow, remain. He kept, as he was accustomed often to do—particularly in after years, when engaged in important investigations—a little diary of his proceedings—from which, not so much for the value of the facts, as for the sake of exhibiting a specimen of his talent in this respect, and of his exactness, we make the following extract:—

"Tuesday, Dec. 3d, 1754. Set out with R. Wolcott, Junior, Esq., to New London on the Spanish Affair relating to Snow St Jos & St Helena—came to Norwich—Costs paid by me—0. 8. 0.—at Hortons, Do. p. Wolcott 0. 8. 0.

"Took lodgings at Mr. John Richards.

"Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1754. Went to Mr Stuarts—sent his young man Temple to Ship Triton, to Capt. Whitnell—and he appointed to meet us at Dyshons at 4 o'Clock P. M.—and accordingly did—and conferred on the Spanish affair—he appeared dissatisfied with the Treatment he had met with, & Tho't it not so civil as he had reason to expect. After some conversation he seemed more easy—& we parted.

"Thursday, Dec. 5th. A fine pleasant Day. Capt. Whitnell Invited us to Dine with him on board the Ship. Went on board with him, Mr. Winthrop, & Mr. Chew—Dined—Conversed on the affair—showed him the evidences in the case, our Instructions, & the Kings Instructions, &c—came on shore. Trumble £1—Wolcott £1.

"Friday, Dec. 6th. Very Rainy, P. M. Went and talked with Mr. Hull Collector. He thinks he hath d'd the Goods, & hath not the special property of them.

But the chief activity of Trumbull during the period now under contemplation, so far as public matters are concerned—and in the exhibition of which he showed, so far as memorials enable us to judge, great zeal and wisdom—was again in the sphere of war—of that second long, perilous, and wasting French War, which, renewed again, by formal declaration, in 1755, was crowned finally by a triumphant and lasting Peace on the Tenth of February, 1763. More than the war which immediately preceded it, this tasked the strength and resources of Connecticut, enlisted its zeal, agitated its counsels, deepened its anxieties, darkened at times its hopes, and at times more thrilled the old Colony with exultation.

It was conducted in all respects on a grander scale than the former—with fuller preparations both of men and money—with larger aims—with more redoubtable points of

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"Saturday, Dec. 7th. Major Wolcott went to Lyme, & I went home to Lebanon.

"Sabbath, Dec. 8th—at home.

"Monday, 9th—at home. Major Wolcott at Lyme.

"Tuesday, 10th—Do—Major Wolcott came to N. Lond.

"Wednesday—11—Came to New London—set out after nine o'clock—got down near sunset. The Weather pleasant this Week hitherto.

"Thursday—12th—fine clear morning—something cold—sent for Capt. D. Coit—Don Jos—& Mr. McKenzie—the two Spaniards put on board the Ship.

"Friday—13th—very Rainy—Went A. M—& ye Spanish Merc't took ye Guns to put on board.

"Saturday—14—fine fair weather.

"Sunday—15—Mr. Adams preached.

"Monday—16—Began to Ship the Goods in Mr. Sloan's Stores.

"Tuesday—17—Continued Ship'g from Do. Talked with Mer. & Scrivan.

"Wednesday—18—I went home—Rainy—prepared the Broken Goods—an entertainment for Triton, officers &c.

"Thursday—19—Shipped the Remaindr from Do.

"Friday—20—Shipped from Chews or McKenzie's Store.

"Saturday—21—Continued Shipping from Do.

"Sabbath—22—at home—Mr. Wms preached.

"Monday—23—Rainy.

"Tuesday—24—Shipped from Mr. McKenzie's—come hither.

"Wednesday—25—Rainy.

"Thursday—26—Shipped 145 seroons from Mr. McKenzie. Fair—Sent Henshe to Col'l Huntington. Sugar 11¼ at 13*s*—£7. 6. 3.

"Friday—27—Fair. Henshe returned. Trumble paid him £4—County Court held here.

"Saturday—28th—Shipped Goods.

"Sab—29—Mr. Adams preached—Dr. Goddard's barn burnt.

"Monday—30th—fine weather—Shipped Goods.

"Tuesday, 31st—Rainy—21 days."

attack. Both on the ocean, the lake, the river, and the land, it was waged often with the fierce energy of men steeled for a dying struggle. Dashed, in its beginning—from imbecile management in the English Ministry abroad, and imbecile English generalship upon the field of strife in our own land—more deeply dashed than the former struggle with ill-success—but in its closing years far more gloriously crowned with triumphs—this contest spread not only over the continent of America, but over a large part of Europe, and the Indies east and west. From the Heights of Abraham to the mountains of Germany—from the Mississippi to the shores of the Ganges—it made almost "the universal air" strangely vocal with the clash of arms—for it was France and Great Britain now that awoke "the sleeping sword of war"—

> "And never two such Kingdoms did contend
> Without much loss of blood,"

and a rocking of the world to its centre.

To enable us to estimate properly the part which Trumbull acted in this war, it is necessary to bear in mind the military levies and supplies contributed by Connecticut towards it, with which he, of course, as a military officer, had much to do.

In its first year, Connecticut raised from twenty-five hundred to three thousand men—in the second year, twenty-five hundred—in the third, one body of fourteen hundred, and immediately upon the great alarm consequent on the siege and capture of Fort William Henry by Montcalm, another body of five thousand—in the fourth year, under the encouraging change of men and measures in England, and at the instance of the incomparable Pitt, five thousand—in the fifth year, at first thirty-six hundred, then four hundred, and next one thousand more—in the sixth year, five thousand—in the seventh year, twenty-three hundred, this being all the number then required by Secretary Pitt—and in the eighth and last year, at first one body of twenty-three hundred, and then a second body, upon the urgent request of General Amherst, of five hundred and seventy-five more. Thus, in all, a force was raised by Connecticut, at different periods during the

war, of from thirty-one thousand five hundred and seventy-five to thirty-two thousand and seventy-five men—a force exceedingly large, even in its quota in single years, and relatively to her population and means, much larger in proportion than that raised by any other one of the American Colonies engaged in the war.

This army was to be raised sometimes by enlistment, sometimes by detachment from existing organizations, and sometimes in part by impressment, and sometimes by all these methods combined. It was to be officered, and formed into companies and regiments. It was to be armed, equipped, furnished with ammunition, provisioned, and marched to its various destinations. It was to receive bounty, pay, and martial discipline and encouragement, generally before as well as after its march for the scene of action—and portions of it—as upon occasion of the general alarm in 1755, immediately after the battle of Lake George—and as immediately after the capture of Fort William Henry in 1757—were to be raised with the utmost possible dispatch.*

The precepts for all these purposes—emanating from the Governor—were directed, as in the preceding war, to the Colonels of regiments, as the militia of Connecticut was then organized—and Trumbull, of course, now advanced to be Colonel-in-chief of the Twelfth Regiment, had his full share of them to fulfil. His own subordinate orders, at this period, for enlisting, detaching, or impressing men, are to be found in great numbers among his Papers that are still preserved†—orders also, not infrequently, for impressing arms and accoutrements—orders too, occasionally, summoning to his own presence, that they might "be dealt with according to law," those who, having enlisted, had failed to appear—

* As enlistments during the whole war were made for only a single campaign at a time, the work of raising and equipping a new army of Provincials had of course to be gone over with every year—and losses of men and arms, which at times were very great, had to be supplied constantly by new levies, new enlistments, and new bounty, pay, and provisions.

† At one time, for example, from his own Regiment, sixty-four men—at another, ninety-seven—at another, two hundred and sixty-one—at another, one whole company—and at still another, the greater part of several companies—for the defence or relief, as the Orders often expressed it, of "Crown Point," or of "Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, and the parts adjacent."

and precepts sometimes, accurately drawn, for the apprehension of deserters—and many acknowledgments in writing by recruits of their enlistment. All these, together with numerous muster-rolls of companies, accurate copies of the Articles of War, as they were then enforced, and of the Oath of Martial Allegiance, and of the Laws of Connecticut in relation to the organization of troops, and to the Quartering of his Majesty's Regular Forces in the Colony—which also are to be found among his Papers—show that his hands at this period, were full of military duty, and that his compliance with every requisition for soldiers was exact and ample—as was also his compliance with the additional duty—imposed upon him now, as in the former war—of settling Colony accounts—purchasing clothing and ammunition—selling bills of credit, and receiving and disbursing money both from the Treasury of Connecticut, and from that of Great Britain.*

But he had other duties also to execute in connection with the contest—those same which we have seen him performing in the preceding period of warfare—and which, calling for the display of great wisdom and sagacity, placed him, with the most vital interests of his country in his hands, on the platform of a Plenipotentiary, and high Counsellor of State. More than any other man of his day, in fact, at this time, he was summoned by his native Colony to advise with Commissioners from other provinces, and with Governors, and Commanders-in-chief, on the policy, plan, and execution of the great measures of the war, and to apportion and direct public effort.

* He had often, at this time, to procure, and prepare invoices showing the quantity and price of each article—as for three companies of Connecticut Rangers, for example, in the service of the Earl of Loudon at Fort Edward and Number Four, who were placed under his own particular care, and for whom, in their long and dreary winter service at the North, he provided an ample supply of suitable cloth and coating, and good shoes, good flannel shirts, yarn and hose—and as, more particularly, for that portion of the troops raised in his own region, for which he collected, largely, ammunition, guns, and accoutrements. Much money for these purposes passed through his hands—as at one time, two hundred and fifty pounds—at another, four thousand pounds which he received for pork that he had provided—and at still another, twenty-two thousand pounds sterling. Very numerous settlements at the Treasury Department appear among his Papers at this period.

In 1755, he was appointed, with Ebenezer Silliman, to meet Commissioners from all his Majesty's governments, in New York—there to consider the general state of the Colonies, and the encroachments of the French, and report on the proper measures to be taken.

In 1756, he was designated, with Phinehas Lyman, to repair to Boston—and there, with the Earl of Loudon, Governor Shirley, and such other Governors and Commissioners as might then meet, to consult on a plan, and on ways and means for the next campaign. He was specially instructed, on this occasion, to agree upon what assistance Connecticut should furnish—to solicit Loudon for pecuniary aid from Great Britain, both to pay the Connecticut troops to be then raised, and to settle for provisions already supplied—to confer with his Lordship also about some mode of preventing the difficulties which often happened between the provincial and the regular troops—to see that Connecticut was left free to appoint her own officers for her own forces—and of all his doings make report to the General Assembly.

Trumbull executed this last important trust with great success—particularly in regard to means for the campaign—for he brought home with him from Massachusetts—in a note, and bills of exchange, for which he gave his own receipt—the sum of thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence, to assist Connecticut "in carrying on his Majesty's service in the expedition against Crown Point." It was handsome aid indeed for the Colony Treasury, burdened heavily as it then was by the expenses of the preceding campaign, and reflected high credit on Trumbull's management—especially as, at the same time that he obtained this money, he procured, and sent on from Boston to the Treasurer of Connecticut, the material aid of twenty barrels of powder, twenty thousand best flints, and three tons of bar lead.

This same year—upon resolutions of the General Assembly respecting the reinforcement of Loudon—Trumbull—with Gurdon Saltonstall, this time, as a colleague—was again sent to meet his Lordship, and submit to his consideration "such additional lights and assurances" in regard to the cam-

paign as were "proper," and specially to arrange again both for its past and present expenses, that these might be suitably reimbursed to the Colony.

In 1757, he was thrice appointed Commissioner upon business similar to that now described. Once, in company with Governor Fitch, and Messrs. Lyman, Hall, and Dyer, he was to meet at Boston similar Representatives from neighboring Colonies, and proffer the aid of twelve hundred and fifty troops from Connecticut. Again, with William Wolcott, meeting other Commissioners at the same place, he was to "preconcert and adjust quotas and measures for applying the combined forces of the Colonies against the enemy," and advise upon all such matters as the Earl of Loudon should suggest. Again, in October, in anticipation of a Convention to be held in New York, he was appointed, in advance, a Commissioner for Connecticut, with Ebenezer Silliman and William Wolcott, to consult and report touching all matters relating to the great struggle. Again, in 1758—upon the reception by the Colony of a letter from the elder Pitt, urging fresh enterprises—he was renewedly sent, with the same associates, to facilitate the schemes of this celebrated English Minister—once more to confer with the Earl of Loudon, and with Commissioners from other Colonies, respecting troops, and their subsistence and supplies.*

But Trumbull, during the war, was honored with appointments by Connecticut more elevated still than any to which we have yet alluded—calling equally for the exercise of his best capacity, but upon a stage of action far more conspicuous. Twice, during this time—in 1756, and in 1758—he received the appointment of Colonial Agent at the Court of Great Britain.

Upon occasion of the first appointment, he was earnestly

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* In connection with his duty as Commissioner, Trumbull had also other and highly responsible business to execute. He was often, at this period, called on to aid the Pay Table in preparing and forwarding expense accounts of campaigns, after they had closed, to the General Assembly of Commissioners—and, occasionally, to prepare statements of facts with regard to particular expeditions—as once, for example—the Governor and Phinehas Lyman his associates—with regard to the siege and surrender of Fort William Henry to the French, and to the succors sent thither by Connecticut—that the accounts might be transmitted to his Majesty's Boards in England.

requested by the General Assembly, in a formal note, "to accept and take upon him that trust—with all convenient speed repair to the Court of Great Britain"—and there solicit, especially, a reimbursement of the expenses incurred on the part of Connecticut in carrying on the then late expedition against Crown Point, and also such further assistance "as might enable this Colony to proceed and exert themselves, according to their zeal for the King's service, for the Defence and Security of his Majesty's just Rights and Dominions in North America."

Upon occasion of the second appointment, he was instructed by the Assembly, after repairing to London, to conduct the affairs of the Colony there, in conjunction with Agent Partridge, according to directions such as they should jointly receive for this purpose.

But in both instances Trumbull declined the honor, though proper Letters of Procuration, under the public seal, were made out for him by the Governor—and he declined for reasons stated in the two following notes, which are from his own pen. The first was addressed, May twenty-fifth, 1756, to Governor Fitch, and thus proceeds:—

"Whereas the Honble Assembly, at the Sessions thereof in March last, voted to send an Agent to Great Britain on the important and weighty affairs of this Colony, and were then pleased to do me so great an honor as to appoint me to go in that capacity, I have carefully weighed the matter, and acknowledge my obligations in gratitude to serve my country in whatever lies in my power, considering every relative duty; and as nothing but a sense of such obligations to duty would be any inducement for me to undertake that important and arduous trust, so a sense of my own insufficiency for that service pleads my excuse; and when I consider the duties I owe to my aged mother, whose dependence is greatly upon me, and to my own family, and all the circumstances of the case, I think I may conclude that I am not negligent or undutiful when I decline the service, and desire the Honble Assembly to turn their thoughts on some other person."

The second of the notes in question, was addressed, May seventeenth, 1758, to the General Assembly—and proceeds thus:—

"On serious and mature consideration—that I have not had the small pox—that my peculiar bodily difficulties render my taking it more espe-

cially dangerous, and that it is at all times frequent in London—[considering also] the circumstances of my family—I think it is fit and reasonable not to accept and undertake the important Trust of an Agent for this Colony at the Court of Great Britain, unto which, at this time, you have done me the honor of an appointment. With a grateful sense of this further expression of your confidence, which I hope never to forfeit, and an humble reliance on your Candor and excuse, I shall ever pray for the Blessing and Direction of the Almighty and all-wise God in all your Counsels."

The circumstances of his family then, it seems—private duty, particularly to his aged mother, whose almost sole dependence he was—for his father had died in 1756—certain temporary bodily ailments, and a little modest diffidence withal in his own ability for the task—restrained Trumbull from a position where it is certain he would have conspicuously maintained the rights and interests of his own and of the American Colonies at large, and filled, perhaps, more fully than he could have done in the home circle, the trump of fame.

How he would have relished that Babel of London, "whose restless, noisy, chaffering soul is ever seeking, and ever finding new outlets for its busy energies"—how he would have attuned his staid spirit to the fashions of that Great World, to its palaces, its Court, its King—what tincture his manners might have taken where "the sauce to meat is ceremony"—what effect the habit of solving in the crucible of negotiation and diplomacy, with quick-witted statesmen, the great interests and questions he was appointed to represent, might have had upon his mind—it would be interesting to have had the opportunity of observing. Doubtless though, like the Athletæ of old, he would have prepared himself "for the World"—have "oiled his mind and his manners to give them the necessary suppleness and flexibility"—yet never, we are confident, would he have undermined his own strength, or compromised his honor, his fidelity, or his judgment. He preferred, however, to remain at home—in his own country—here to continue his practical services in behalf of the war—here to rejoice over the abandonment by the enemy of Ticonderoga and Crown Point—here to catch

the news of Frotenac, Fort du Quesne, and Niagara, taken—here to exult over the surrender of Quebec, the surrender of Montreal, and the complete conquest at last of the whole country of Canada by the English arms.

And certainly to no man in the American World did the result of this contest bring more unalloyed satisfaction than to himself. At its very outset he had entered into it with intrepidity and confidence—confidence not alone in the combined strength of the English and American arms, but in the favorable purposes of Providence towards the Colonies, and in the strength of that Almighty arm whose intervention he never failed to recognize and exalt. "Hath not God," he wrote to an officer at the North, September fifteenth, 1755—just after the famous defeat of Baron Dieskau at Lake George—when the American and British troops, after fighting with singular gallantry behind lines which they made one continual blaze and roar, leaped at last their breastworks, and put the enemy, two thousand in number, to an entire rout—"hath not God," wrote Trumbull then, "showed himself on our side. Praise be in your mouth, and a two-edged sword in your hand, to execute the vengeance of God on the heathen, and punishment on the injurious encroaches upon our Gracious Sovereign's territories! With a hearty dependence on the Lord of Hosts, you may soon be in possession of Fort St. Frederic, and change its name to that of Fort Frederic, or its equivalent. Whatever is in my power I shall cheerfully do to serve you and our Country's cause."

And so, to the end of the war, as we have seen, did Trumbull serve—and not alone in the forms already described, but also by an active correspondence both at home and abroad. Even his business letters to merchants in London, with whom he was connected only by trade, are stamped with his suggestions and his anxieties on the great subject of the war, and he labored in these to conciliate interest, and stimulate effort in behalf of its successful prosecution.* His whole

* October seventeenth, 1758, for example, writing to Messrs. Lane and Booth his chief business correspondents in that great commercial capital, he says: "Mr. Ingersoll, the gentleman mentioned in my last, by whom this will be de-

heart, obviously, was unintermittedly in the struggle. The result, therefore, must have been to him, as just suggested, peculiarly grateful. A vast and fertile country, with more than one hundred thousand people—with an immense Indian trade, of unspeakable value to commerce—with a command of the richest fisheries, and with rare natural facilities for the extension of empire—had been wrested from a foe which for more than a century had been a scourge, often a most appalling one, to English colonization in America, and which was now subdued for all time to English dominion.

What though to Connecticut alone—for her share in the transaction—the conquest had cost—in addition to all parliamentary grants—more than four hundred thousand pounds, and great loss of life, and years of sleepless anxiety and effort! Was she not saved from unceasing bloody combinations among the French and Indians to harass her frontiers—to plunder and burn her settlements—to rob her stores both by sea and land—to circumscribe and annihilate her trade—to cause her plows to rust in the furrow, and her pruning hooks to be turned into spears? Were not her resources for material improvement rescued from impoverishment? Were not her morals, her domestic and social virtues, her education, her literature, her arts, delivered from deterioration and waste? Had not her heart escaped from being hardened and steeled against the benign influences of Christianity and civilization, through the inevitable operation of a war longer protracted? Good reason, therefore, had Trumbull, and Connecticut at large, to rejoice with the whole country over the splendid termination of the French War. A deliverance from enormous evils had been experienced. A "high point

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livered, goes from hence to assist Mr. Partridge in transacting the affairs of this Colony. 'Tis hoped that some further reimbursements will be made by Parliament for the extraordinary expenses here, occasioned by the War, especially in this present year, wherein this Colony hath exerted itself even beyond its strength, encouraged by the hopeful prospect of success, and that a reimbursement would be made. Although Providence hath denied success against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, yet the reduction of Louisburgh and Frontenac are an abundant occasion of gratitude to the Director of all events, and serve to encourage our hopes for a speedy and happy termination of the War, or still greater success for the future, if it be continued. I doubt not your readiness to afford Mr. Ingersoll your kind help, as opportunity shall present."

of honor and magnificence" in the march of British empire had been reached. Parents and sons were returned from captivity and the dangers of war, to the embraces of brethren and friends. Joy, therefore, was universal and unbounded. "This was the general feeling and happy state of the country at the return of peace."

CHAPTER IV.

1750—1763.

TRUMBULL in the sphere of his own home and town. Two sons, David and John, are added to his family. His care for the education of his children. He is active in founding an Academy in Lebanon. His own views of instruction, studies, and scholarship. He receives honorary degrees from Yale College, and from the University of Edinborough, in Scotland.

WE turn now to contemplate Trumbull from 1750 to 1763—far as memorials allow us, and very briefly at best—in the sphere of his own home and town.

During this period two additions were made to his family. The first was a son, who was born February fifth, 1750–1, and was baptized *David*—probably after his uncle who, when a Senior in College, was drowned in a mill-pond at Lebanon. Like the rest of his family, he too was destined to serve with distinction, in after years, the American cause—to become, under his brother Joseph, a Commissary for the armies of the Revolution—and, under the Connecticut Council of Safety, to be a most active agent in procuring and preparing arms and munitions of war for service against the foe.

The second child within the present period, was also a son, who was born June sixth, 1756, and was baptized *John*. Remarkable indeed was his destiny! Like his brothers he also was to be linked in with the Revolution, but in different and novel forms. He was to become, in the first year of the War, Aid-de-Camp to the illustrious Commander-in-chief of our armies—in the second year, was to be Deputy Adjutant General to General Gates in the Northern Department—was to experience actual service in the battle-field, amid the dying and the dead—but more than all, was to become, through his pencil, the world-renowned graphic historiographer of the great events and characters, civil as well as military, of that struggle in which he himself bore a conspicuous part.

He was the last of the children of that parent whose

commemorate. Four sons there were and two daughters—a rare and almost unexampled group—destined all, as has been shown, to a notable career.

And they were fitted in their early years—well fitted, each one of them—for the stations they were thereafter to occupy—a fact which leads us here to dwell for a while on the care which Trumbull took, not only for *their* particular education, but also for his own, and for education generally, at this period of his life.

In the first place then, it is to be remarked, that in 1743, when his eldest child was but six years of age—being anxious to secure in his native town advantages for instruction superior to those which were furnished at the common school—he instigated the establishment of a private institution, for not more than thirty scholars, and in connection with twelve other citizens proceeded to found it. It was to be, says the agreement of the founders, "for the education of our own children, and such others as we shall agree with. A Latin Scholar is to be computed at 35*s*. Old Tenor, for each quarter, and a reading scholar at 20*s*. for each quarter—each one to pay according to the number of children that he sends and the learning they are improved about, whether the Learned tongues, Reading and writing, or Reading and English only."

The School thus established was carefully nursed by its founders—more especially by Trumbull—and it was not many years before it acquired a celebrity second hardly to that of any Academy in all New-England. And here it was that all the sons of Trumbull—and for a time, probably, the daughters also—received the rudiments of an education, which, for the day, was quite profound.

"My native place," wrote the younger son—in whose boyhood the Institution seems to have been at the zenith of its reputation—"was long celebrated for having the best school in New-England, (unless that of Master Moody in Newburyport might, in the judgment of some, have the precedence.) It was kept by Nathan Tisdale, a native of the place, from the time when he graduated at Harvard to the day of his death, a period of more than thirty years, with an assiduity and fidelity of the most exalted character, and became so widely known that he had scholars from the West India Islands, Georgia, and North and South Carolina,

as well as from New-England and northern colonies. With this exemplary man and excellent scholar, I soon became a favorite. My father was his particular friend."*

From the school at Lebanon now described, Joseph, the eldest son, passed, first to Harvard College, where he graduated in 1756†—and thence to the counting-house, to join in his father's business as a merchant. From the same school, the second son, Jonathan, passed to join also Harvard College, or perhaps ere he actually joined, to live awhile with some highly skilled teacher at Cambridge—as seems to have been the case—that he might round off his classical preparation.‡ From the same passed the third son, David—not to College, as was intended, but which was prevented by his father's financial embarrassments at the time—but to the farm—upon which, such was his thrift, that, three years only after he had attained his majority, we find him commended by his father as "apt and industrious in the business of agriculture and husbandry," and as having "gained some money, stock, and four rights of land in the new township of Fairfield in New-Hampshire."

In all probability from the same institution, passed the daughters Faith and Mary, to complete and polish their education "at an excellent school in Boston"—thence to return, each with skill in embroidery—but the eldest, Faith, with "two heads and a landscape," in oil, of her own paint-

* Among numerous pupils of this "great classical teacher of his age," who afterwards became distinguished, were the second Governor Trumbull, Rev. Wm. Robinson of Southington, Conn., Rev. John Robinson, Rev. Dr. Lyman of Hatfield, Rev. Wm. Lyman of Glastenbury, Rev. Daniel Huntington of Hadley, Hon. Jeremiah Mason and Warren Butler, Esq., both late of Boston, Thomas Gibbons of Georgia, &c. See New-Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register for January, 1858, p. 62. The following is the inscription on the tomb of "Old Master Tisdale," as he was familiarly called:—

"Reader,

as thou passest, drop a tear to the memory of the once eminent American Instructor, Nathan Tisdale, a lover of Science. He marked the road to useful knowledge. A friend to his country, he inspired the flame of Patriotism. Having devoted his whole life, from the 18th year of his age, to the duties of his profession, which he followed with distinguished usefulness in Society, he died Jan'y 5th, 1787, in the 56th year of his age."

† His class numbered twenty-five. Gen. S. H. Parsons belonged to it.

‡ He graduated in 1759—in a class of thirty-five.

ing—with which, as felicitously happened, to rouse the curiosity, and for the first time to stimulate in the art of delineation the till then wholly unpracticed hand of her younger brother—the artist of future renown.* From the same school in Lebanon again, passed this fourth and youngest son, John, at a later period, to Harvard College—so thoroughly versed in all the preparatory studies as to be able to join the Junior Class in the middle of the third college year—in fact so advanced in his acquirements as for some time to render any exertion of study on his part unnecessary in order to maintain his footing with his class.†

Such was the manner in which Trumbull provided for the education of his children. It is not, however, to be understood here, that their improvement was owing, all solely, to the external instrumentality of the academy. No—there was another school for Trumbull's children than the school without. There was also one within—at home—by his own fireside—in himself—and in his wife—a lady whose accomplishments, both moral and intellectual—she having been peculiarly, after the early loss of her own mother, "the beloved and taught of her father"—eminently fitted her to train her offspring to knowledge and to duty.

It is with the father though now, that we are immediately concerned—and of him, in this connection, we may say with truth, that probably no parent ever lived who more than himself labored, kindly, and fervidly, to give a high moral, religious, and intellectual character to his offspring. This is manifest from every scrap of his history upon this point that has ever reached us. It breathes in almost every line of his letters to his children, while in their youth, that we have ever seen. It is a resistless inference from his own deep religious sensibility, his ardent thirst for knowledge, and from his ripe scholarship.‡

* "These wonders," wrote the latter, in after years, "were hung in my mother's parlor, and were among the first objects that caught my infant eye. I endeavored to imitate them, and for several years the nicely sanded floors, (for carpets were then unknown in Lebanon,) were constantly scrawled with my rude attempts at drawing."

† He graduated in 1773—in a class of thirty-six.

‡ See how pleasantly, for example, his son Joseph testifies to his excellence as

Writing, in 1753, to Thomas Marsh, Teacher of one of his sons—Jonathan we are led to believe—and Teacher also of one of his nephews—he says: "The greatest favor I desire of you for them is that you keep a watchful eye over them to guide, counsel, and instruct them in the best manner, according to their genius and ability—and when you apprehend either of them in danger from idle company, or any bad habits, to take an opportunity to admonish, warn, and punish, as you shall judge best. In short, I do not mean to send them to college to spend their time and my estate in a careless, idle, and foolish manner, but in hopes they may thereby become better qualified for service and usefulness to themselves and others, in such relation and capacity as divine Providence may place them in the world."*

Trumbull's own idea of education is plain from this epistle. Its great end should be usefulness in life—it should take place on the condition of application—under the restraints of virtue—and with discipline for an attendant. The idea is in a nutshell, and is perfect.

Nor was knowledge alone, in his conception, as it is in that of very many, comprised in the term education. With him, this word had a much larger meaning. With him education was a process by which not only knowledge is to be gained, but, as Daniel Webster most justly expresses it, "the feelings are to be disciplined, the passions are to be restrained, true and worthy motives are to be inspired, a profound religious feeling is to be instilled, and pure morality inculcated under all circumstances."

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a parent. Writing him from London, in November, 1763, he speaks of himself as "vastly indebted" to the father for his "good and parental advice and counsel"—which, he adds, "I am the more obliged to you for, as I am sure of the continuance of that kind, affectionate love of *the best of parents* which I have during my whole life experienced."

Speaking of Trumbull in this connection, the Rev. Zebulon Ely, pastor of his church, says that "as a parent he was affectionate, venerable, and endearing, by precept and example carefully forming the minds and the manners of his off-spring."

* We suppose the Mr. Marsh to whom the above letter was addressed, resided in Cambridge, Mass. The letter is in the handwriting of Trumbull, but its address is wanting. Trumbull, at the same time with the letter—"in thankful acknowledgment," he says, "of past, and expectation of future favor" to each of the boys—sent Mr. Marsh, with characteristic generosity, *three cheeses, and ten pounds of butter!*

Unweariedly, in his own practice—for his own self-improvement—though now past the meridian of his life—did he cling to study, whenever relaxation from other duties afforded him an opportunity. "He was exceedingly careful of precious time, diligent and indefatigable in his researches after truth, till the close of his life," is the pointed testimony of one who knew his habits intimately—his own last pastor, Mr. Ely. History and jurisprudence—to which we have before alluded as constituting his favorite pursuits just when he exchanged the pulpit for the cares of business—still continued to receive a large share of his attention, and to enrich his mind, both from the old and the modern world, with abundant stores. We shall find him hereafter active in gathering and in preserving the history of our own land. He made himself too specially familiar with chronology. By all accounts his accuracy here was "unparalleled"—a fact which we shall, hereafter too, find him turning to excellent account when called upon, as Governor, to prepare elaborate State Papers in behalf of Connecticut. Nor did he forget his favorite study of Divinity. Indeed, as he advanced in life, Divinity became, with him, more and more engrossing. "That sublime, glorious, and necessary science," says again Mr. Ely, "was his delightful study from his youth upwards to the close of his life. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of civil business in which he was involved, being expert in the Hebrew, he found opportunities to search into the sacred import of the divine oracles of revelation in the original languages."

What a consolation, we cannot here but think, to a mind constituted like that of Trumbull—to a taste, from early academical study, so classically imbued—and to a heart so sincerely devotional—must have been this ability to read the gospel he so much loved in its pure native text—without the aid of Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, the fifteen bishops under Parker, the forty-seven learned men under King James, or any other of the translators or revisors of the Bible even in the most golden age of biblical and oriental learning in England! To read the Books of the Old Testament in the sublime, pure Hebrew—the very language in which, in the

opinion of some learned men, God spake to Adam in Paradise, and in which Adam and Eve spake to each other, and which was the general language of mankind at the dispersion! And to read this language, as we see from quotations in his own handwriting he did, without the accentual marks to distinguish its sentences, to determine the quantity of its syllables, and denote the tone in which it was to be read or sung! Surely the vocation must have been to him a most inspiring one, and proves a ripened scholarship.

It will be observed that the studies which more particularly engaged the attention of Trumbull, were all of a substantial kind—history, law, jurisprudence, and divinity—chiefly. Such was undoubtedly the leading direction of his mind—to the solid, the severer, the more practical branches of knowledge. Yet he did not avoid the lighter paths of literature—but, with a culture such as he possessed, walked in them at times with a keen and buoyant relish—as many of his productions—some of which we shall call up hereafter—composed with careful regard to established literary canons, and chastened by a correct taste—fully prove. To the whole field of mental effort, it is obvious, he brought a mind, which, in the language of President Ezra Stiles—himself one of the best judges of intellectual merit—was "endowed with a singular strength"—with a perception "vivid and clear"—and a judgment at once "penetrating and comprehensive." He "became qualified," adds the Reverend Doctor "for a very singular variety of usefulness." He was "embellished with academical, theological, and political erudition." So thought Yale College, and the University of Edinborough in Scotland, when, subsequent to the time of which we now speak, they each conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL. D.!

CHAPTER V.

1731—1764.

TRUMBULL as merchant. His partnership connections. His dealings both at home and abroad—with New York, Boston, Nantucket, Halifax, the West Indies, and England. The articles in which he traded. Interesting anecdote in this connection of himself, his son John, and Zachary, a Mohegan Indian whom he employed as a hunter. He imports largely, in vessels owned either in part or whole by himself. His trade enhanced by contracts for the supply of troops during the French wars. His experience in these contracts. He establishes semi-annual fairs and markets in Lebanon. His success in these. His business habits—integrity, energy, and punctuality. The property he acquired.

WE have looked at Trumbull thus far, in the sphere, mainly, of public life—in his connections as legislator, counsellor, judge, and military officer, with the events of his day. We have now to look at him in another and different sphere—that of trade and commerce—in his capacity as merchant and business man. And here we shall find him leading at all times a life of stirring industry, and stretching this industry out, with enlarged aims, both upon the ocean and the land.

The loss of a brother at sea, who was engaged with his father in trade, and the failing energies of the latter, brought him into this department, as has been already noticed, in 1731—and he soon managed, by his good care and economy, to repair the damages which the family estate had suffered by misfortune on the sea. He was soon left to do business alone.* But in 1755—thereabouts—he united in trade with others, under the partnership title of "Williams, Trumble and Pitkin"—which firm, with a branch at Wethersfield, and another at Norwich, and probably a third at East Haddam, in addition to that at Lebanon, continued to exist down to 1764—at which time it was supplanted by a new association between Colonel Trumbull, his son Joseph, and Colonel

* A printed note of hand, bearing date Aug. 11th, 1741, describes him as "Jonathan Trumble, Trader."

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Eleazer Fitch, under the partnership title of "Trumble, Fitch, and Trumble."

His dealings as merchant, during the period of thirty-three years extending from 1731 to the Peace of Paris in 1763—with which period alone we are concerned in the present chapter—were, as already intimated, extensive—both at home and abroad—in all the country surrounding Lebanon—in New York—in Boston*—and with Nantucket—particularly on this island with Joseph Rotch, and Joseph Swain, to whom he transmitted provisions of various kinds in exchange for oil—an article with which, in a subsequent part of his mercantile career, as we shall have occasion to see, he had much to do, and in the character too of whaling merchant—for he sent forth his own ships to hunt the leviathans of the deep.†

He dealt also much with Halifax, particularly there with Captain Joshua Meagher, and Joseph Ranger—the former of whom he describes as a most punctual business man, and generous in his management. Early as 1752, Meagher, by letter, had solicited to open a trade with him in the produce of Connecticut—saying that he should "joyfully embrace the opportunity" of a correspondence and commerce with him, because "of the good character" he had heard of him as "a lover of mankind"—"A rolling stone gathers no moss," added Meagher, quickening business between them—and it soon became very active, was long continued, and was mutually beneficial—Trumbull sending out Meagher beef, pork, and other provisions—particularly for ships of war that arrived at Halifax—and receiving in return cargoes of dry goods.‡

* Particularly in Boston with the firms of Inman & Apthorp, Green & Walker, with James Bowdoin, John Gray, and James Pitts & Sons—of which last firm Trumbull himself testifies specially that they were high-minded men, whose patience as creditors he had himself, in some cases, known "to endure even to long-suffering."

† "If thou hast a mind to ship to Nantucket any articles on thine own account," wrote Swain to him from this celebrated whaling island, "we will do the best we can with them"—and Trumbull did so, adding private adventures to those on partnership account.

‡ As scarlet cloaks, scarlet calimancoes, scarlet caps, corded cambittees, black leather and morocco clogs, waistcoats, surtouts, great-coats, felt hats, cloths

But Trumbull's trade abroad was specially extensive with the West Indies, and with England—particularly in London, with the firms of Lane and Booth, of Hayley and Champion, and with Samuel Sparrow—in Bristol with Stephen Apthorp—in Liverpool, occasionally with some firms there—and on the continent, through England, with Amsterdam, but especially with the house of Casper Voght and Company, of Hamburgh, the richest and most substantial of all in that famous mart for German manufactures—and from which, on account of the high credit and connections of his firm, he received invitations to engage in trade. He exported, either in vessels belonging to his own firm, or in others chartered for the purpose, the principal American products—those which from the infancy of commerce in Connecticut had been used for foreign trade,* and among these, besides salted provisions, particularly oil, much of it, flax-seed, potash, lumber, fish, whale-fins, and skins and furs.

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drab, and chocolate-colored, and light, and Saxon-green, horsemen's coats, drugget, and a great variety of other articles, which show the taste of the day, and strikingly illustrate the colonial dependence on the mother-country.

It was in the time of Trumbull's connection in trade with Meagher, that the former lost his father. In a letter to him from Halifax, dated July 7th, 1755, Meagher says: "I am sorry for the loss you have sustained by the death of your father; but it is a debt we must all pay—we must not repine at the will of Providence."

The following are the inscriptions upon the father's monument and that of his wife, who survived him a little over thirteen years:—

"Here lies the body of
Capt. Joseph Trumble,
one of the Fathers of ye town and
just Friend to it, of a compassionate
kind disposition who after a short
illness departed this life in the hope
of a better June 16, 1755 in the 77th year of his age."

"Here are deposited ye remains of
Mrs. Hannah Trumbull, late wife of
Capt. Joseph Trumbull, Daughter of John
Higley of Simsbury Esqr. who came from
Finnley in ye County of Surrey, by Mrs. Hannah
Drake his first wife. She was born
at Windsor 22d April 1683. Died at
Lebanon 8th Nov. 1768, aged 85 years, 6 mo. & 15 days."

*As wheat, peas, barley, Indian corn, pork, beef, wool, hemp, flax, cider, perry, tar, turpentine, deal boards, lumber, pipe-staves, horses, pine and spruce for masts, cattle, swine, sheep, goats, and fish.

For the purpose of procuring the skins and furs, it was his habit to employ the Indians of his neighborhood. Famous among these both as a hunter and a friend to Trumbull, was Zachary—a principal councillor in the Mohegan tribe, whose favorite ground was on the banks of the river Thames between New London and Norwich. Of him Trumbull's son, the painter John, relates the following remarkable story—one which, while it bears on the point now under consideration, at the same time admirably illustrates Cooper's remark that "few men exhibit greater diversity, or, if we may so express it, greater antithesis of character, than the native warriors of North America."

"The government of this Mohegan tribe," he proceeds, "had become hereditary in the family of the celebrated chief Uncas. During the time of my father's mercantile prosperity, he had employed several Indians of this tribe in hunting animals whose skins were valuable for their furs. Among these hunters was one named *Zachary*, of the royal race, an excellent hunter, but as drunken and worthless an Indian as ever lived. When he had somewhat passed the age of fifty, several members of the royal family who stood between Zachary and the throne of his tribe died, and he found himself with only one life between himself and empire. In this moment his better genius resumed its sway, and he reflected seriously, 'How can such a drunken wretch as I am, aspire to be the chief of an honorable race—what will my people say—and how will the shades of my noble ancestors look down indignant upon such a base successor? Can I succeed to the great Uncas? *I will drink no more!*' He solemnly resolved never to taste again any drink but water, and he kept his resolution.

"I had heard this story, and did not entirely believe it; for young as I was I already partook in the prevailing contempt of Indians. In the beginning of May, the annual election of the principal officers of the colony was held at Hartford, the capital. My father attended officially, and it was customary for the chief of the Mohegans also to attend. Zachary had succeeded to the rule of his tribe.* My father's house was situated about midway on the road between Mohegan and Hartford, and the old chief

* He was not, according to De Forest, in his History of the Indians of Connecticut, a sachem, or entitled by blood to this distinction. "The individual to whom Trumbull's reminiscence refers," says this author, "was unquestionably our old friend Zachary Johnson, the principal Councillor of the last Ben Uncas, and after his death the leading man among the Mohegans. He was sometimes, I believe, styled the regent of the tribe, and, as already mentioned, received in his latter days a support from the rents of the lands; but he did not belong to the royal family, and never became sachem."—*Page* 477.

was in the habit of coming a few days before the election, and dining with his brother governor. One day the mischievous thought struck me, to try the sincerity of the old man's temperance. The family was seated at dinner, and there was excellent home-brewed beer on the table. I addressed the old chief—"Zachary, this beer is excellent—will you taste it?" The old man dropped his knife and fork—leaned forward with a stern intensity of expression; his black eye, sparkling with indignation, was fixed on me. "John," said he, "you do not know what you are doing. You are serving the devil, boy! Do you not know that I am an Indian? I tell you that I am, and that, if I should but take your beer, I could never stop until I got to rum, and become again the drunken, contemptible wretch your father remembers me to have been. *John, while you live, never again tempt any man to break a good resolution.*" Socrates never uttered a more valuable precept. Demosthenes could not have uttered it in more solemn tones of eloquence. I was thunderstruck. My parents were deeply affected; they looked at each other, and at me, and at the venerable old Indian, with deep feelings of awe and respect. They afterwards frequently reminded me of the scene, and charged me never to forget it. Zachary lived to pass the age of eighty, and sacredly kept his resolution. He lies buried in the royal burial place of his tribe, near the beautiful falls of the Yantic, the western branch of the Thames, in Norwich, on land now owned by my friend Calvin Goddard, Esq. I visited the grave of the old chief lately, and there repeated to myself his inestimable lesson."

For the various products which Colonel Trumbull exported to England, and through England to Amsterdam, to Hamburgh, and to a few other places on the continent of Europe, he received in return almost every variety of merchandise for which there was a colonial demand—English and German manufactures of all sorts—particularly woolen cloths, silks, scythes, nails, glass, brass, fire-arms, and all sorts of crockery, cutlery, and iron and pewter-ware. Many old invoices preserved among his Papers, show that his business was conducted on a large scale, and that he was one among the very first in Connecticut to substitute for the old intermediate trade, in English goods, at New York, Boston, and Halifax, the system of direct importation from the Mother-country.* The sloops, schooners, brigantines, and snows,

* Stocks of goods, worth many thousand pounds each, with his own business mark—[J T]—at the head of the accounts—are frequently noted among his Papers. Rich black serges, rich black-spotted grogatoons, broad knee-gartering,

either chartered, or owned in part or whole by himself—the Prince George, the Abigail, the Sarah, the Friendship, the Boscawen, the Amelia, the Endeavor, the Alliance, the Polly, the Thomas Allen, the Sea Horse—furled their sails frequently in New London harbor—or at the wharf in Norwich—or along the banks of Connecticut River at times—full-freighted with goods and merchandise for the enterprising tradesman of quiet, agricultural Lebanon.

His business as merchant and importer was at times very much enhanced through connections which he established—either through his own firm, or with partners elsewhere—for supplying military forces during the French Wars—connections which were independent of his duties as military and colonial officer, and which yielded him bills of exchange for his trade with England.

Thus in 1746, for example, with his partners Williams and Pitkin, he advanced twenty-five hundred pounds for the officers and soldiers of Connecticut in the expedition to Canada. This was done at a time when discriminating duties in favor of direct importations from Europe, and against the intervention of New York and Boston in the commerce of Connecticut, were laid by the Colony—when, to encourage the direct foreign trade, a bounty even of five per cent was given on imports from Great Britain. The goods imported by Trumbull under the favorable laws of which we now speak, did

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calicoes, muslins, cambrics—canvass, kerseys, linens, duffils, broadcloths, druggets, grograms, and caps—hose, silk gloves, and topt-outs—crapes, satins and lace—thread, galloons, sorted velvet masks, lawns, checks, and black and colored balladine—ribbons, fans and taffaties—fine cloth—colored Brussels camlets—mourning crapes and bombazines—women's stuffed shoes, flowered silk shoes and cloggs—glasses in walnut and mahogany frames, and some in frames of walnut and shells, and some in japanned frames—paper, lead, indigo, and bear skins—such are the articles which figure chiefly among his imports from England—while from the West India isles—from Jamaica, Martinique, Barbadoes, and the Carribbee islands more especially—in exchange usually for live stock, and beef, and pork, he brought sugar, rum, molasses, cotton-wool, salt, and bills of exchange—with which to pay for European goods. The following extract from one of his letters, in August, 1763, to his chief correspondents in London, Messrs. Lane and Booth, illustrates his trade in this last direction. "I have sent," he writes, "to the West Indies twenty-one head of fat cattle, nine horses, seventy-four barrels of flour, forty-four barrels of pork, with some beef and lumber, with orders to Capt. Clark to go to Martinique, or wherever he can find the English fleet and forces, and sell out sloop and cargo, for bills on London to be remitted to you."

not happen to arrive till after the laws were repealed, whereby his adventure was seriously damaged. In addition to this—on account of discontent in England with a furlough allowed the Connecticut troops for whom he had advanced money—quite an amount of his bills of exchange was refused payment. In consequence of all this, he met with a loss of eleven or twelve hundred pounds—but subsequently—his case, as in his Memorial to the General Assembly he stated, being "a very peculiar and distinguishing one"—he received from this Body some relief.

Again in 1761—in partnership with Hezekiah Huntington of Norwich, John Ledyard of Hartford, Eleazer Fitch of Windham, and William Williams of Lebanon—and for the purpose in part of procuring bills of exchange for his trade abroad—Trumbull entered into a contract with the General Assembly of Connecticut, to supply the troops of the Colony in his Majesty's service, the then current year, with clothing and refreshments—the said Assembly agreeing to lend the Undertakers, for the affair, the sum of six thousand pounds. The contract was a large one, and it was punctually discharged—Trumbull himself entering upon it with zeal, and becoming in consequence engaged in constant correspondence with his Majesty's Commander-in-chief in America, General Amherst.

Neither of the operations now mentioned, however, were to him particularly advantageous. The first, as we have seen, was a losing one. The second yielded something. But much profit in the case was out of question, both because of the great difficulty at times in procuring suitable remittances for the European trade—and because besides, the British government was extremely remiss, and often entirely neglectful in meeting its pecuniary obligations to troops in America. Connecticut, in fact, never received from the parent country one-half of what was fairly her due for services in the two old French Wars.*

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* In 1763, Colonel Trumbull sent his eldest son to England, to obtain among other things—with the aid of his correspondents Lane and Booth, and of Phinehas Lyman, then in London—such dividends as were due to those regiments in America with which he had been concerned. Williams, his partner, had before

But while thus, in some few cases, embarrassed in his operations abroad, Trumbull on the whole, during the period now under contemplation, was highly fortunate in his business. "He had for years been a successful merchant," wrote his son John of his father at this time, "and looked forward to an old age of ease and affluence." His home business, at Lebanon, flourished. By his own personal exertions he had made this village a mart for buying, selling, and exchanging, semi-annually, merchandize and commodities of various descriptions. By a vote of his native town, he was constituted sole agent, in its behalf, to apply to the General Assembly for this valuable purpose—and he did so. "Whereas," says his Memorial to the Legislature on this subject, in his own handwriting—"whereas Markets and Fairs are found beneficial and serviceable to facilitate the transaction of business among people, in a manner both expeditious and advantageous, and the situation and circumstances of the town of Lebanon are such as render it convenient and fit for a Fair and Market to be set up and kept therein"—therefore he prays for liberty to establish them, "at proper times, and with the privileges, and under such convenient and suitable regulations as are usually annexed thereto."

These Fairs gave him much employment, and valuable harvests of profit. It is the testimony from every quarter, that "his upright dealing secured the respect and confidence of the public." Wholly free from all the petty exactions of trade, he was a provident manager—careful of his investments of capital, even to the smallest—a strict accountant, and reckoner of his gains—yet ever spending these gains with liberality and satisfaction both upon his own family and the public—striking evidences of which fact we shall have occasion hereafter to observe. More than any man of

gone out to London, for the same purpose, on his first contract—with what success, in either case, we do not positively learn, though doubtless with some. "It is difficult," wrote Trumbull at this time, by his son, "to find ways and means to make remittances abroad—the last two years have been rather calamitous for the country"—and he suggests as modes of relief, "the supply of our provisions where needed," ship-building, and the exportation of flax-seed to Ireland, and of pig and bar iron from towns in Litchfield County, where, he says, these latter articles "abound." He will "fulfil," he adds, his "own contracts, both old and new, punctually."

his day, in his own region—he was called upon to transact affairs for others—to draw up contracts, bonds, and commercial papers generally—to sell lands, and other property—arbitrate accounts, and settle controversies in trade. More often declining than receiving compensation for services like these, he proved himself "a trusty friend" indeed to all who solicited, in behalf of their own private interests, the benefit of his mercantile experience, true candor, and unflinching honesty.

So the first years of Trumbull's life as a merchant passed—in successful commerce abroad—in profitable trade at home—and with high reputation in all his contracts, negotiations, and adventures. And "his corn and riches did increase." A house and home-estate worth over four thousand pounds—furniture, and a library, worth six hundred pounds—a valuable store adjacent to his dwelling—a store, wharf, and land at East Haddam—a lot and warehouse at Chelsea in Norwich—a valuable gristmill near his family seat at Lebanon—"a large convenient malt house"—several productive farms in his neighborhood, carefully tilled, and beautifully spotted with rich acres of woodland—extensive ownership too in the "Five Mile Propriety," as it was called, in Lebanon, in whose management as committee-man, and representative at courts, and moderator at meetings of owners, Trumbull had much to do—a stock of domestic animals worth an hundred and thirty pounds—these possessions—together with a well-secured indebtedness to himself, in bonds, and notes and mortgages, resulting from his mercantile transactions, of about eight thousand pounds—rewarded, at the close of the year 1763, the toil of Trumbull in the field of trade and commerce. In all it was a property of not less than eighteen thousand pounds—truly a large one for the day—but one destined, by reverses in trade which the times subsequently rendered inevitable, and by the patriotic generosity of its owner during the great Revolutionary Struggle, to sink, in large part, from his grasp.

CHAPTER VI.

1764—1770.

GENERAL view of the condition of the American Colonies at this period. Investigation into the nature of their connection with the Parent State particularly roused. Trumbull's public offices and duties. He is appointed Deputy Governor and Chief Justice of Connecticut. He watches closely the measures of England. Examines especially the famous Writs of Assistance, and writes to England about them. The conclusions of his mind upon these Writs are strongly in favor of liberty. The noted trial upon their validity in Boston awakens his patriotic zeal. Two applications for their issue are made in Connecticut to the Court over which he himself presides. His action and sentiments upon these applications. A striking letter on the subject from his pen.

WE enter now upon the period in Trumbull's life from 1764 to 1770—from the Peace of Paris to the time when he was exalted to the post of Chief Magistrate of his native Colony—a period of novel and startling experiences to the American world—when the Colonies and the Mother-Country—no longer moving side by side, and shoulder to shoulder, for the annihilation of French and Spanish power, and the proud extension of British dominion—fell into those collisions between themselves, which, sharpened by time—

> "With wrath, and hate, and sacred vengeance,
> Soon indissolubly linked,"

produced at last the American Revolution.

It was the period when plans for levying internal taxes upon the Colonies were started—and when old and vexatious acts of navigation and trade, exhausting the life-blood of their little treasuries, were to be enforced by swarms of revenue officers, and Courts of Admiralty that outraged liberty. It was the period of the Stamp Act—of the Billeting Act—and of Port Duties on glass, lead, painters' colors, and tea, which were to be compelled by an intrusive Board of Commissioners for the Customs, and with the aid of odious Writs of Assistance. It was the period of a British Act—levelled at all the Colonies, through New York—for suspending, and

virtually annihilating the legislative functions of General Assemblies—when too the charters of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and the liberties of all New-England towns were "struck at"—when the New-England fisheries were menaced with prohibition—and the New-England "incendiaries," as the active patriots of that day were styled, were to be transported, if possible, to the Old Country for vengeful trial and condemnation. It was the period, in fine, when unnatural and oppressive acts such as these—rousing investigation more deeply than ever before into the nature of our political connection with the parent State, and to a vindication of the natural right of men quietly to enjoy, and fully to dispose of their own property—awoke the young lion of American resistance to so broad a glare of defiance, to an attitude so full of menace, that an army with banners at last—Boston to be the theatre for its first murderous exploit—landed on the shores of the New-World, to drive the infant monster back, it was ostentatiously expected, to some lair of impotent repose. Vain boast—empty hope! The clutch of that young lion was fatal!

Of Trumbull's connection with these matters, down nearly to that memorable spring which ushered in the Boston Massacre—of the feelings which were his impulse—of the principles he adopted, and the course he pursued—we shall speak, in part, in the present chapter—not, from lack of memorials, with the fulness we desire—yet amply enough, in the course of this and succeeding chapters, we shall trust, to exhibit him in his true light. But first, let us fill up, as after our manner hitherto, the measure of the offices of honor and of trust which he enjoyed, at the hands of his fellow-citizens, during the present period.

In 1764, he was again elected Assistant for the Colony of Connecticut, Judge of the County Court, and Judge of Probate, for the County and District of Windham. In 1765, the same offices were all renewed in his person. In 1766, October, he was appointed Chief Judge of the Superior Courts of Connecticut for the year ensuing, with Robert Walker, Matthew Griswold, Eliphalet Dyer, and Roger Sherman, for his associates on the Bench—and was also

again appointed Judge of Probate for the District of Windham. In 1767, he was re-elected Chief Justice, with the same associates, and also Judge of Probate, and was also chosen Deputy Governor of the Colony. In 1768, he was again appointed Chief Justice, with the same associates, and again Deputy Governor. These offices he held in 1769—until October of this year—when upon the death of Governor William Pitkin, relinquishing the place of Chief Justice in favor of Matthew Griswold—he was chosen to the post of Chief Magistrate of Connecticut—a post which he continued to occupy until within two years of his death—when, by a voluntary resignation, he gave it up forever.

So that, within the thirty-seven years which elapsed from 1733 to 1770—covering thus far the whole sphere of his public life—Trumbull seven times represented his native town, as Deputy, in the General Assembly of Connecticut, during three of which he occupied the honorable post of Speaker of the House—was chosen Assistant for twenty-two years—was chosen for one year a side Judge, and for seventeen years Chief Judge of the County Court of Windham, and for nineteen years Judge of Probate for the same District—was twice made Justice of the Peace—was once elected an Assistant Judge, and thrice Chief Justice of the Superior Courts of the Colony—and twice its Deputy Governor—and had his services at last, after a gradual and sure accretion of public influence and reputation, crowned with the highest honor in the gift of the people whom he so long and faithfully had served. An amount all this, of labor, of office, dignity, and trust, which rarely indeed falls to the lot of men. Trumbull's path to Posts and Honors was no short and petty byepath, but literally a broad, spacious, solid, and embellished Highway.

Of the manner in which, in the period upon which we now particularly dwell—that between 1763 and 1770—he discharged his duties—simply as legislator and member of the General Assembly—we have not much to present. Suffice it to say here, that, as in preceding years, he was active and trusted—trusted upon important committees—consulted with, as of old, on all questions of public economy and

police—and specially relied upon, we observe, in cases that came before the Legislature touching fraudulent sales of lands, the construction of wills, and the administration of estates.* He was relied upon also, especially, in ecclesiastical matters that called for the interposition of the Legislature, and in Indian affairs—particularly in the affairs of the Mohegan tribe, in connection, as we shall hereafter have occasion to show, with that famous Mason controversy, which so long, in suits against Connecticut, agitated committees, counsel, agents, and courts, both in this Colony, and in Great Britain.

From all these points we turn however now, to consider Trumbull in that civil and political sphere to which we have already alluded, as concerning not only all the dominant interests of Connecticut, but those also of United America, and the rights and power of a Motherland just commencing towards her children a career of despotism and tyranny.

To the very beginnings of this career, in fresh orders sent from England to American custom-house officers to take more effectual measures for enforcing the acts of trade and navigation, Trumbull gave heed. No man more than himself studied the nature and operation of those famous Writs of Assistance, which—arming these officers with the odious power of breaking open buildings to search for goods illegally imported, as well as for those on which duties had not been paid—first manifested the aggressive purposes of British power against American property and commerce.

Both as merchant and a patriot, he watched them with the deepest anxiety. In a mercantile view they were to be employed to enforce statutes—hitherto suffered to lie dormant, or disregarded and evaded—which in their direct operation, would cut off that extensive circuitous trade with the French and Spanish West India isles, which to himself—as well as to hundreds of others, especially in New England, engaged in commerce—was a principal source of prosperity, and en-

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* As in the matter, particularly, of the estate of Dr. Morrison of Hartford—that learned, though somewhat eccentric Scottish physician, whose recluse grave, within almost the centre of this city, and near its new free Episcopal Church, has long attracted the curiosity of citizens.

abled them to pay for the British manufactures they usually imported. In a political view these writs, if granted, would be dire instruments of tyranny.

They were writs unknown in the history of colonial jurisprudence. But they were according to the usages of the Court of Exchequer in England, it was said.

To England, therefore—to Richard Jackson, the Colonial Agent for Connecticut there—Trumbull wrote on the subject, soon as it began to assume importance—carefully informing himself with regard to these usages, all of them—especially so after new collectors, to carry out the behests of the Crown, were appointed for his native province, and after its Governor was informed by the Board of Trade and Plantations for America, that his Majesty's resolution, on the subject of the trade and navigation acts, was so fixed "to have the most implicit obedience to his commands for enforcing them, that he would not pass unnoticed any negligence on the part of any person."

The conclusions to which his own mind came on this important subject—the first upon which, in the new collision between Parliamentary and Colonial authority, he had been called on to express an opinion—were all in favor of his own land. Circumstances urged him—here at the outset of the struggle which was about to ensue—to choose his side—and this side was that of liberty—unreservedly, firmly, and fervently. So that when Otis and Thatcher—before a Court in the metropolis of New England—in resistance to a Crown-Collector's application for the obnoxious Writ—made their brilliant and immortal efforts—American Independence was not "then and there born" more fully in the heart of any listener than in that of Trumbull, when at his home in Lebanon he heard of these efforts, and perused the subsequent masterly pamphlet by Otis asserting and proving the rights of the Colonies. No man in that "crowded audience" at Boston—in that first scene of the first opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain—was more "ready to take arms against Writs of Assistance"—more ready, spite of proceedings somewhat irregular, to sanction the conduct of that crowd at Falmouth in Maine, which subsequently defeated

their operation in the hands of officers laboring under their disputed authority to make a seizure of goods—or more zealous to uphold and vindicate their refusal by the Superior Court in Connecticut, in one or two cases in which Custom House functionaries applied for their issue—than was that son of Connecticut whose life we now commemorate.

He had prominent opportunity to manifest his sentiments on this point—for in March 1768—and again in April 1769—direct application was made to the Superior Court over which he presided, for some of the Writs in question. In the first instance it was made to Chief Justice Trumbull by the King's Collector for the port of New London, Duncan Stewart, and the King's Comptroller, Thomas Moffat—for the mere purpose, it would seem, of testing the views of the Court upon the important subject—and not for the reason that any "special occasion" had arisen for their use. The Court, therefore, was at perfect liberty, at this time, with a wary prudence, to waive their issue—and, in the expectation, and with the desire that further light should be shed upon their nature and legality, courteously to postpone their consideration to a future period.

"Upon the Petition of Duncan Stewart, Collector," says the Court Record of their proceeding at this time—"and Thomas Moffat, Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs for the port of New London, Esquires, requesting this Court to grant them Writs of Assistance pursuant to the spirit and true meaning of the Act of Parliament therein referred to—And no information being made by said Petitioners, or otherwise, of any special occasion for said Writ—this Court is of opinion that it is needful to consider on the purport of said Act, and the manner and form of granting such Writs of Assistance, according to the usage of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer: Therefore this Court will further consider and advise thereon."

This further consideration the Court did give to the matter. Trumbull again wrote abroad—for additional information about the Writs—both to Jackson, and to Wm. Samuel Johnson, who was then in London as special attorney for Connecticut in management of the Mohegan Case. Singularly enough—and certainly contrary to the impressions we usually derive from history on this point—the Writs in ques-

tion *were*, by the custom of England, legalized, and issued in that country as a matter of course. They had been issued also in some of the Provinces of America.

"Mr. Jackson," reported Johnson to Trumbull, September twenty-ninth, 1769, "has no doubt wrote you on the subject of Writs of Assistance, as I have also to his Honor the Governor, and inclosed him copies of the usual Writs issued here. I own *I was surprised* to find such a Writ in use in a country so jealous of its liberties, but it seems *it has now custom on its side, and issues quite of course.* I find it has also been adopted in Massachusetts Bay, and some other Provinces, and is said to be grounded on this principle—that the presence of the Civil Officer is necessary for the preservation of the Peace, as well as to give a proper Countenance to the Officers of the Revenue."*

So far now, in the discharge of his ordinary and acknowledged duties, as the Civil Officer required "countenance," Trumbull, undoubtedly, would have willingly afforded it. He would have granted "Warrants" such as were suitable for the purpose—but not a Writ, which, like that of Assistance, authorized the invasion, even of private dwellings, in an outraging process of search and seizure. Fortunately we have his views on this subject preserved. They are embodied, briefly, in a letter which, June fourteenth 1769, he wrote to Johnson in London—giving an account of the proceedings in Connecticut upon a second application of the King's officers—which he describes—and commenting, forcibly, on the unjust policy in general of the Mother-country towards her Colonies in America.

"I wrote you last summer," he proceeds, "per my son, respecting the matter of Writs of Assistance, and received your answer thereon per him. Since that, to wit, at April Term last at Norwich, Mr. Stewart [Collector] made further application to the Superior Court for such Writs; and produced Forms of such from the Board of Commissioners, as they judged proper for us to give, with *the Case* per Mr. DeGrey. To which the Court replied, that they would be further advised, and as the Sessions of the General Assembly was near, they should ask their advice and direction. Accordingly the matter was fully laid before them. They appointed a Committee to consider the letters &c., laid before the

* "I shall endeavor to make further enquiries concerning it," Johnson adds—"and if anything material occurs, communicate it."

Assembly. Within their province fell this matter, and they advised that the Assembly take no notice of it—that it properly belonged to the Superior Court—that, *as individuals*, not as members of the Assembly, they advised the Court *not to grant* such Warrants, which seemed to be the universal opinion. Since this Mr. Seymour,* as Attorney for the King, by direction of the Board of Commissioners, has made application to me for a Judicial Determination on the Matter. I have given him no answer, nor do I intend giving any till the Next Term, which now soon comes on.

"I have taken care to find what the Courts in the other Colonies have done, and find no such Writs have been given by any of the Courts except in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where they were given as soon as asked for. I believe the Courts in all the other Colonies will be as well united, and as firm in this Matter, as in anything that has yet happened between us and Great Britain.

"I have never yet seen any Act of Parliament authorizing the Court of Exchequer in giving such Writs as they give, but conceive they have crept into use by the inattention of the people, and the bad practices of designing men. We are directed to give such Writs as the Court of Exchequer are enabled by Act of Parliament to give, which are very different, as I conceive, from such Writs as they do give. Our Court will on all occasions of complaint grant such Warrants as may be necessary for promoting his Majesty's service, and *at the same time consistent with the liberty and privilege of the subject, and made returnable to the Court; but further than that we dare not go, and they must not expect we shall.* I give you my mind on this subject, as I expect representation will be made of the conduct of the Court herein, and it may not be amiss to have you prepared on the occasion.

"Administration, if not already convinced, must soon find that their plan of sending troops into America, to overawe and intimidate the people, has entirely failed them; so far has it been from having the desired effect, that the People are more fixed and established in their principles, and determined to lose their liberties, dear to them as their life, but with their lives. This, they may depend on it, is not a spirit stirred up and kept alive by a few disaffected, hot-headed men among those of their own temper and disposition. No—that is not the case, they may be assured. But it is the united, universal determination of every man in America, a few dastardly, dependent slaves and dupes to Administration only excepted, who have sold their country, and their own Posterity, for the base consideration of a poor present pittance for themselves.

"The treatment received from the last Winter's Session of Parliament grieves us sensibly, as every moment's delay of justice heightens our distress, and raises our resentments, already almost too heavy to bear. Notwithstanding all the ill-judged burthens heaped upon us by a weak

* Thomas Seymour.

and wicked Administration, we still retain a degree of regard, and even fondness for Great Britain, and a firm attachment to his Majesty's person, family, and government, and on just and equal terms, as children, not as slaves, should rejoice to remain united with them to the latest time. But to think of being slaves—we who so well know the bitterness of it by the instances so continually before our eyes, *cannot bear the shocking thought—Nature starts back at the idea!*"

CHAPTER VII.

1765.

TRUMBULL and the Stamp Act. Resistance of Connecticut to the Act, and Trumbull's participation in it A thrilling scene illustrating his opposition. Governor Fitch calls his Council together in order to take an oath to carry the measure into effect, as required by King and Parliament. He announces his readiness to be sworn. Trumbull, and other Councillors remonstrate, and refuse to perform the ceremony. The Governor argues the case with them, and insists upon taking the Oath. Four of the Councillors, enough for the purpose, unwillingly yield The remaining seven, Trumbull at their head, still resist Their motives, arguments, and some of their language upon the occasion. The Governor rises to receive the Oath. At this moment, Trumbull refuses to witness a ceremony which he thinks will degrade the Colony, and is an outrage upon liberty, seizes his hat, and indignantly withdraws from the Council Chamber, followed immediately by six of his associates. Judgment of the Colony upon the event.

THE course of such a man as Trumbull in the matter of the Stamp Act, from what has already been described, may be easily anticipated. It was one of indignant opposition from the very inception of that project down to the period of its repeal.*

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* His son Joseph, who was in England when this project was started, kept his father constantly informed of all Acts of Parliament affecting America, and gave much useful information to Agent Jackson respecting its trade and commerce, which the latter used zealously with the Ministry, and publicly in the House of Commons. Joseph, upon this occasion, served his country nobly. December 10th, 1763, for example, he writes his father thus:—

"They talk of taxing the Colonies for the support of the troops in America, and that tax to be laid in the Colonies without any respect to their Charters, or rather in such manner as to sap the foundation of all our privileges. Indeed our good friends the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, Lord Sandwich, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Halifax, and some others, are of opinion that all the Charters in America could be vacated immediately, without any ceremony, and that we should be governed entirely by Governors and Councils, without any assemblies appointed by the King. They say those Charters were granted in High Times, by the king only, without consent of Parliament, and so are void in themselves; that there shall be a superintendent over the whole; that we must be prevented making bar iron; and several other most barbarous impositions are to be laid on us. I hope John Wilkes will live to give them employment, to prevent them from doing us the mischief they intend. The people in power have imbibed the greatest prejudices imaginable against the Colonies."

The conduct of Connecticut upon this occasion—the ardor with which, at the outset—a year before the measure passed the Parliament of Great Britain, and when the English Ministry were gathering from the various Colonies statistics upon which to found it—the ardor and emphasis with which, by acts of her General Assembly, by letters and petitions to her agents and to statesmen in England, and to the Ministry, Court, and Parliament, she lifted up her voice of remonstrance and of prayer ere the impending blow was struck—and her demonstrations after the blow fell—are familiar to the readers of Connecticut history.

Her funeral processions with the coffined Stamp Act—her burnings and hangings of the effigies of its aiders and abettors, that glared from the hill-tops and plains of almost every one of her villages, and told to the day and to the night, to the sun and to the stars, a tale of maddened distress—her fierce crowds that assailed, humiliated, and displaced the Stamp-Master appointed for her jurisdiction—the success which crowned her efforts, in preventing a single application of the Act within her limits—and her unbounded congratulations, manifested by bonfires, illuminations, feu de joies, and in every form of gladness, when the stroke aimed at her happiness was stayed, require no description at our hands here.

We but allude to these events now, in order to say that in all of them, save probably in those eccentric pageants which mocked the designs of the Motherland, Trumbull took an active part. Even on the pageants to which we refer, he gazed, we have every reason to believe, with no averted eye, and with no disposition—magistrate and order-loving citizen though he was—to interpose either his authority in behalf of the "King's peace," or his counsel in behalf of sedate resistance. Nay we think that his brow must have relaxed its accustomed gravity, and his ordinarily compressed lips have

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February 13th, 1764, he writes thus:—"The Courts are contriving every scheme to saddle us in America with troops—and some carry it so far as not to be content with our paying and supporting them, but also would have us pay a considerable sum to the Civil List—all of which monies are to be raised by duties on French and Dutch goods—by our paying in New England the same duties on East India goods as are paid here—by the Post Office regulations in the manner they are here—and by a *Stamp Office*—all which the friends to America are doing everything in their power to prevent."

even expanded with hearty laughter, when from his own mansion at Lebanon—in the summer immediately succeeding the passage of the Stamp Act—he saw a crowd of his own neighbors and friends giving to this Act the formality of a mock trial—subjecting it to unanimous condemnation—and then, in due form, and with pageantry the most comical, proceeding to hang and burn the criminal.

Be this, however, as it may have been, it is certain that in other respects—in the preparation of legislative and executive papers, of petitions, and letters, in behalf of the Colony against the Stamp Act—in correspondence, both in his own country and abroad, on this subject, but particularly with the Colonial Agent in England, with his Majesty's Secretary of State, and with the Sons of Liberty at home—in circulating patriotic resolves, especially those of Virginia, and patriotic essays and writings, like those, distinctly, of Otis, and Thatcher, and of the earnest and didactic Johnson of Lyme—in efforts such as these to rouse, justify, and concentrate opinion and feeling against the Act, no man in Connecticut was more conspicuous than Trumbull—hardly one as much so.

We may safely say no person as much so, when we come to gaze upon one particular scene in the drama of Connecticut opposition to the obnoxious Act, in which Trumbull figured—and in a manner that should—if everything else in patriotic development were wanting—immortalize his memory with all lovers of freedom. Let us look at it.

It became necessary, under the provisions of the Stamp Act, that the Governor of each American Colony should take an oath—to be administered by his Council, or by any three of them—to do his utmost in causing "all and every the clauses" in the Act to "be punctually and *bona fide* observed, according to the true intent and meaning thereof." This requisition upon Thomas Fitch, the Governor of Connecticut, as upon the Chief Magistrate of every British Colony, was imperative. Removal from office—disqualification in future to hold it—the King's highest displeasure—and a fine of one thousand pounds sterling—stared him in the face,

in case he either refused the Oath, or neglected to do his duty accordingly.

The Oath was to be taken before the First of November, 1765. That day—day when the Stamp Act was first to take effect—was close at hand—and Governor Fitch assembled his Councillors to fulfil the obligations, which, sorely he knew, but inevitably, he thought, rested upon them all. There were Ebenezer Silliman, Hezekiah Huntington, John Chester, Benjamin Hall, Jabez Hamlin, Matthew Griswold, Shubal Conant, Elisha Sheldon, Eliphalet Dyer, and Jabez Huntington—names all of them of proud distinction in the Colony—and last of all—patriot deepest interwoven with the roots, and branches, and blossoming of Connecticut Independence—Colonel Jonathan Trumbull. There they were—eleven in all—one Tuesday morning—summoned to officiate as high-priests in a sacrifice whose victims were to be their own countrymen and brothers, and the mothers, sisters, wives, and children too, all that lived, and loved, and clustered in the little province of which they were chosen leaders.

Governor Fitch called upon them to discharge their duty. He was himself ready to be sworn. The sovereignty of England, he affirmed, commanded it. Loyalty claimed it. The safety of the Colony required it. Gentlemen, he said, will you obey your Commission, and administer the Oath!

There was hesitation—there were averted looks on the part of a majority of the Council—and soon words of remonstrance, determined tones, earnest gestures—and at last a blank refusal.

The Act of Parliament, reasoned Colonel Trumbull, Dyer, and others, is in derogation of the rights of the Colony. No law can be made to tax us but by our own consent, freely given. This is the very essence of freedom. It is the ruling excellency of the British Constitution—and is fast chained to its roots. The power which can tax us as it pleases, can also govern us as it pleases. We are as truly, in every respect, the King's subjects as any to whom God has given life in any part of the British dominions. *Their* privileges, *their* liberties, *their* immunities, are also *our own*—the

Stamp Act robs us of all these. It is a condemnation of us as freemen. It is ingratitude towards us as generous, loyal, and faithful subjects. It is in the teeth of our Charter. It will reduce us to poverty. We cannot then, in conscience, aid in any measure to enforce it. We will not, therefore, administer the Oath!

But, urged the Governor in reply—and we have fortunately his own pamphlet from which to state his reasoning—the Officers of his Majesty *must* obey his commands. They are bound to do so, not only by their allegiance, but also by the agreement and contract of their offices—by accepting positions to which a Commission like the present one is attached. All royal mandates, all Acts of Parliament, all Provincial Acts, depend and hinge on obedience. To evade the Oath required by the Stamp Act, would be to evade those solemn obligations implied in our own office-oaths. If we refuse it in this case, there is reason to believe that the people themselves will be deprived of all power hereafter to elect any officers of their own. Our whole Charter, in such an event, would be "struck at."—What now if I *should* decline the Oath? My own condemnation would be certain. Nor would you yourselves escape condemnation—for breach of trust—for high contempt both of King and Parliament—and you would be forced to undergo penalties severe and remediless. We all know the nature of the King's displeasure. It is fatal. Is it reasonable then that I, that you, that any of us should thus expose ourselves? Duty certainly does not demand it—neither duty to ourselves, nor to the Colony, whose present liberties it is our business to save, and not to lose. Gentlemen, I am ready for the Oath, and again ask you to administer it.

What said the Council now, to these views—thus earnest—thus decided—urged by the Chief Magistrate of the Colony? Here was argument from what seemed resistless official obligation—argument from vital considerations of personal safety and reputation—argument out of the very heart, apparently, of an endangered Colonial Charter. Duty, necessity, loyalty, hope, fear, all seemed to press overpoweringly for obedience.

Had not every Governor of every province of his Majesty's dominions in America—save the solitary "rebel" Governor of Rhode Island—already taken the Oath required? He had.

Had not the seeming resistlessness of the Stamp Act induced even the high-souled Richard Henry Lee, himself to solicit the office of Stamp-Distributor for Virginia—and to proclaim his readiness to take an oath similar to that now demanded? It had.

Did not some of the very best patriots of the land inculcate submission as a necessity that was overwhelming? They did.

Was not even Franklin unable to see any way out of the existing darkness, but by lighting up "the candles of frugality and industry?" He was.

Had not even that idolator of freedom, the deeply-meditative Otis, declared it to be "the duty of all humbly and silently to acquiesce in the decisions of the Supreme Legislature of Great Britain?" He had.

Viewed under all its aspects then, how constraining the force now brought to bear upon the Council of Connecticut by Governor Fitch—himself Head of the Colony—himself hitherto high in reverence—himself, for his wisdom, for his probity, for his fidelity, kept by the People for twelve long years—years too, many of them, of harassing war—steadily kept at the helm of State! How darkly difficult to avoid his demand! What force could resist!

But did the Council yield? No—not the Council in the strength of its majority—not the Council in the power of a vote close upon that of two-thirds of its number! Seven out of eleven of them—spite of all the Governor had urged, would not yield—but blunted the edge of his appeals, and outreasoned, and outfaced his repeated demand for the Oath. Themselves—and the Governor along with them—had sworn "to promote the public good and peace" of Connecticut, and "to maintain all its lawful privileges" intact. They then do an act, which, as they verily believed, stabbed "the public good," wounded the "peace," and annihilated the "privileges" of this Commonwealth—which let out the rich blood

of its freedom from every vein almost of that glorious old Charter, which, for a hoary century and more, had gladdened, with a joy that was ever fresh and bounding, the whole heart of Connecticut! They—through a measure unprecedented for its harshness—aid to torture the industry of their native land, and to wrench from it those pittances of gain which themselves were wrenched, with hardest toil, from a cold, stern earth, and beneath an ungenial heaven!

No—let royal indignation swell, they thought and felt—let the thunders of Parliament all burst—let its armies and navies even descend in storm upon this infant State—let loss of office come, arrest, trials, fines, confiscations, imprisonment, banishment, every thing that is distressful in the artillery of angry power, let it all come—the patriots whom we commemorate were ready—ready for the worst—rather than surrender a righteous and cleaving conviction of their own in favor of liberty! Again, therefore, they refused to administer the Oath.

What was to be done? Alas, tyranny was never yet found wanting in means. Its genius for mischief, hydra-headed, is fertile in expedients, and exact even to a hair. The Governor, according to the Commission, was to be sworn by the Council, or "by any three of them." *By any three of them!*—here was the ugly resource. And there at the Council-Board sat four members—enough, and just one more than enough—who, under all the embarrassing circumstances of the occasion—from motives too of sympathy with the Chief Executive in what they deemed his "critical situation"—and in a spirit of caution—honest, we do not doubt—but which yet to our own eye cannot but appear overstrained—consented to exercise the dreaded authority. Sorrow, reluctance even, we cannot but think, painted in their looks—they announced their readiness to give the Oath.

A glow of satisfaction now must have brightened the face of Thomas Fitch—but there was sadness there too, we are ready to believe—moved though he was, as he tells us himself, "from principles of loyalty to the King, from a serious and tender concern for the privileges of the Colony, from a conscientious regard to the solemn obligations of his office-

oath, and a just regard for his own interest, reputation, and usefulness in life."

But how, at this moment, looked the dissenting Members of the Board? History gives us hints from which we can safely judge. Deep disquietude sat upon their faces. Thoughts—again of the past free life of Connecticut—of her long and painful struggles for God, liberty, and civilization—of her services, ever generous, in extending the might and domain of her Motherland, and of the ingratitude of that Parent whose duty was love, was tender nurture, was protection, not oppression—thoughts like these came freshly rushing over their souls as light and darkness rush over the face of an angry heaven, when the winds are up, and the storm sits brooding for an explosion.

Again, therefore, they pleaded with the Governor against the step he was about to take. Again, pointedly, they protested—and in language some of which is fortunately preserved.

"It is in violation of your Provincial Oath!"—exclaimed with bold earnestness, Colonel Trumbull.

"It certainly is"—repeated every other dissenting Councillor.

"You have sworn," continued they all, as they could catch the opportunity to speak—"by the dreadful name of God you have sworn to labor for the good of this Colony, and you are now preparing to labor for its ruin. You have sworn to promote its peace—you are now going to promote its disturbance. The Law you are called upon to see enforced is, from its very nature, a nullity. It is unconstitutional. It is void. For our own part," they added—and here the patriots utter a sentiment which shows strikingly the unspeakable depth and conscientiousness of their convictions—"for our own part, as Judges of this land—sitting in its highest Courts—under all the responsibilities which would there surround us—were we called to decide upon the Stamp Act, we should not hesitate to pronounce this measure of Parliament *ipso facto* void!"

Did the Governor pause—reconsider—shrink? Under these appeals, did he refuse the Oath? Alas, no! His opin-

ion settled beyond the possibility of change—his will fixed, and doubtless from the wounding imputations upon his own judgment conveyed in the remonstrances of the speakers, wrought into the compactness of iron—he rose from his seat—called for the ceremonial—and, with uplifted hand, stood ready to take upon his lips that appeal which invoked the Almighty Ruler of the Universe to help him faithfully to administer—upon his own countrymen and brothers—a Law, which, no matter what his own views of its obligations may have been, was one in fact of surpassing tyranny.

At this stirring moment—moment too near the close of the day, as we are informed by Eliphalet Dyer, when the sun was just hasting to set*—Colonel Jonathan Trumbull—roused to unwonted excitement—his high, massive forehead, as we see it in his portraits, deeply plaited, we doubt not, with grief and resentment—his large, brilliant black eyes, from beneath brows of singular delicacy, flashing fire—his small, firm mouth compressed at once into energy and determination—started from his seat—seized his tri-cornered hat—and, avowing in tones most sonorous, that he would never witness a ceremony which so degraded liberty, and degraded the Colony—he moved—

"Erect, severe, austere, sublime"—

towards the door of the Council-Chamber. Every eye was fastened on his retreating form. Every heart thrilled at sight of his resolute bearing—and following his example, Eliphalet Dyer—words in angry denunciation of the impending ceremony on his lips too—rose also from *his* seat—almost simultaneously with Trumbull—and moved towards the door.† And then Hezekiah Huntington, Elisha Shel-

* "The Council adjourned till afternoon," writes Colonel Dyer, after describing the discussion as having occupied the whole forenoon. "When we met, other affairs came on till near the close of the day, when the Oath was proposed to be administered."

† "I immediately arose, took my hat, and declared openly and publicly that the Oath about to be administered was in my opinion directly contrary to the Oath the Governor and Council had before taken to maintain the rights and privileges of the people. It was an Oath I myself could not take, neither could I be present aiding and assisting therein; and then withdrew, the other gentlemen with me."—*Dyer's Letter.*

don, Matthew Griswold, Shubal Conant, and Jabez Huntington, started also—hats likewise in hand—and, pressing on the steps of their leader, passed with him, one and all, out of the door—on and away from their yielding colleagues and timorous chief—whom they left bewildered and chidden, to execute alone their odious rite—in a chamber which the Patriot Seceders themselves solemnly believed to be a chamber of disgrace.

Act grand and thrilling! Chivalric and sublime its vindication of life, liberty, and property! Grateful and soul-stirring its example for all worshippers of freedom! Rich and glowing its inspiration for the poet's pen, and the easel of the painter!

Act too, which received cordial approbation from the Lower Branch of the General Assembly—for this House also, through a large majority, had but a few days previous pleaded with Governor Fitch against the step he was about to take—and some of its patriotic members went so far even as to agree fully to indemnify him against the impending fine, and against any penalty whatever, so far as they could, on condition that he would refuse all connection with the detested scheme. A Committee of their number eagerly waited on him with this information. It was a short time only after his Councillors had left him, in the manner we have already described, that they reached him—but all too late. The Oath had just passed his lips. The fatal chain had bound him—and the cup of the People's sorrow was full.

But not too full for anger—not too full for a peaceable revenge—for at a General Election, very soon, they almost unanimously threw him, and every Councillor who had abetted him, out of office—consigned them all, indignantly, to the shades of private life—and placing the reins of government in the more resolute hands of Honorable William Pitkin, the Deputy Governor of the preceding year—and exalting the high-souled Jonathan Trumbull to Pitkin's former station—they went on their way rejoicing.*

* "Connecticut, overjoyed at the repeal of the Stamp Act, and applauding its connection with Great Britain, elected as its Governor the discreet and patriotic William Pitkin in place of the loyalist Fitch."—*Bancroft's Hist. U. States, Vol. VI., p.* 14.

CHAPTER VIII.

1764—1770.

State of the quarrel with Great Britain just after the Stamp Act. Trumbull expresses his views concerning it in a letter to Dr. Johnson. His moderation and foresight. His character by Bancroft. Great Britain engaged in forging new fetters for America. Trumbull's opinion of these given in another letter to Dr. Johnson—and in one also to Richard Jackson, a Member of the British Parliament. Thus far a prudent remonstrant, but firm in his spirit of resistance to the obnoxious measures of the day. This spirit begins to vent itself with increased energy, when the tyranny deepens—as shown from his letters to Dr. Johnson and Gen. Lyman in London particularly, and from his correspondence elsewhere. He sends abroad State documents of great importance as regards the contest. He is thoroughly informed of everything passing in England. Is familiar with the politics and condition of Europe generally—but especially with those of France, the proceedings of whose Prime Minister, the Duke de Choiseul, he watches with deep interest. He is made Governor of Connecticut at the close of 1769. His appointment a fortunate one for the Colony. Dr. Johnson's letter upon the occasion

In keeping with the stand taken by Trumbull on the Stamp Act, as described in the last chapter, was his position towards the Mother-Country during the remaining portion of that period of his life upon which we now dwell. And here, fortunately, we shall be able to let him speak, in part, for himself, through the medium of a few letters preserved among his Papers.

There was a short pause in the career of aggression, on the part of Great Britain, against colonial rights, just after the repeal of the Stamp Act. The interval—spite of the adder, in the form of a claim to universal and unconditional colonial submission, that lay coiled in temporary repose within the bosom of the Declaratory Act—spite of the half-suppressed murmurs that mingled with the general transport—was yet one of hope, somewhat, to most of the inhabitants of British America. They sincerely nourished the wish, and contemplated the means, for a thorough reconciliation with the Motherland—for a reconciliation though, that was to be based, fixedly, upon the old and kind relations of

the two countries, and their mutual interests and advantage. On this point—in a letter written June twenty-third, 1767, to Wm. Samuel Johnson, Colonial Agent for Connecticut at the time in London—Trumbull expresses clearly his own, and the prevailing views of his countrymen. After alluding to the quartering of British troops in Connecticut—for which, in February, a demand had been made by General Gage upon the Governor of this State, but which, until duly authorized by the General Assembly, had been refused—he thus proceeds:—

"I have the satisfaction to think, that at this critical juncture it is very happy for the Colony that it is represented at Great Britain by a special agent, so well able to obviate the objections thrown out against us, and set the affairs of America in general, and of this Colony in particular, in so true and just a light, and thereby to prostrate the malign designs of selfish, deceitful, and wicked incendiaries. Great Britain and her Colonies' interests are mutual and inseparable. So long as the Colonies want protection and supplies of necessary manufactures from the mother country, it cannot be their interest to separate, and it is always the interest of the mother country to keep them dependent and employed in such productions, in such industry, in raising such commodities, in performing such services, as will return most benefit to their native country. But if violence, or methods tending to violence, be taken to maintain this dependence, it tends to hasten a separation. If mutual jealousies are sown, it will require all their address to keep the Colonies dependent and employed so as at least not to prejudice the mother country—and it is certainly more easily and effectually done by gentle and insensible methods than by power or force."*

Such were the views of Trumbull, at the period now under consideration, with regard to the proper policy of the Mother-Country towards her trans-Atlantic colonies—views, which, though seasoned with moderation, and expressed with calm-

* "Happy would it be for this country," wrote Johnson to Trumbull in reply, September 14th, 1767, from London—"as well as that of [America,] did all men entertain the same just notions of the mutual and inseparable interests of the two countries which you express, and that those who guide the great affairs of State would found their system upon those ideas, and pursue a conduct conformable to them. Instead of which too many seem to indulge haughty ideas of Empire, and that America should be made entirely subservient to the dignity, plunder and general emolument of this country, and reduced to a state of perfect (I had almost said) dependence upon it, and pay the most implicit obedience to its dictates."

ness, yet imply apprehensions of approaching danger. That some great change "hung over America," says Bancroft—while commenting in his History on the passage just quoted—"could not escape the penetration of the Deputy Governor of Connecticut. A perfect model of a rural magistrate," he continues—finely, in this connection characterizing the man—"never weary of business, profoundly religious, grave in his manners, calm and discriminating in judgment, fixed in his principles, steadfast in purpose, and by his ability enchaining universal respect and the unfailing confidence of the freemen of his Colony, his opinion was formed that 'if methods tending to violence should be taken to maintain the dependence of the Colonies, it would hasten a separation,' and that the connection with England could be preserved 'by gentle and insensible methods,' rather than 'by power or force.'"

But the alternative of force, alas, was chosen. Who would have thought it? Just when Trumbull was expressing the mild views now presented, and dwelling, as if in anticipation of their realization, on kind feelings, and a reciprocity of material exchanges between Great Britain and her Colonies, as the true conservative policy—just too after Shelburne, the gentle Secretary for American affairs, had matured that promising Conciliatory Plan, which condemned the principle of the Billeting Act—put an end to the political dependence of Colonial judges—removed all troops from the principal towns in America to the frontiers of younger States, for their necessary protection—quieted violent State controversies respecting territory—smoothed the settlement of Canadian affairs—broke up the system of squandering American grants and income on worthless Court favorites, and aimed to defray American expenses through an easy and improved system of quit-rents—who would have thought that Great Britain, just at this time, and after all her experience too with the Stamp Act, should have been actually engaged in forging new fetters for America—and in fact should have perfected them?

Yet so it was. "Fear, fear—cowards—dare not tax America!"—exclaimed, in language familiar to the Reader, the eccentric, impetuous, indefatigable Townshend in the British

House of Commons, in reply to the taunting Grenville—"*I dare tax America!*"—and he brought in those his famous bills for direct taxation, for Commissioners of Customs, for Writs of Assistance, and for suspending the legislative power of New York. How Trumbull felt on this occasion, is manifest from the following letters, written by him in the summer of 1768. The first—addressed, doubtless, to Johnson, though to whom does not appear on its face—bears date Lebanon, July first, and in that portion of it germane to our purpose, thus proceeds:—

"The present difficulties that subsist between Great Britain and her American Colonies, look very alarming and distressing—and I fear are heightened by misrepresentations on both sides the water. I think it may be truly said there is no disposition in the Colonists to contend with Great Britain but for what they look upon to be their sacred constitutional rights and privileges. To be taxed for the sole purpose of raising a revenue without their consent, is what they know to be as disagreeable to an Englishman in Great Britain as in America. The establishment of a Board of Commissioners of Customs, with their numerous train of dependents, is novel among us, and our own free mode of collecting taxes so very different, and attended with such small expense, in comparison with this, that the People of the Colonies cannot look with any complacency or satisfaction upon it. The keeping on foot a body of troops in the old Colonies, where they serve no other utility but only to overawe the inhabitants into compliance with something they think grievous and burdensome, is what they are very uneasy with. The mischief, rapine, and villany, commonly prevalent among troops that are kept up in idleness, are such as ever will be intolerable in the Colonies. It has a tendency to destroy the morals of the People, and raise distrust of the good intentions of their Governors in the better sort, and stir up strife and contention among the whole.

"There is an ardent desire and diffusive love of liberty throughout these Colonies, and everything that appears an infringement of it is and ever will be grievous to them. The people are generally virtuous. They have not an inclination to sedition, faction, or disloyalty. They honor their king, love their mother-country, desire to live peaceably, and enjoy the fruit of their own labors. They have at their own expense of blood and treasure subdued and cultivated a wilderness, and contributed what was in their power to the general good. They have supported the government, and readily complied with his Majesty's requisitions—and they have been accustomed to be treated in this way, and make the grants of taxes by their own representatives, and are as fond of that constitutional right as any of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain.

"It is unhappy that those difficulties have arisen, and 'tis needful the occasion for them should be removed early—that they should be obliterated. For a number of judicious, calm, and dispassionate gentlemen to come into America, and go through the several governments, might be serviceable to both countries. It is impossible to have an adequate idea of the genuine temper and peculiar circumstances of this sparse country, without coming among the people, and using more freedom and openness than is commonly used in older countries. They are ever jealous of their liberty, and fear every innovation. They greatly fear the independency of their Governors, and cannot think it reasonable that they should be rendered independent of them for support. They know the difficulties of obtaining redress when oppressed, and that their Governors have the advantage of being heard before them, and their representations attended to, when the remonstrances from the people cannot obtain a hearing, and their attempts to petition the throne for redress of grievances are presently called the voice of sedition, faction, and rebellion."*

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* "Many here," says Johnson in reply, from London, September 29th, 1768—and we quote a passage or two, just to show how well Trumbull kept himself informed of events passing on the other side of the water—"many here seem to be infatuated, and, influenced by vain ideas of Superiority and Imperial Dignity, seem determined to pull down destruction upon their own heads and ours, and regardless of consequences, to plunge the two unfortunate countries into the deepest distress, which however, if it must come, I think we are as well prepared to meet, and more likely to get thro' with than they are. Upon those notions of Supremacy and false Honor are grounded the present prevailing arguments against repealing the late acts complained of in America. We can't, say they, in Honour recede; our dignity, our Supremacy are at stake, and we must abide by what we have done, be the consequences what they may. We have solemnly enacted our right to tax the Colonies; the right of Taxation is essential to our Supremacy; the Americans treasonably deny it, and insist upon the repeal of those Acts as being unconstitutional. We cannot, we must not give up this point to them, but if they refuse to pay obedience to our laws, apply force to compel them. Had they applied upon the inexpediency of the Acts only, or their inability to pay the duty, we would have listened to their complaints, but while they dispute our right, we cannot even hear them.

"Such is the present language here. It may change, indeed it must if Parliament when they take up the matter, enter upon it with that coolness and moderation which becomes so respectable a Body. Much will depend on the state of parties at the opening of Parliament, and whether the Ministry find themselves possessed of a clear majority in the House. Should the Rockingham party in any degree unite with Administration, they will probably soften them with respect to American matters; if with the Grenvillians, as some threaten us that they will, upon this subject, the tide will be turned against us. A few months will now decide it; in the meantime all that can be done is to preserve a just moderation and firmness in that country, and to apply the warmest solicitations in this, and leave the issue to him who disposeth of all events. * * The tumults at Boston are made use of as a powerful argument against the Repeal, and urged as evident proofs of a rebellious disposition in the Colonists, and a formed design to cast off their dependence on this Country. * * The people of Boston have

In another letter, bearing date also July 1768—written, like that just quoted, after the promulgation of that famous Massachusetts Circular, which—embodying in a masterly manner the substance of all the American remonstrances to Great Britain—was designed to promote an immediate and close concert between the Colonies, and was the pre-eminent dread of the English Ministry—Trumbull again gives his views on the existing Quarrel—addressing this time Richard Jackson, Esquire, the English agent in London for Connecticut, and a Member of the British Parliament.

"The unhappy disputes between the American Colonies and our mother country," he proceeds, "look with a very discouraging aspect. The clouds seem to thicken up and blacken upon us. You will see by the papers the unhappy situation of Boston. What will be the end God only knows. You are sensible the people here are virtuous, and not disposed to sedition, faction, and disloyalty. They are fond of the great darling of Englishmen—Liberty—and ever zealous for their natural, constitutional rights and privileges.

"It seems hard that the Massachusetts Province should be so severely handled for endeavoring a happy union of the Colonies in petitioning the King for redress of grievances. I am told no one Colony has failed to present such petition. To be held to pay taxes for the sole purpose of raising a revenue—to render the judges independent of the people for support, and especially for this Colony, which has no expectation that way, to pay for the support of others, appears unequal—and the mode of collection, at so very great expense, by a Board of Commissioners of the Customs, and their long train of dependents, is alarming to a people whose frugal methods of collecting make this the more grievous. * * We shall be obliged to leave off the articles of luxury, as our ability to use them declines. Necessity will constrain us to industry and frugality, which in time may relieve us, but then it seems hard to labor for others to live in idleness and luxury among us, who serve only to suck the blood fresh from our veins, &c."

The letters now quoted state the points of difference between Great Britain and her Colonies with precision, and show Trumbull's own views very decidedly. They thus far, though, exhibit him in the light of a prudent remonstrant.

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great merit for their firmness and zeal in the cause of Liberty; it is only to be wished it might never be disgraced by any ill-judged tumults and violences, which forge the keenest weapons for our adversaries, and which they wield against us with the greatest success."

There is, comparatively, a tone of moderation in his resistance—a tone, however, that naturally resulted from the position of his own native State—a State which—as yet unscathed by any direct application of stringent measures such as afflicted Boston—could look with comparative calmness, therefore, on the course of that susceptible and exasperated city, which had been "chosen," as it were, "to keep guard over the liberties of mankind"—could "so mingle caution with its patriotism," as to compel successive British Ministers "to delay abrogating its Charter for want of a plausible excuse"—and could extort from a British Minister of State for American affairs the gracious declaration that Connecticut had "used its very extraordinary powers with moderation"—might "always depend on his friendship and affection"—and was only faulty in not keeping up a closer connection with the parent country by correspondence, and in neglecting to send over to the Department in England a copy of its Laws.*

Yet the patriot temper of Trumbull, though thus far calm in its manifestations, showed itself ready, if further pro-

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* See Hillsborough's Conversation with Dr. W. S. Johnson, in Bancroft, Vol. VI., p. 112. It was reported by Johnson to Trumbull. The following is an extract from it:—

"I have not seen these things," said Hillsborough, "in the light in which you endeavor to place them. You are in danger of being too much a separate, independent State, and of having too little subordination for this country." And then he spoke of the equal affection the King bore his American subjects, and of the great regard of the Ministers for them as Britons, whose rights were not to be injured.

"Upon the repeal of the Stamp Act," said Johnson, "we had hoped these were the principles adopted, but the new duties imposed last winter, and other essential regulations in America, have damped those expectations, and given alarm to the Colonies."

"Let neither side," said Hillsborough, "stick at small matters. As to taxes, you are infinitely better off than any of your fellow-subjects in Europe. You are less burdened than even the Irish."

"I hope that England will not add to our burdens," said Johnson; "you would certainly find it redound to your own prejudice."

"Thus for two hours together," adds Bancroft, "they reasoned on the rights of Connecticut; and Hillsborough showed plainly his opinion, that its Charter must be declared void, not on the pretence that it had been violated or misused, but because the people by the enjoyment of it were too free."

Bancroft justly styles the correspondence of Johnson, during his agency abroad, "copious and most interesting." It is preserved in the Historical Society of Connecticut.

voked, for a stern outbreak. With the Assembly of his native State—and as in May of the year 1768 this Assembly took occasion, after grave debate, solemnly to affirm—it was his opinion that no application farther should be made to Parliament—that misled, factious, and intractable Body—for relief from the public grievances—but only to the King—lest, peradventure even, the application might imply a concession to Parliamentary authority.* With the Assembly of Connecticut too, at this period, he co-operated heartily in sending, through its Speaker, that warm letter of sympathy to Massachusetts which aided materially to brace up her firmness just at the time when Hillsborough's mandate, commanding this "ringleading Province" to rescind her obnoxious Circular to the American Colonies, was under consideration, in a full House of Delegates, before a crowded gallery—and when the fiery Otis—extolling the sentence that sent Charles the First to the block—contrasting the Puritan days of England with those then passing, when "the people of England," he said, "no longer knew the rights of Englishmen," and the King had "none but boys for his Ministers"—in impetuous tones, and in language that is immortal, exclaimed—"*Let Britain rescind their measures, or they are lost forever!*"

In the passages we are now about to cite—from letters written by Trumbull a few months later than those already introduced—his spirit vents itself, it will be observed, as the progress of events fully justified, with increased energy.

For now those clouds, whose gatherings he noted, had in this interval begun to burst. A Board of Revenue Commissioners had, at Boston, entered on the duties of their odious office. The sloop Liberty of the patriot Hancock—for an alleged violation of the laws of trade—with accompanying demonstrations of resistance on the part of the people—had been seized by armed boats from the British ship of war Romney, and placed under her guns. American seamen, in defiance even of a plain British statute, had been forcibly

* We will petition only the King, declared the Assembly, "because," said they, "to petition the Parliament would be a tacit confession of its right to lay impositions upon us; *which right and authority we publicly disavow.*"

impressed, and hurried on board this his Majesty's floating armament. Two regiments of British troops, under the command of Colonel Dalrymple, had been quartered on the favorite Green, and in the Market Hall and State House at Boston—to enforce with bloodshed, if necessary—in the Metropolis of New-England—the system of British oppression. Fresh British legislation had provided for all active opponents in America of the ministerial policy of revenue, imprisonment and a trial in distant England. All the proceedings of the Colonists, in defence of their rights, had been re-pronounced, in the most solemn forms of British legislation, "illegal, unconstitutional, derogatory to the rights of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, scandalous even and flagitious"—and were, at all hazards, to be made a nullity. America, at any cost of blood or of treasure, was, in the language of the Prime Minister of England, "to be laid prostrate at the feet" of her haughty mistress.

Hear Trumbull now—under these circumstances—as, in the following passages, he vindicates, against British misconstruction and censure, a then recent Petition of Connecticut to the King—as he re-affirms the justice and equity of the old gentle mode of treating the Colonies—denounces the policy of sending troops to Boston—gives assurance of the sincerity, union, and firmness of America in its struggle for freedom—and proclaims its determination to persevere.

"Is it so," he writes January twenty-fourth, 1769, to Johnson in England—"that the Petition of this Colony to the King is founded upon principles, and implies claims and pretensions that do not correspond with the Constitution, and tend to deny and draw into question the supreme authority of the Legislature of Great Britain to enact laws binding on the colonies in all cases whatever? Are there no constitutional rights belonging to the Colonies? Have there not been methods and ways of treatment from the Crown, by the way of requisitions, made many times in consequence of addresses from Parliament, which always succeeded and answered the ends of government, and the Colonies were thereby treated as children, and not as slaves? Why is the method changed? Surely the Colonies, and this especially, have given abundant evidence of loyalty to his Majesty, reverence and esteem of the wisdom, justice, and equity of his Parliament, and affection to our mother country. Reverential fear and filial love towards them have always possessed our hearts. What other kind of love and fear is desired?"

"The troops sent to Boston," he writes Agent Richard Jackson, July seventeenth, 1769—"have answered no good intention. The People of the Colonies are wonderfully united, and firm in adherence to what they coolly and calmly apprehend to be their right. There is no way to conciliate matters better than in the method of treatment always heretofore used. The refusal to hear the united petitions of the whole country heightens the resentments of the Colonies, which still retain warm regards and even fondness for Great Britain. They are firmly attached to his Majesty's person, family, and government, and on free and equal terms, as children not as slaves, will rejoice in a firm and lasting union. If the Colonies are kept in their present form, separate and independent of each other, and treated with kindness and freedom, there can be no danger of any revolt, or of even a distant desire to set up a separate state, commonwealth, or kingdom."

"Americans," he writes again, July eighteenth, 1769, to General Lyman, then in London—"are unwilling to give up their own importance, and become slaves and dupes. The troops sent to Boston, and quartered there the last winter, had not the effect the Administration expected. The spirit of liberty is not abated, and it is a mistaken judgment made of the country that the opposition to ministerial measures is owing to a few hot-headed, factious men. The whole body of the People of the Colonies prize and adhere to their freedom, and [rather than lose it] will go back to their way of living in days of yore, eat, drink, and wear what the land will produce, and they can manufacture themselves. The good women, and even our ladies very readily lay their hands to the distaff, spin our wool and flax, and make such clothing as is warm and decent, and are willing to give up British fineries for American plain dress, with liberty."

Such are specimens of Trumbull's views, down to 1770, of the quarrel with the Mother-Country—and mingled with comment on all public affairs, they were expressed to numerous correspondents other than those to whom we have already referred. Sometimes it was his fortune in this connection, to send abroad State documents of great importance, that were kept concealed from the public in England, and whose communication enlightened the friends of America in Great Britain upon the policy and movements of the British Ministry—as upon one occasion, for example, Letters from Lord Hillsborough to the Colony of Connecticut.* He took

* "I am much obliged to you," says Johnson, writing him from London, Sept. 29th, 1768, "for the Abstracts you have favored me with of the Ministers' Letters to the Colony, which I think it of much use to be acquainted with. They keep all things as secret as possible, and it is very difficult to penetrate into their de-

great pains, it is obvious, to keep himself thoroughly informed of all that was passing the other side of the Atlantic—and by means of correspondents who were highly intelligent and observing.

The acute and indefatigable Wm. Samuel Johnson, for instance—both before, and for nearly two years after Trumbull's accession to the Chief Executive Chair of Connecticut—down to the period of his return to his native land—wrote him constantly. The plans and intentions of the British Government, both with regard to England and America—the character and conduct of the English Ministers, particularly of Lord Chatham, Grenville, Grafton, Lord North, Townshend, Bedford, and Hillsborough—the proceedings and debates in the English Parliament—the opinions, and often the speeches of leading members—these matters—together with minute accounts of the state of territorial controversies then pending in England, in which Connecticut was deeply interested—were the frequent themes of Johnson's communications—as they were also of the letters addressed to Trumbull by Richard Jackson—and for a while also, during the time they were in London, of those from his son Joseph, and his friend General Phinehas Lyman.*

The politics and condition of Europe generally, also attracted Trumbull's attention, and formed the burden of many a paragraph in his own letters abroad, and of those which he received in reply. He was fond of watching the public affairs of the Old World—not merely because they fed his mind with information—but because also he found in them much that bore, directly or indirectly, upon the interests of his native land—and much too that enlightened him as to the general progress or decay of art, science, and civilization, and which, in his view, realized the prophecies of Christianity.

The war, for example, between the Russians and the

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signs. Being acquainted with the course of their correspondence opens at least a part of their plans, and enables one to treat with them as occasion may require, to much better advantage."

* "You, who see what passes in London," wrote Trumbull, in July 1768, to Lyman—"and know both countries, must be able to form a better judgment than we can about the springs of action that side of the water, and your good observation on the subject would be an agreeable entertainment to me."

Turks, which, during the period of his life now under examination, raged in Europe, interested him deeply—both as it affected the American scheme of commercial resistance to Great Britain, and as it seemed to realize in its character and consequences the predictions of Holy Writ—and, therefore, elicited from his pen long comment and speculation in his letters to Johnson in England. The Northern War—Johnson, in 1769, anxiously informed him—had caused a great demand for English goods—had, spite of the American non-importation agreements, kept the English manufacturers alive. The East India Company, he said, were exporting to that quarter of the world—new sources of trade for England were opened in Germany—new avenues for exportation into France. The American merchants, he added, to a great extent, were violating their pledges as to importation from the Mother-Country, especially through the avenue of the West-India neutral ports. This was plain—from numerous trading transactions in London and other parts of England—and was known to the Ministry, was encouraged, and even fully redeemed their confidence in the speedy total failure of the existing colonial scheme of resistance.

All this gave Trumbull deep anxiety—quickened his efforts at home for the strict observation of the American commercial compact—and multiplied the thoughts and the warnings on the subject which he sent across the Atlantic. These were thoughts, however, whose sadness was somewhat counterbalanced by the consideration—to his mind grateful—in his conviction profound—that, while a cloud was resting on the American world, yet on the European there was the brightness of God's Providence—for there—through wars, and in spite of wars—God was working out plainly his own pre-ordained results in regard both to the Turkish Empire, and to the Empire of Rome. "Your conjecture," wrote Johnson to him, January twenty-eighth, 1770, in sympathy with his views on this point, and confirming them—"seems extremely probable, that the great operations now carrying on in the North, in the Mediterranean, and in the Morea, are in the course of Providence preparing the way for the speedy completion of the prophecies relating to the Turkish Empire

as well as the Pontifical tyranny and superstition, both which are on the decline, and seem hastening to their period. The latter is indeed already become contemptible in almost every Court in Europe, and has been obliged to put up with very gross affronts from the Powers which were imagined most devoted to the interest of Rome."

But the politics of France, more particularly than those of any other country in Europe, at this time arrested Trumbull's attention—for there, at the head of the French Government—eager to fan the difficulties of Great Britain with her Colonies into a flame, and intent upon turning them to account—sat the keen, able, far-seeing, liberal, and lynx-eyed Duke de Choiseul.

Painfully aware, as this renowned Prince-Minister was, of the ascendency of the great rival of France both in America and in Asia, it was *his* ambition to reduce English superiority. Taking advantage of her rupture with her colonies, he would have had the latter strike off entirely from their parent State, establish their own independence, and turn the tide of their commerce into the lap of France, and of Europe at large. For this purpose he most carefully scanned their condition—their peculiarities of government, their industrial capacities, their products—their habits, their tones of thought, but especially their purposes, if any, of revolt, their leaders, and their resources for resistance—not forgetting, in the inquisitiveness of his investigations, to study even their newspapers, and the sermons of their Puritan Clergy.* Could he but have realized fully on his own plan—had but the timid and vascilating Court of Spain, whose alliance he earnestly sought, lent to him a willing ear—his own, instead of that of the Count de Vergennes, would have been the honor of having first placed the strong and friendly arm of France beneath the shoulder of struggling America. His

* To collect information, he sent "the able and upright" De Kalb among the American merchants at Amsterdam—and the shrewd and sharp-scented Count du Chatelet among the American merchants at London—and to the French Minister at the English Court, Durand, committed the task of questioning Franklin, and the American agents there generally—while he caused all the proceedings of the English Ministry and Parliament relative to America to be sifted, and reported to himself with strictest accuracy and unfailing vigilance.

"I have now the honor," wrote Johnson to him upon the occasion, from Westminster,* after having alluded to the death of Governor Pitkin†—"sincerely to rejoice with you and the Colony in your elevation to the chief command, and the happy supply thereby of the vacancy—in consequence of which I doubt not the affairs of the Government will be well and wisely administered. Nothing can fill me with greater satisfaction than to find the principal offices of Government filled by Gentlemen of the first reputation for ability, wisdom, and integrity, upon which the honor and interests of the Colony, and its security and happiness, for which I am extremely solicitous, do most essentially and absolutely depend. * * As this event devolves on you the immediate care of the affairs of the Colony, give me leave to congratulate you on the honor which attends so elevated a station, and to wish you all the success and happiness that can accompany the most able and acceptable discharge of so important a trust."

All Trumbull's other offices ceased, of course, with his appointment as Governor, and were never afterwards resumed. No longer Deputy Governor—no longer Assistant and Councillor—no longer a Judge in the Courts—he was to stand thereafter, all-absorbed with duty, at the helm of that Ship of State whose course he had, in subordinate positions, for thirty-six years, so ably aided to manage and guide.

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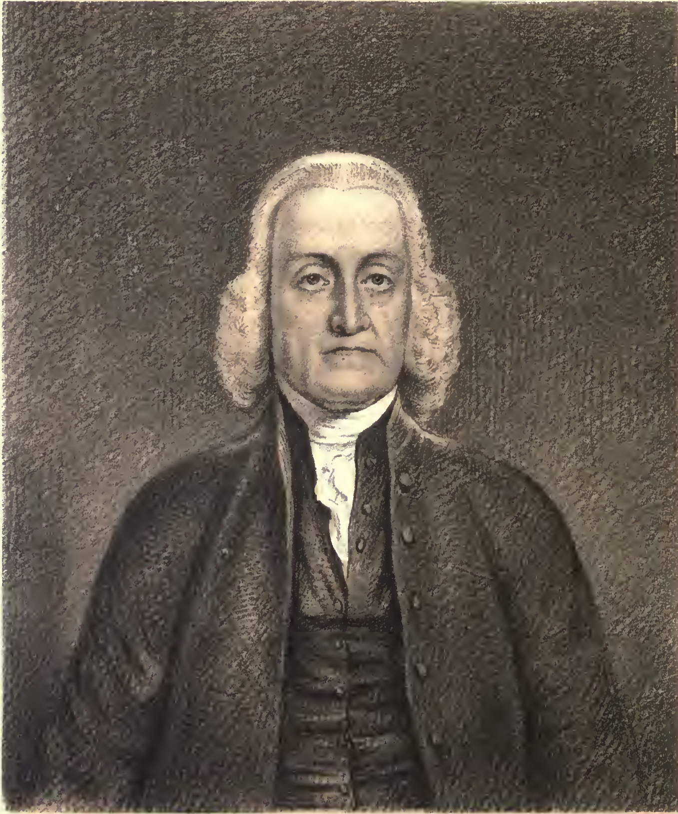
* In letters dated Dec. 5th, 1769, and Feb. 3d, 1770.

† Whom he calls—"a good citizen, a sincere Christian, an upright man, and a zealous-hearted friend to his country."



J. H. Bufford's Lith.

I am Gentlemen
Your Obedient
humble Servant
Jon.th Trumbull

CHAPTER IX.

TRUMBULL'S judicial career—down to 1770—as Justice of the Peace, Judge of the County and Probate Courts, and Chief Justice of the Colony. Testimony of Wm. Samuel Johnson, and of the public on this point.

WE have looked at Trumbull, hereunto, with some particularity, in all his offices save that of Judge—an office upon which, until the time of his appointment as Chief Justice of the Colony, we had but few memorials from which to derive light. Nor do we possess much light now—but what we have—here appropriately, at the close of his judicial career—we shall aim to shed.

The records of the Superior Court, during the three years and forty-five days in which he held the post of Chief Judge—from August twelfth, 1766, to September twenty-sixth, 1769—though, in general, succinct statements merely of cases, comparatively barren of information as to the particular mode in which they were conducted—though they contain no opinions from the Chief Justice expressed at length, no decisions, interlocutory or final, upon points of law or forms and rules of proceeding, and none of the sentences which he was called to pronounce upon criminals—yet they show some important facts bearing on the fidelity with which Trumbull discharged his judicial duties.

There were thirty-nine Sessions of the Superior Court during the time that he presided—held by turns at Norwich, New London, Windham, Hartford, Litchfield, New Haven, and Fairfield—held annually, and occupying each, on an average, from ten days to a fortnight—a few, however, from four days to a week only. At each one of these sessions, without exception, Judge Trumbull was present, the entire time of each session—a fact which speaks well both for his assiduity and his health. By far the largest number of actions that were tried before him—forty-nine out of fifty—were civil actions, almost all of which came by way of appeal from Inferior Courts—the County and Probate Courts—or on writs of error. They were actions for debt, on book

account, on notes, on bonds, and on all forms of pecuniary obligation known in the practice of the day—actions on disputed titles to land—actions on damages to rights in various forms, in trespass and on the case, where the mulct was pecuniary—and actions on wills and the administration and settlement of estates—involving both law and equity, and implying, on the part of the judge, accurate acquaintance with both these great departments of jurisprudence.

Of high crimes and misdemeanors—all of which, in the time of Judge Trumbull, fell exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Court over which he presided—there were six cases of counterfeiting, the most numerous of any on the calendar—five of burglary—four of assault and battery—one of resistance to a tax collector—two of theft—one of blasphemy—one of libel—one of the crime against nature—one of firing a jail—and one of attempted murder—an aggregate of crime for three years and upwards in Connecticut which is exceedingly small, and bespeaks an unusually high state of public morals. Judge Trumbull, therefore, in the sphere of criminal jurisdiction, had comparatively little to do.

Almost as much, in the sphere of the domestic relations—and in one of these relations only, that of husband and wife—underwent his attention—for the records show no less than twenty-two applications for divorce while he was judge. Of these, three were from the husband against the wife, on account of adultery. The rest were from the wife—three for unheard-of absence, or supposed loss at sea, of the husband—one for bigamy, and the residue for desertion—and in every case a divorce was granted, full proof having been made of all the facts. It was an action of this kind—a petition for divorce by Emma Brown, whose husband Abner, having sailed for Antigua, had not been heard of for more than four years—which was the last but one ever tried by Trumbull—the very last—in Court at New London, October fifth, 1769—being an action of trespass on the case—in which Phinehas Stanton of Stonington, demanding "five hundred pounds, lawful money," of Adam Babcock of New Haven, was stayed in his proceedings by a motion on the part of the defendant for an *arrest of judgment*—which forms

the somewhat significant entry, on the records of the Superior Court, at the termination of Trumbull's judicial career.

The criminal laws of Connecticut, in his time, though in general milder much than in the first years of the Colony, had not yet lost all of their primitive severity. It would have been gratifying, therefore, in this connection, had some of Trumbull's dicta and sentences as criminal judge been preserved—as well to show the bearing of his own mind in regard to any amelioration, as in regard also to the practical administration of criminal law. What, for instance, his own views and emotions might have been, when, in cases of burglary, it became his duty to sentence the criminal to be carried back to jail—thence to the place of execution—there to be branded with the letter B upon his forehead, and have one ear nailed to a post, and be whipped fifteen stripes—it would have been interesting to observe. No doubt, however, that though strict in administering the law, he at times somewhat repined at features which he must have wished obsolete—for he was too enlightened not to perceive their revolting harshness, and too prone to temper mercy with judgment, not to shrink from their application.

During his long career as magistrate before he sat on the bench of the Superior Court—in his capacity as Judge of the County and Probate Courts of Windham, he had also much judicial business to perform—all in his circuit that related to the settlement, often intricate, of the estates of persons deceased, and all that involved inferior civil actions, and delinquencies—even, as regards delinquencies, down to the trial, for example, at his own dwelling house at Lebanon, of one Hannah Squaw, an Indian, for a petty theft, and of Cato, and Newport, and Adam, three negro slaves, for "being found abroad, from home, in the night season, after nine o'clock"—whom he sentenced to receive, "seven stripes each, on the naked body, at the public sign post," unless redeemed by their masters through the payment of a fine of seven shillings for each, and the costs. His experience, therefore, in the judicial department, taken throughout, had a wide range—from the humblest to the very highest grade of

duty—the whole range, in short, of Connecticut law and equity.

That he fitted himself well for this duty—availing himself industriously of all the helps which the times afforded, is certain. His early addiction to the study of jurisprudence—just after he had abandoned the pulpit, and betaken himself to civil life—we have already noted. And he pursued this study—as we gather from numerous hints found among his Papers—from judicial authorities carefully collated by himself—from numerous legal and civil documents, in his own handwriting, which are drawn up with professional accuracy—and from the testimony in part of others—he pursued it with fondness, and with such success as to render him, for the day in which he lived, doubtless an accomplished lawyer.

Fortunately preserved, we have on this point the testimony of one of the best jurists and lawyers of America—himself cotemporary with Trumbull, and conversant with his judicial career. We refer again to Wm. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, long the distinguished attorney of Connecticut at the Court of Great Britain—a gentleman who was counsel in the Mohegan, the Susquehannah, the New Hampshire, and other territorial cases of great moment, and who in force of talent, extent of knowledge, acuteness of observation, and soundness of reasoning, was hardly excelled by any man of his day. Writing from London, November first, 1769, to Wm. Williams of Lebanon—after alluding to the prevalence in the Colony at that time of a "Party spirit" from whose attacks, according to information from Williams, not even Trumbull himself, as judge, had quite escaped—he thus proceeds:—

"For the short time I had the honor of practice under his [Trumbull's] Presidency, I sincerely tho't the business of the Court as well conducted as ever it had been, and I really tho't this had been the general sense both of the Bar and of the Suitors, having heard these sentiments expressed by many. Certainly there was as great harmony between the Bar and Bench as I have known, and I believe the Records of the Court will evince as much business to have been dispatched at that time as during any former period; nor can I imagine but that longer experience has rendered him since that time still more able. In the gen-

eral affairs of the Colony, I was a witness to his attention and ability. *Every subject he touched upon, and very few I believe escaped him, received new light and new elucidation from his observations upon it.* In the Mohegan case especially, in which I had very particular occasion to observe everything that occurred, he certainly discovered great extent of knowledge, and exact attention. In that interesting business, and it is as perplexed a one almost as will be met with, I am very certain the Colony and the Proprietors of the land are much indebted to him for his good service."

Such is the strong testimony of Johnson to the judicial, as well as incidentally to the general ability of Jonathan Trumbull—and we find other cotemporaneous evidence also on the same point, which characterizes him as "always the wise and able magistrate"—and "revered in times of peace as an upright judge," as well as "a wise legislator, and a shining example of manners and virtue."

But to his accomplishments for the Bench we should not forget to add here, particularly, his religious character. "It is reserved for Christians," remarks Colton—while commenting on that old sophism—so much dreaded by such a philosopher even as Cicero—which made Justice a nonentity, because a virtue inseparable from a folly cannot be just—"it is reserved for Christians, who take into their consideration the whole existence of man, to argue clearly and consequentially on the sterling value of justice." In this view, Trumbull must have been a shining exponent of the great virtue in question, and a signal refutation of that sophism which would overthrow it—for to his mind an Hereafter was no eternal oblivion, but a living conviction, and an active reality. Justice to his mind, therefore, was "the rudder of all our other virtues"—the great interest of man both on earth and in heaven—"the foundation for social security, general happiness, and the improvement and progress of our race." We may fairly conclude, then, that he labored on its edifice with usefulness and distinction—contributing all in his power "to clear its foundations, strengthen its pillars, adorn its entablatures, and raise its august dome still higher to the skies."

CHAPTER X.

1764—1770.

Trumbull as merchant He enters into a new partnership. The times are out of joint, and clouds darken over his business life. The general course of trade and commerce at this time, and his own in particular. He sends his son Joseph to England. The son's occupation there, and correspondence with his father. Trumbull becomes a whaling merchant. His vessels. He meets with severe reverses—what they were, and how occasioned. His manly conduct in his troubles. It wins the respect of all his creditors. He makes to them a full statement of his pecuniary affairs. This statement. He takes pains, through his correspondence in England, to develop the resources of his native land. The iron ore of Western Connecticut in this connection. He commends particularly the Society in England for promoting Arts and Commerce, and circulates their pamphlets. His creditors forbear to press him. Adversity serves but to stiffen his energies.

Again, Reader, to the department of trade and commerce—again, in this chapter, to Trumbull as merchant—that we may mark the man, so worthy of note, in every channel of his effort. Singular, somewhat, that learning, so almost professional and exclusive, in the times of which we speak, so almost entirely in the hands of the clergy, the bar, and incumbents of literary chairs—should have found its way, so much as it did, into the engrossing avenues of business, and there too trained intellects for higher and mightier spheres of effort. But so it was. If the bar yielded to the American Revolution its Otis, its Quincy, its Jay, its Hamilton, its Henry, its Pinckney, its Rutledge, and its Dickinson—and the farm its Putnam and its Washington—and the healing art its Warren—and the pulpit its Witherspoon—the counter also yielded its Hancock, and its Trumbull—merchant-patriots both—strong-minded, of high cultivation, and illustrious among those who worked out the giant problem of our freedom.

We left Trumbull, at the close of the year 1763, active in mercantile pursuits, and highly fortunate. We have now to see him—from 1763 to 1770—diligent still as ever—but unfortunate. Clouds soon darkened over his business life, and

hung heavy upon it during the remainder of his career. We shall find him, however, in adversity remarkable as in prosperity—nay, more so—for adversity it is which is "the true Touchstone of merit"—

"As Night to Stars, Woe lustre gives to Man."

Early in 1764, he formed a new partnership in trade, with his son Joseph and Colonel Eleazar Fitch, under the partnership name of "Trumble, Fitch and Trumble"—the main stem of the Company being located at Norwich, Connecticut, where his son Joseph went to reside. January ninth, 1764, he announced the new partnership to Lane and Booth, his chief commercial correspondents in London, and stated its readiness "to go on in business"—which, he added, will be attended to "with the strictest honor and punctuality."

The general course and nature of foreign trade in Connecticut, at this time, was nearly the same as we have described it to have been in our former chapter on Trumbull's life as a merchant. It consisted in exporting the various produce of the country to Boston, Rhode Island, Halifax, New-York, and a few other points on the American coast, to be exchanged for European goods found at these places—in exporting also stock and provisions, chiefly, to the West Indies in exchange for the peculiar produce of these isles, and for bills of exchange—in sending a few ships up the Mediterranean with fish—in occasionally building vessels for sale abroad—in voyages at times to parts of Ireland, chiefly with flax-seed, timber, and naval stores—and in a direct trade with various ports in England for English and European goods. About sixty sail of vessels—from sloops of twelve, to brigantines of eighty, and in a few instances of two hundred tons—were engaged in this various commerce.

In most of this trade "Trumble, Fitch and Trumble" participated—the elder Trumbull, as before, still continuing his store at Lebanon, and occasionally, as before, making ventures on his own private account. They traded particularly, among the West India Isles, with Barbadoes—in Ireland, with the firm of Robert and Alexander Jaffray in Dublin, and with that of Francis Goold and Company in Cork—and

in England, particularly with the cities of London and Bristol, and with a new firm of Campbell and Haye at Liverpool. They both built and bought, and they chartered vessels, which very soon after they commenced business came to be many in number,* and made frequent voyages. They sailed from New-London chiefly, though at times also from other American ports, laden heavily with stock or other produce. "And so God send the good sloop to her destined port in safety—Amen"—concluded many a Bill of Lading signed by Nathaniel Shaw of New-London in behalf of the firm of which we speak—and many an insurance upon return cargoes in favor of the same firm—from fourteen hundred pounds sterling on to greater amounts—was taken in the metropolis of the commercial world.

To this metropolis—to "a very good place," as he calls it, "in the centre between the Court and City," on the south side of St. Paul's Church-yard—the younger partner, Joseph Trumbull, repaired in September, 1763†—for the purpose, chiefly, of promoting the business of the firm. And he remained abroad one entire year—establishing new connections in trade—purchasing and shipping goods—seeking commissions for building vessels, and for their sale, and for the construction also of houses and other buildings, especially at St. Kitts and Grenada in the West Indies. He sought contracts also for provisioning some of the British troops. He suggested to his partners at home new articles for exportation, and new forms occasionally for their business—as, particularly, that of manufacturing iron ore. And he executed

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* "I have determined," wrote Trumbull, in January of the year 1764, to Lane and Booth, "to direct my course immediately to you, and have set about building a ship of one hundred and seventy tons, and to lade her with flax-seed, oil, &c., directly for Europe"—and besides this ship which was called the *Neptune*, and cost about two thousand pounds, Papers show that the firm of Trumble, Fitch and Trumble owned the sloop *Alliance*, which cost five hundred pounds—the sloop *Seaflower*, which cost two hundred and twenty pounds—the sloop *Nancy*, which cost five hundred and eighty-eight pounds—the ship *Dublin*, which cost seventeen hundred and nine pounds—and one-third of a sloop called the *Calypso*—besides some other sloops, whose names do not appear, which they built, and with their cargoes sold abroad—in the West Indies, at Bristol in England, and in Ireland.

† Col. Dyer was his companion on the voyage, which was made in thirty-five days.

at times various commissions for his friends in Connecticut—as once we observe as worthy of note, that of procuring papering, "stamped on purpose, very elegant and neat," for what he styles "the grand passage and staircase and best rooms" of his father's house at Lebanon—a plan of all which he requests should be sent him.*

During this period, he kept his father informed not alone of his business transactions, but also of all important events in England—and beguiled many an hour for him at his house in Lebanon, with singularly pleasing and graphic descriptions of English scenery and curiosities—as particularly of the rich fields in the County of Kent—of the noble cathedral at Canterbury—of the royal palaces in London and Windsor—of Westminster Abbey—of Greenwich Hospital—of Kensington Gardens—of his visit to the theatre, and sight of the "really fine-looking" royal family—of the beautiful

* "I believe it may do well," he wrote home in December, 1763, "to build a vessel of about one hundred and thirty tons, double-decked. As to a mixed cargo of oil and flax-seed, I don't know how they will answer, but am determined to make a trip to Ireland, and settle a correspondence at Dublin or Belfast. I shall send out duck and hemp for rigging. I think it best to secure Nantucket for next year if possible. I am looking out here to find who has the contract for supplying the troops in America with provisions, and am determined to secure that if possible, in whole or in part, by getting the contract of those who now have it, or by taking it of the Government.—I have not yet tried Mr. Hinckley's ore. I have been making inquiry for a proper person, and shall soon get it done. The *bag of diamonds* I have tried—they prove to be crystals of very small value."

"I shall soon go to Liverpool and Belfast," he wrote in January, 1764—"and shall contract for flax-seed and naval stores at Belfast, and at Liverpool for salt, Liverpool and Manchester goods, &c."

"I have engaged," he wrote in February, "with Mr. Edward Dixon to build a sloop of sixty tons burden, to be employed in the trade to St. Kitts—to be consigned to him—he to own ¼ part of sloop and cargo. Hope you'll plan her in the best manner for that trade, and have her built well, and as soon as may be—and hope to send out rigging and sails for her with those I send for the snow designed for the Irish trade. One Dr. Bryant has been with me for himself and the Governor of Grenada—they want frames, boards, shingles, &c., for two dwelling-houses, and a large hospital, all to be sent out to that island, together with carpenters and joiners for finishing the buildings—which I hope will prove a good job."

"I shall endeavor," he wrote in April, "to make a market for the new ship in Ireland or Liverpool, as I fancy that a load of flax-seed, naval stores, and lumber, will be the best cargo that can be put into her. If she can't be sold, she must go to Liverpool, and take in salt, and Liverpool and Manchester goods, and so home—when it will be necessary to have some other cargo for her."

seat of the Princess Dowager of Wales, and of his own descent, five hundred feet, into the tin and copper mines of Redneth—into which, he observes, "had Eneas or Ulysses descended," it might well have served "as a foundation for the fables of Virgil or Homer."

In excellent health—having been ailing but once during his entire absence*—and having, from some investigations made at the Herald's Office in London, been led to change the spelling of his name in the last syllable, from *ble* to *bull*—a change which in 1766 his father also adopted—he returned home with Captain Marshall in a Boston packet, in the fall of 1764. He returned, as he says himself, "with eagerness to his dear native country and friends," and sat down with his father in what he hoped would prove "a steady, busy round of sure, and safe, and profitable trade"—a trade to which his father, about this time, added a new feature—that of whaling—to which we have heretofore alluded as one among the business occupations of the latter. It was not, however, with him a principal employment, but an incidental one. He became a whaling merchant to further his trade in oil. Trumbull's own mariners, therefore, hunted that largest fish which welters "in the ocean's trough of brine," and tosses its billows from "its flashing fin."†

But neither his whaling, nor his other extensive commercial enterprises, proved long profitable in the new firm with which he was now connected. The beautiful and auspicious names of the *Neptune*, the *Seaflower*, the *Calypso*, and the *Alliance*, which floated proudly in the winds from the pennants of his vessels, falsified their omens. In 1766 came severe reverses—misfortune after misfortune—loss after loss.

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* "I have been," he wrote in December, 1763, "most terribly poisoned by eating roasted cushoo nuts (a West India nut)—my face was swelled so that I was quite blind for two or three days, and one of my hands was much swelled. The rest of my body was not at all affected."

† "Outfits for whaling," in the sloop Alliance, says one of his business accounts, "£388 : 4 : 10." "Costs in outfits for whaling," in sloop Nancy, says another of his accounts, "£214 : 14 : 1."—"One-third loss, on close of her whaling voyages," says another account of profit and loss on his sloop the Seaflower. "I like the scheme of a whaling voyage very well for both sloops," writes Joseph from London, December 14th, 1763—"if the Alliance can't be sold."

"About this time, when I was nine or ten years old," writes his son Colonel John, "my father's mercantile failure took place. * * In one season, almost every vessel, and all the property which he had upon the ocean, was swept away, and he was a poor man at so late a period of his life, as left no hope of retrieving his affairs. My eldest brother was involved in the wreck as a partner, which rendered the condition of the family utterly hopeless. My mother and sisters were deeply afflicted, and although I was too young clearly to comprehend the cause, yet sympathy led me too to droop."

Here was sad havoc indeed—a volley of misfortunes! The Wedding of Trumbull's Trade was turned, all at once, to "a black Funeral."

From various documents it appears that the losses thus sustained—not taking into account the destruction of vessels themselves—amounted, in the way of cargoes chiefly, to the sum of four thousand and thirty-four pounds sterling, fifteen shillings and four pence. Add to this now the value of the vessels themselves, on the supposition, as Trumbull's son states, that almost every one was swept away—add also damage at this time in other forms, as by bad debts—such as we have found occasionally noted in sums varying from a few up, in one instance, to eighteen hundred pounds—and we have a total of loss which Trumbull and Company sustained at this time that may be safely estimated at from ten to twelve thousand pounds sterling—a sum hardly equal to their existing indebtedness abroad, not to speak of that, more or less, which existed at home—nor to speak here particularly of that, not inconsiderable, which the elder Trumbull had incurred on private account.

It may, at first sight, appear somewhat strange that at this juncture, on united individual and partnership account, his indebtedness should be so large. A moment's reflection, however, will dissipate this impression. In the first place, but for the treacherous ocean, there would have been property afloat almost enough to have met his pecuniary obligations. In the next place, he had property on the land, real and personal, more than enough for this purpose, if it could have been rendered available. But the want of a circulating medium, and of suitable articles for remittance abroad—induced almost entirely, and quite suddenly, by that wretched

policy of the Mother-Country towards the Colonies which almost foreclosed their trade with the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese West India Islands—this cause, together with the general depression and alarm in the business as well as in the political world occasioned by the Stamp Act, and by the threatened enforcement of the old and odious laws of trade and revenue—brought about a sudden revulsion in all American commerce, which overbore almost every American merchant—and under which Trumbull—with no power in his hands of prevention—with no conduct on his own part, as a merchant, which a prudent forethought would not have suggested—suffered incalculable damage.

But how did he behave under these circumstances? With patience—with fortitude—with hope—with an intense anxiety and effort to retrieve his affairs—and with a candor so remarkable in making known, fully and freely, to all concerned, even in the smallest details, his debts and his means, as to command respect and sympathy from his friends in every quarter, and forbearance and thorough confidence on the part of all his creditors.

Conspicuous among these creditors was the firm of Lane and Booth—continued into the firm of Lane, Son and Frazier, in London—to which, jointly and severally with his son Joseph, he owed a debt of three thousand and three hundred pounds. "You may be assured," he wrote this firm, June twenty-third, 1767—and we cite the case as an example of his course towards all his important creditors*—"you may be assured I shall not forget replacing your money in your hands whenever I can collect my outstanding debts, and get them into cash, or anything that will make remittance. I heartily wish my prospects better for doing it soon. Cash is so very scarce that it is almost impossible to collect it for outstanding debts, or by sale of lands." And he goes on to say, that for the purpose of discharging his debt, he had built a sloop, and sent her to the West Indies with horses and provisions, but had been "much disappointed" in this adventure—and that after it, he had been ship-

* As particularly, besides the firm above mentioned, to that also of Champion and Hayley in London, and to Stephen Apthorp in Bristol.

building, in expectation, through this business, by sale of vessels and cargoes abroad, of raising money for his creditors—but that here again "loss and disappointment" had so attended him that he was "determined against any further trials that way." And he goes on farther to state to Lane, Son and Frazier, his resources—all of them, without exception, drawn out into careful detail—down even to his salary, to the books in his Library, and the cows in his barn-fold—an aggregate, he represents, of eleven thousand, eight hundred and sixty pounds—yielding him, by way of income, about five hundred pounds a year—all his own individual property, and on which the incumbrance was but small.

"You may say these valuations are of my own making," he proceeds. "True—but then some of them have been lately made by freeholders under oath, and there is room for large abatements, and yet my creditors are safe, although not well pleased for want of payment. You know how liable all men are to misfortunes. Mine hath been stopping my retailing business, to collect my debts, and going into navigation to help therein, to my injury and loss. In my old way of business I have had success, and to have kept to it would have been happy for me—to return to it is what I crave. It gives me great uneasiness when it is not in my power to answer every reasonable expectation from me. I have, however, the comfort of being conscious that my intentions were always honest, and that it would have given the highest pleasure to me to have discharged every debt at the time it became due; and I think myself bound in honor and conscience to do everything in my power to do it as soon as possible; and if I did not believe fresh credit from you, to return to my old way of business, would be mutually serviceable, I would not ask, or even accept the favor. My late partner, Col. Fitch, has a good estate in his hands.—We are sufferers together. We hope to be able to get through safe, though with loss and damage—with which my son is much chagrined—though he keeps up his spirit and courage, yet it proves very heavy at first setting out. Thus I have opened my affairs to you, and beg your kind answer and advice. The lenity and forbearance I have experienced, emboldens me to hope for a favorable answer."

In another letter soon to the same correspondents, after briefly stating again the causes of his pecuniary misfortunes, Trumbull recounts what he is doing to make his creditors whole. Without the knowledge of Lane, Son and Frazier, he tells them that he has collaterally secured his debt to them. He has a prospect, he says, of selling two valuable

farms for "Mr. Wheeler's Indian School," and, if he does, he will soon remit them funds. He will not put them to the trouble, he adds, of bringing any suit against him—but, if not satisfied, he will convey them more estate, "appraised as the law directs for levying executions."—"I have nothing to dispute," he writes—"you ought to be paid, and I will do everything in my power to bring it to pass." He has been long obliged to take mortgages of land to secure his own debts, he says—since he would not injure his own debtors "by what may be called *hard* crowding," in times when a circulating medium was so much wanting. And he goes on to express the hope that Parliament will soon grant leave for the Colonists to enjoy a good paper currency—that thus, by the relief afforded to specie, merchants in Connecticut may be easily enabled to pay their debts to England. For himself, he concludes—he will "get into his old path of business—begin small, give little or no credit, run no risks," and in this way trusts—with a little forbearance on the part of his creditors—soon to retrieve his condition.

At the same time that Trumbull was thus writing to his business correspondents abroad, he sent his son Joseph again to England, to promote in person the amelioration and settlement of his business—transmitting by him, to his creditors, kind letters from Jared Ingersoll, whose acquaintanceship in England, from his former connections there as the Colonial Agent of Connecticut, was quite extensive, and who cheerfully endorsed all the statements of Trumbull, and employed his influence in soothing his creditors to lenity.

And he did another thing in this connection worthy of special note—as bearing not alone upon the improvement of his own particular business, but on that of Connecticut at large. He wrote personally to many influential friends in England, suggesting methods of developing the resources of his native land—urging their adoption—and commending particularly the efforts in this direction of the Society in England for promoting Arts and Commerce—whose transactions he from time to time procured, and circulated in his own country.*

* "Thus, for example, in 1769, he received a parcel of pamphlets from this source, by the hands of Capt. Billings, from London—on the subject of the man-

"Iron ore of the best quality," he proceeds, for example, in one letter of this description to Jackson of the British Parliament—"appears in plenty in the western part of this Colony, among the mountainous lands by the sides of the Housatonic River. Last summer Capt. Stevens raised a large quantity of hemp—by which it appears that abundance of lands in this Colony will answer for it. Setting us to work too at ship-building, and sending us some good workmen, will be a great encouragement in business. I imagine the more our people are acquainted in England the better, and that mutual advantage will come from it. It must be a great pleasure to gentlemen of your enlarged capacity to help build up and nourish an infant country as this is, and render it a pleasant habitation, and profitable to its mother country, as this certainly will be under proper direction and encouragement.

"Here I cannot forbear the praises justly due to the Honorable Society for promoting Arts and Commerce, for the encouragement given by them—at the same time wishing that many of the ingenious gentlemen, who travel abroad, would take this way, view this rising country, and point out and promote various profitable things here. Would it not give more lasting pleasure than even the tour of Europe?"

Such was the manner in which Trumbull met the calamity of mercantile failure—met pecuniary embarrassments which, in a letter to Ingersoll, he himself describes as "shocking." Was not his course marked by every virtue that would redeem his situation? That it was, the result showed. Not a creditor that pressed him with a suit—not a creditor that took one legal step to secure himself—not a creditor but forbore in any manner to urge his claims on one whose candor, honesty, and earnest, hopeful effort, in his time of distress, were charms, in the way of business security, stronger than any ties which the law, in its fettering severity, could bind around assets, or with oppressive weight hang on the person of the debtor. "Our confidence in your ability to pay us is great," wrote to him Lane and the Frazers, and others to whom he was indebted—"we will wait until you can collect your outstanding debts." And Trumbull—keenly grateful for the lenity he had won—and resolute to reward it, and re-

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ufacture of American potash. They contained the result of two Inquiries made by direction of the Society of Arts—"which it is hoped," wrote Wm. Samuel Johnson, "will be of some use towards perfecting that useful manufacture, and for defeating any frauds which may be attempted to be introduced into it. For which end you will please to diffuse them as generally as you can, into all parts of the Colony."

establish his own credit and property—toiled on unceasingly for the purpose.

But almost in vain—for such was the character of the times—such and so many the obstacles with which a ruinous British policy, as has been suggested, had incumbered American trade—so did British naval commanders, now become revenue officers on board their own ships, harass commerce upon the seas—so did numberless custom house officials vex trade within American ports—so was property in consequence, in New England particularly, depressed, and from want of a circulating medium rendered, save by slow and unfruitful processes of barter, almost inconvertible—that no toil, no assiduity in business could stem the torrent that opposed it. It bore down Trumbull spite of all his efforts—though never to the point of absolute depression. For he still kept up, and for many years subsequent to his failure, continued his small trade within his own immediate home circuit. But his balances in Europe, the larger ones, he was unable to liquidate. They remained against him until the Revolutionary War suspended the possibility of their collection, and in the opinion of Trumbull, at that time, cancelled their obligations, so far as British creditors were concerned, but not as concerned the American public—as we shall have occasion, under aspects somewhat singular, to notice hereafter.

Thus, as now described, did misfortunes serve but to show Trumbull in a noble light—to awaken honorable sensibilities—to expand in his bosom the flame of effort—to stiffen his energies, and nurse him for other, and severer, but far more grateful trials. The Oak did not yield to the axe's edge, but lived to give shelter and repose to the imperial Eagle of Liberty!

CHAPTER XI.

1770—1775.

GENERAL view of the period embraced in this chapter. At the outset of Trumbull's administration there is a more cheering state of things—particularly for Connecticut. One important interruption, however, which was carefully composed by the Governor How it was done. The repose continues. This interval seized to look at Trumbull in the sphere of his public duties, aside from the American struggle. And here his Election Speech in 1771—and the Susquehannah Controversy. The management of this famous controversy devolves almost entirely on himself. He states the Case. Abstract of this Statement. The Case remains unsettled when the Revolution commences, but is afterwards determined. The result. Trumbull waived its further agitation at the outbreak of the Revolution, in order to promote union and harmony among the Colonies.

THE period in Trumbull's life, from 1770 to 1775—from the Boston Massacre down nearly to the Battle of Lexington—next commands our attention. It is one—in a political view, as regards the quarrel with the Mother-Country—of comparative repose in all the Colonies, during its first three years, save in Massachusetts—where, particularly—from peculiar causes—the great questions of American Liberty were almost incessantly agitated, and excitement the while kept high.

Not, however, that the people of other colonies were at all forgetful of the great contest between parliamentary and ministerial authority on the one hand, and colonial rights on the other—they were not. They noted constantly the principles which Massachusetts was so especially active in sustaining. The blood shed in the King Street of her metropolis by Captain Preston and his company of British troops—the garrisoning of her provincial fortress in Boston harbor by a British force, and the frequent presence in her port of armed British vessels, to overawe the town—the refusal of her Governor to give his assent to a tax-bill, which in common with other citizens, assessed the royal commissioners and other

officers of the customs—the remonstrances at this "alarming" course by the Massachusetts Assembly and people—the grant of a salary of fifteen hundred pounds per annum to Governor Hutchinson, and soon of salaries to the Judges of the Superior Court, by the king, independent wholly of any colonial appropriations, and of course of any colonial control—the traitorous correspondence between Hutchinson, Oliver and others, and the British Ministry—all these leading events and exigencies in the Massachusetts struggle—together also with that startling cotemporaneous clash in Rhode Island between the citizens of Providence and the British armed schooner Gaspee—met with anxious consideration at the hands of every American Colonist. And by no one were they more carefully watched than by Governor Trumbull himself. Upon no mind—stirred as it had already been, profoundly, by past collisions with British power—did they make deeper impression, or leave a more ineradicable sense of wrong.

But the outset of his administration as Governor of Connecticut, was distinguished, during the present period, by a different and more cheering state of things than that to which we have now alluded. At this time—January second, 1770—he received from England—from the watchful Johnson—the gratifying intelligence that those "dark approaching clouds," which just before Trumbull assumed his new station, seemed ready "to burst upon the Massachusetts Colony," and "spread destruction upon neighboring Colonies, and especially in Connecticut," were now "in good degree dissipated." Such "confident assurances from government, in favor of Connecticut," reported Johnson, had been obtained, as justified the belief that she "had nothing to fear," except what related to the decision before the King in Council of her Mohegan Cause. Even Lord Hillsborough, he said, had affirmed that the Colony might "be at peace for the present"—and that nothing done with respect to Massachusetts should "involve" Connecticut. And even as to the old Bay Colony there was hope, he further said, that the design of altering her Constitution, for which a Bill had been prepared, would "be laid aside"—"so strong at the time were

the remonstrances against the Bill—such the peculiar situation of public affairs in England—and such," Johnson said he must in justice add, was "the moderation of his Majesty's ministers."—"Blessed be the God of all salvation!"—he exclaimed, in view of this state of affairs, so unexpectedly promising.

Promising it was indeed, at this particular period, so far as Connecticut is concerned, in all respects save one. There was one jar upon the seeming harmony of her relations with the Mother-Country, which, for a short time, was somewhat startling, and called for the special interposition of her Governor.

For the necessary protection, as it seemed, of her own commercial interests, she had passed a law imposing duties on all goods imported into the colony by any persons who were not inhabitants—and this law attracted the attention, and drew down upon her the censure of the Board of Trade in England, and of the Ministry. Connecticut had no power to pass such a law, they said. It was striking at the right of Britons to import directly from the Mother-Country. At least Britons, if not inhabitants of the Colonies, should have been excepted from its operation—and intimations were given out that it would be declared void by the King in Council—or that Connecticut would be enjoined by a decree of Parliament to repeal it—and that the Colony, in future, would be compelled to send home all her laws, of whatever character, for the royal approbation or disallowance. Of all this Johnson gave particular information to Trumbull. Induced by the offensive Impost Law, he added—in words of warning—they are already here in England reviewing and striking at other laws of the Colony—and even at its precious Charter.

To the danger of which he was thus notified, Trumbull gave instant heed. He wrote to Johnson explaining the nature of the law to which exception had been taken. He showed that its provisions were intended, in the way of self-protection, to apply especially to those Colonies, in North America, adjacent to Connecticut, whose commercial policy was thought to be adverse to her interests—and urged that

every soothing explanation should be made to the English Ministry, and a little time allowed for the Colony to try the law—or, should it not be found useful and legitimate, for herself, through her own General Assembly, to effect its repeal.

"Lord Hillsborough," wrote Johnson in reply to the Governor, March nineteenth, 1770—"has been prevailed upon to lay aside for the present the plan of laying the complaint relative to the Connecticut duty before the King in Council, and to give the Legislature of the Colony opportunity to correct it if they think proper, which I insisted he ought in justice to do before any proceedings were had upon it here. You will therefore, if you think proper, suggest it to their consideration. I have never been able to see the Act, tho' I have repeatedly applied for it, but have heard no other objection to it than that it should have excepted goods imported directly from England by British subjects, that is, inhabitants of Great Britain, for it has not been denied that we may restrain inhabitants of other Plantations from importing goods there, even directly from Great Britain. If that amendment were made, it would I presume obviate every objection. I have very cautiously avoided giving any assurances that any alteration at all will be made, and only contended that there should be opportunity given to do it, if the General Assembly should think proper, to whom it must be referred. I have no doubt they will do what is wise and fit with regard to the matter."

And so the General Assembly did. At their May Session in 1771—upon wise instigation from their Chief Magistrate—on the ground that "the provisions of said Act prove not beneficial to the inhabitants of this Colony," as in their Records they say, and on this ground alone—they repealed it—and so one stumbling block in the way of concord between Connecticut and England, which for a time threatened to become a serious one, was entirely removed. "It is hard," said Trumbull, about this time, "to break connections with our mother-country"—and he was willing, as we see, in the case of an Impost Act which proved of no service to Connecticut, and was an offence abroad, to strike it from the Statute Book of the Colony. But when that Mother-Country, he added, with his eye upon claims that could not be borne, "strives to enslave us, the strictest union must be dissolved."—"And as he looked through the world," remarks Bancroft, "he exclaimed, the Lord reigneth, let the earth

rejoice, and the multitude of isles be glad thereof; the accomplishment of some notable prophecy is at hand."

But, as already intimated, the time had not yet quite arrived for the display of forcible resistance. Great Britain—by refraining, to a considerable extent, from the enforcement of her violent measures in other Colonies than that of Massachusetts—by withdrawing her obnoxious duties on all the articles enumerated in her American Revenue Act of 1767, except the duty on tea—that "one tax, the King's fixed rule, to keep up the right"—by virtual promises, through a Circular sent to all the Colonies, to impose no other—by propositions and professions, on the part of her leading Minister, Lord North, that seemed sincerely conciliatory—and by earnest assurances to American General Assemblies, through the Governors of Virginia and New York, that the King, avoiding thereafter all oppressive acts, "would perfect the happiness of his people"—by these means Great Britain managed to soothe a little the general spirit of discontent, and create a pause in the gathering storm.

The dispute about the Billeting Act had ceased entirely in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It never had created any practical difficulty in Connecticut—for here, in the due exercise of her constitutional authority—by virtue of her own independent legislative power—with commendable prudence, with "good conduct" that had extorted praise even from the British Ministry—a Billeting Act of her own had been enacted, which not only "passed without censure," but was "generally approved."* And late even as May 1771, Connecticut revived the Act, and extended its operation over "until the rising of the General Assembly in October next ensuing."

In fact, at this time, there was a general tendency in America to conciliation. Even in Massachusetts, at the first meeting of the General Assembly in 1771, "loyalty visibly prevailed, and the decided patriots were in a minority."† In

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* Johnson to Eliphalet Dyer, Aug. 5th, 1767.

† Hutchinson, from Boston, reported "a disposition in all the colonies to let the controversy with the kingdom subside. Hancock and most of the party," he said, "are quiet, and all of them abate of their virulence, except Adams,

truth, it may be said, there was tranquility in America, at this time, almost universally—to be broken only when the detested East India shrub should be brought to find its grave in the harbor of Boston, and from Kennebec to the river of Savannah, a whole people should rise to vindicate the freedom of a commercial port, and the life of a doomed city, and a patriotic old Commonwealth.

Let us embrace this interval then, to look at Trumbull in the sphere of his public duties aside from his connection with the great American struggle. We shall note his Revolutionary connections by themselves—but first, now, let us view him as Governor of Connecticut, and in the discharge, as such, of his ordinary duties, during the five years which preceded the Battle of Lexington.

And here, save in his relations with the Susquehannah Case, and with the Mohegan Controversy, we find little worthy of very special note. He was elected to office with great unanimity, and performed its duties with quiet fidelity. Of the manner in which he accepted it, and his tone of feeling upon such an occasion, the following brief Speech—such as he was accustomed to make, upon an election, to the General Assembly—is a good example.

"Gentlemen of the Freemen"—he said, on being chosen Governor in 1771. "It is with peculiar satisfaction and pleasure, that I have this day seen the exercise of the inestimable blessing of Freedom, which our renowned and highly venerable Fathers obtained, secured, and through several generations and various struggles have safely transmitted to us.

"Rulers freely elected by and from yourselves—I take this opportunity of acquainting you that I have had the most grateful sense of the

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[Samuel]" who, he remarks, "would push the continent into a rebellion to-morrow, if it was in his power."—"The people," wrote Johnson from Connecticut to Wedderburne, after his return from his agency in England, "seem to be weary of their altercations with the Mother-Country; a little discreet conduct on both sides, would perfectly re-establish that warm affection and respect towards Great Britain, for which this country was once so remarkable." Governor Eden, from Maryland, warmly congratulated Hillsborough on the return of confidence and harmony. The Southern Governors felt no alarm. New York had been propitiated by the grant of authority to issue colonial bills of credit, and her loyalty "grew apace." Her merchants agreed to a general importation of all articles except tea. Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, had all increased their own imports. Pennsylvania and New England imported nearly one-half as much as usual.

honor done me by this election to be Governor in and over this Colony for the year ensuing.

"That impressed with a deep sense of my own unworthiness, and the fresh obligations laid on me, for his Majesty's service, and the best good and welfare of this People—with humble reliance on the all-wise Governor of the World, for his divine direction and guidance, I accept this trust—and ask your present and continued supplications at the Throne of Grace, that wisdom, prudence, and discretion may be given answerable to the day, the work, and the duty assigned me."

Thus sincerely did the Governor, as was his wont, express pleasure in the old colonial freedom—thank his constituents—and rely on Providence. The Speech, just quoted, is highly characteristic of the man.

It was not long after his second election as Governor before the claim of Connecticut to the Western Lands—those lying west of the Delaware River—came to be seriously agitated. Hence originated what is known in history as the *Susquehannah Controversy*—a controversy remarkable for the great territorial interests which it involved, the profound investigations to which it led, and its ultimate result—after several intervening untoward decisions—in a recognition on the part of Congress of the Connecticut claim—to an important extent—and the consequent establishment for this State, of its invaluable School Fund.*

Governor Trumbull was early appointed by the General Assembly—in connection, at the outset, with Secretary George Wyllys, and afterwards with others—to establish this claim. He was instructed, first, to search into all land titles granted

* Connecticut never forgot that its Charter bounded its territory by the Pacific. "Its daring sons," remarks Bancroft, "held possession of the Wyoming Valley; and learned already to claim lands westward to the Mississippi"—seven or eight hundred miles in extent of the finest country and happiest climate on the Globe. 'In fifty years,' said they, 'our people will be more than half over this tract, extensive as it is; in less than one century, the whole may become even well cultivated. If the coming period bears due proportion to that from the first landing of poor distressed fugitives at Plymouth, nothing that we can in the utmost stretch of imagination fancy of the state of this country at an equally future period, can exceed what it will then be. A commerce must and will arise, independent of everything external, and superior to anything ever known in Europe, or of which an European can have an adequate idea.' Thus the statesmen of Connecticut pleased themselves with pictures of the happiness of their posterity; and themselves enjoyed a vivid vision of the glory of the New World."

to Connecticut by charter, and into all grants in any manner affecting this Colony, and report what he might discover—second, to collect all the evidence in favor of the Connecticut claim, and all against it, and transmit the same to the Colony's Agent in Great Britain, that it might be laid before counsel learned in the law for their opinion thereon—third, to instruct the said Agent how to proceed, as the exigencies of the controversy might demand, and to confer with Governor Penn of Pennsylvania on the subject, with Congress, with Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson, and with all others whose interest or agency in it was important, and procure a Petition to his Majesty respecting it—fourth, to appoint suitable persons to ascertain the latitudes and longitudes of the north and south lines of the Colony, upon the Western Lands, in such places as they should find necessary—fifth, to issue Proclamations against squatters on lands—and lastly, to take all steps necessary and proper for stating and prosecuting the Connecticut claim.

In pursuance of instructions thus received, Governor Trumbull applied himself to the task. And an onerous one it proved, for the substantial duty was all performed by himself—and with a patience, and thoroughness, which reflect the highest credit upon his ability as a lawyer, logician, and draughtsman. Fortunately his Paper on this subject—entitled the *Case of Connecticut Stated*—remains, just as he wrote it—to tell the story of his investigation. It is the same that was prepared for transmission to England, to be submitted to the judgment of Thurlow, the accomplished Attorney General of England, of Alexander Wedderburne, the King's Solicitor General, of J. Deming, afterwards Lord Ashburton, and of Richard Jackson—all of them men of profound legal science, and of the highest reputation in their profession.

He starts with setting forth, so far as is necessary for the purpose in hand, the original Patent of New England from James the First—the incorporation by him of the Council of Plymouth—the grant by this Council of Massachusetts—a renewed patent of the same by Charles the First—and the derivative grants from these prior patents of many tracts of country, and among these, particularly, of Connecticut.

He then shows, that—the Dutch making claim—a boundary line was established between New Netherlands and Connecticut—but that the right to lands on the Delaware was then left undetermined.

Next he shows the Connecticut Petition to the King—the Charter and its result, extending Connecticut west "to the south sea"—and the consequent union of Connecticut and Newhaven. King Charles' Patent to his brother the Duke of York—covering Maine, Long Island, and the tract of Hudson River—is now proved not to extend to lands west of the Delaware. The claim of the Dutch, by the passage of Hudson up the river that has taken his name, is denied. So also is any claim of the Swedes. The dispossession of the Dutch at New York by a force sent from England—the establishment of a boundary line between New York and Connecticut by Commissioners then sent out for the purpose—the recovery of New York by the Dutch, and its subsequent restoration on a treaty of peace to the English—all these particulars—together with the Patent granted by Charles the Second to William Penn, and with an agreement between New York and Connecticut that was confirmed by King William in Council, but which did not touch territory west of the Delaware River—are described and commented upon with great force.*

He concludes his elaborate document—in summary of the whole—with stating, first, that the lands west of New York remained in possession of the original Indian proprietors until they conveyed them to the Susquehannah, and other companies, under Connecticut—second, that under her Patent and Charter, Connecticut continued to claim the lands in controversy, and had settled the same as fast as the nature of things would admit—and third, that whereas Pennsylvania was still urging her claim, under color of a Patent that was granted nineteen years after that of Connecticut, and under the allegation that Connecticut was estopped by the settlement of New York, therefore, to end the dispute, the three

* "With great labor and researches," says Trumbull himself, in a memorial of his own.

following questions should be propounded to legal gentlemen in England, viz:—

1. Do the words "actually possessed and occupied," in the old Patent, extend to lands west of the Dutch settlements?

2. Has the Colony of Connecticut a right of pre-emption and title, within the bounds of their Patent, west of New York, notwithstanding the agreement with New York as to boundaries, and the Charter of Pennsylvania?

3. What course of proceeding is it legal and expedient for Connecticut to pursue?

The answers by the law counsellors of England to the questions thus proposed, avouched the excellence of the document prepared by Trumbull. To the first they answered, that the words in question did not extend to lands west of the Dutch settlements—to the second, that the settlement with New York had no effect on other claims, nor could the grant to Pennsylvania affect what had been granted previously to Connecticut, but that an actual settlement by Pennsylvania might create a doubt—and to the third, that an amicable agreement with the proprietors of Pennsylvania was the proper recourse—or, if this was refused, an appeal to the King.

Neither of these resources were of avail, however, to settle the difficulty. The Revolutionary War cut off the last. Governor Penn—though appeal was frequently made to him, through special Commissioners appointed by Connecticut, and also by Governor Trumbull*—refused all negotiation on the subject. So Connecticut went on and extended her jurisdiction to the settlers on the contested lands—and incorporated them into a township as a part of Litchfield County, by the name of Westmoreland—and the contest remained in suspense for many years. But the assertion of title, made in the

* "It is the duty of our Governor and Company," wrote Trumbull to him, March 24th, 1774, "in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them, to assert and support the rights of this government and its inhabitants. They do not look upon themselves as chargeable with any fault for the exercise of jurisdiction over the people who inhabit land they have good reason to think themselves entitled to by legal purchase from the aboriginal true proprietors thereof, and hold the primary possession under the right of pre-emption, for the benefit and within the limits of this government."

manner we have described—and chiefly by Trumbull himself—was indeed "a happy circumstance." For it resulted at last—save in regard to a small strip of territory at present included in Pennsylvania—in an acknowledgment by Congress, after the Revolution, of that title which rescued for *old* Connecticut that fine tract of country in Ohio known as *New Connecticut*—known also, in honorable baptism, as *Trumbull County*—and it secured the means, in consequence, as has been already suggested, for the establishment of her magnificent School Fund. Education in this State, it is obvious, owes much—very much—under this aspect, to the exertions of Governor Trumbull.

It is a striking and pleasing feature in his connection with the controversy under consideration, that—though deeply involved in it, from duty, study, and conviction—though his pride as an investigator, as a logician, as a lawyer, and as the Chief Magistrate of Connecticut, was all thoroughly enlisted in educing a result that should conform to his own opinion—yet—the moment the great struggle for American Independence commenced—for the sake of harmony among the Colonies at large—he desired anxiously to waive the controversy for the time—to hold it in abeyance for some future fitting period.

"Do not hasten the case," he wrote in March 1775, to Thomas Life, the English agent for Connecticut in the matter—to whom previously he had been communicating instructions with great regularity, and from whom he had received Office Copies, exemplified in England, of various patents bearing on the subject—"do not hasten the case, most important though it be, in a day of so much difficulty and increasing distress as the present between the two countries, which every wise and good man wishes to have speedily terminated."

"I lament," he wrote the President of the American Congress, in November of the same year—requesting the special interposition of Congress to put a stop to the altercations then existing between Pennsylvania and Connecticut—"I lament that interested individuals, joined with the enemies of the rights of the Colonies, have at this time such an handle to cause division and mischief on that head. It is far from our design to take any advantage in the case from the present unhappy division with Great Britain. Our desire is that no advantage be taken on either side; but at a proper time, and before competent judges, to have the different claims to these lands litigated, settled, and determined; in

the mean time to have this lie dormant, until the other all-important controversy is brought to a close. The wisdom of the Congress, I trust, will find means to put a stop to all altercations between this Colony and Mr. Penn, and the settlers under each, until a calm and peaceable day. The gun and bayonet are not the constitutional instruments to adjust and settle real claims, neither will insidious methods turn to account for such as make them their pursuit."

How praiseworthy the course thus pursued! Trumbull's patriotism would permit no inter-colonial controversy—no matter how profound the interests involved—to interfere while the great dispute with the Mother-Country remained unsettled. Peace at home, at all events, was his anxious wish, in the day when discord reigned abroad. The quiver for American defence, in his view, should not contain one arrow to poison American harmony, or wound American strength.

CHAPTER XII.

Trumbull and the Mohegan Controversy. The origin of this controversy. Claim of Connecticut Claim of and for the Mohegans. Attempted settlements of the case. Its management, just before and after he became Governor, devolved chiefly on Trumbull. His fitness for the task, from long experience in Indian affairs, and with those of the Mohegans particularly. In 1769 one of a Committee appointed by the General Assembly to visit these Indians, and examine and report upon their condition. The manner in which he performed his task described by himself in a letter to Wm. Samuel Johnson. His exertions roused attention to the appeal of 1766 on the Mohegan Case, and caused it, in January 1770, to receive a fresh hearing before the Lords in Council. A motion to dismiss it made and refused—and another hearing ordered. A dark hour for Connecticut on the case. Trumbull, however, makes preparation for it, and presses the General Assembly to fresh effort. He accumulates all the resources of defence, and sends them over to England. The chances of the trial are still against Connecticut—but it terminates favorably to the Colony The elder Winthrop's Journal in this connection. Trumbull copies it, and causes it, for the first time, to be printed. And here his care generally of valuable papers and public documents. The Trumbull Papers in the Historical Society at Boston. His interest in statistical inquiries. He replies to the Queries of the British Board of Trade.

At the same time with the Susquehannah Case, Trumbull had on his hands another important territorial controversy—which, "founded in disaffection, and matured in resentment," for upwards of seventy years, more or less vexed the repose of Connecticut, and exacted at times her strictest care. Originating in a difference between the Mohegan Indians and the Colony touching title to certain tracts of land in New London, Windham, and Tolland counties, which comprehended in all not far from eight hundred square miles—and industriously fanned, so far as the Indians are concerned, by the descendants of Major John Mason, who claimed the guardianship of these Red Men—and by Daniel Clark, Nicholas Hallam, Major Palms, Major Fitch, and a few other white settlers, who had conceived the project of obtaining large tracts of territory from the Indians for themselves—it kept

the Colony at times at enormous expense,* and in a state of almost perpetual anxiety and suspense.

Connecticut claimed the lands in dispute on many grounds—by conquest from the Pequots—by virtue of a deed from Uncas in 1640—of another, in 1660, from Major John Mason, her own commissioned agent—by numerous agreements and concessions of the Indians themselves—by two general acquittances or releases to the Colony, from all charges, by Sachem Ben Uncas—by long possession, administration, and use—and particularly, by grants from the Colony, as of acknowledged right, to numerous purchasers, six or seven hundred even in number, some of whom had settled whole townships, and whose ejection would cause infinite suffering.

The Mohegans, on the other hand—those of the Mason party, who had been stimulated by white men interested in prosecuting the title against the Colony—claimed that there were no considerations, or but trifling or fraudulent ones, for the deeds and settlements in favor of the Colony. They claimed that they had never sold their lands in mass to the Colony—that Connecticut had been unjust and cruel towards them in depriving them of their favorite Hunting-Grounds—that Major Mason's surrendry to the General Court merely gave up the "jurisdictional right," and not the title to the soil—that the lands in fact had been "trusted" to Mason and his descendants for the sake of their guardianship of the rights of the Indians—and, in short, that they were a free people, entitled as such to all the rights of ownership, use, and sovereignty, within the disputed territory.

Commissions appointed by the Crown, sitting now at Stonington, and now at Norwich, Courts of Review, and Colonial Committees, at various times decided on these rival claims—once in 1704, through Dudley's Court, and by an outrageous *ex parte* proceeding, against the Colony—again in 1721, in 1738, and in 1743 particularly, in its favor—but with con-

* "What I at present most regret is the enormous expense that attends it [the case,] which is greatly enhanced by these unfortunate delays, and exceeds even all I could have imagined."—*W. S. Johnson to Trumbull, from London, June 28th*, 1770.

stant appeals to the Crown, on both sides—the Masons and their white and red confederates in this cause generally leading the way, and for the reason, quite apparent, that upon almost every trial of their claims, decisions had been rendered against them.

An appeal of this sort, made by the Mason party against the judgment of 1743, to the King's Council, and freshly brought before the Lord's Commissioners for Plantations in 1766, was still pending when Trumbull, late in 1769, was advanced to the gubernatorial chair. Upon him, therefore, principally, as the Chief Executive of the Colony, devolved the duty of managing the case in its behalf—of collecting evidence concerning it—of instructing agents both at home and abroad—of providing funds for its prosecution—of soothing discontented opponents within the Colony, and defeating their machinations, in connection with the controversy, with enemies of Connecticut outside of its limits—of quieting grantees of the disputed lands—and of conciliating the Mohegans themselves. Upon him also farther devolved the duty of defending these Indians in the possession of such territory as, by reservation, was clearly their own—and of checking their quarrels with each other, and their feuds also now with the white settlers of New London, now of Lyme, now of Norwich, and now particularly with those of their favorite Hunting-Grounds, the town of Colchester—whose proprietors, the Indians alleged, had obtained them for the paltry consideration of five or six shillings only, and when their Sachem who parted with them, the heedless Oweneco, was drunk.

Governor Trumbull was remarkably well fitted for this task—both for the argument, and for the conciliation which it required. He was already familiar with the case, and with Indian affairs generally. In 1766, when it lay by appeal before the Lord's Commissioners for Plantations in England—with Jabez Huntington for a colleague—he had then been specially employed by the General Assembly to "inquire into it, and consider what was best to be done," either by the Colony, or by those who possessed the disputed lands—sixty-four landholders in the North Parish of New London, one hundred and twelve in Colchester, and twenty-nine in Ne-

hantic, being then included as defendants, in the appeal of the Mason party to the King. And he then gave the case close attention—visited the Mohegan Indians in person—examined their claims—strove to soothe their discontents—collected testimony—and reported the appointment of a special Agent, with a Committee of the General Assembly to assist him, who should be sent to England for the purpose of aiding the regular agent of the Colony there, Richard Jackson, "in preparing, soliciting, and managing" the case. And Wm. Samuel Johnson was accordingly appointed.

In service quite similar, seventeen years before, in 1749, he had been employed by the Colony with the Stonington Indians—to determine a claim to controverted lands. And in this case, perceiving that advantage had been taken of the ignorance and poverty of the Indians, by one Isaac Wheeler and family, to do them wrong, he reported that the former had good cause for complaint. They had just right, he affirmed, to use and improve, and keep their stock upon that reservation of two hundred and eighty acres which had been assigned to them—and a guardian, he added, ought to be appointed over them to see that they had the liberty of such improvements, and that justice should be done them.

So again—in May of that same year in which he was appointed, as we have just seen, to review and report upon the Mohegan Case—he was also appointed to inquire into the condition of the Indians of Groton, and report upon grievances and claims which they also had presented to the General Assembly. And in this case too he found the Indians, mainly, in the right—and reported to this effect—that they suffered unjustly—that their lands were intruded upon—that they were without suitable provision for schools and religious instruction—and that a special Committee, with money in their hands from the Treasury, ought to be established to go among them, and provide for their relief, and for their christianization.

So again, in 1769—renewedly upon the Mohegan Case—Trumbull was appointed, with others, to visit the Indians of this tribe, at a time when the succession to their sachemdom was in dispute. He was to acquaint them then with the decision of the General Assembly in favor of Isaiah Uncas for

their sagamore, and with all that the Colony had done for the first Uncas and his successors. He was to inform them of the state of the suit then prosecuting in England by John Mason, and with the releases in favor of the Colony which had been extended by the first Ben Uncas and his people. He was to soothe the differences which agitated the tribe—procure a division of the lands—and "search for, procure, and send" to England, accompanied with such suggestions as himself and the Committee should deem proper, all papers relating to the great controversy then pending.

How he executed this task will be manifest from the following letter, which, he addressed to Wm. Samuel Johnson, the special agent for the Colony, in London, upon the case.

"On Monday last," he writes—"Jabez Hamlin, and William Hillhouse Esqr., with myself, attended at Mohegan by direction of the General Assembly, to inform the Indians of the transactions between the Governor and Company of Connecticut, and the principal Sachems of the Mohegan Indians; for which purpose I drew up the inclosed statement of the same, with the transactions with Major Mason, and with others relative to Colchester, Lyme, and the land lying between New London and Norwich—thereby to show them that justice and kindness done by the Colony to them, from the first coming of the English here to the present time; to mention to them Uncas's genealogical account of himself, by which it appears that he and they are really of Pequot-blood, the whole land conquered, and Uncas's whole right conveyed to the English Sep. 28th, 1640, and notwithstanding that, purchased over again from Uncas and his successors—a sufficiency of planting ground being reserved for them—much more than they do, or even can at present improve—so that a considerable quantity is leased out for the benefit of the Sachem Family, which, if they were able to improve it themselves, they might have.

"They seemed to think they had been long enough under Guardians, and that it might be more to their advantage to have the whole divided among them, and they set at liberty to transact for themselves. We told them, on the Government way of transacting with them, it might be done on application to the Assembly; but on the principles they were most of them pursuing, by the instrumentality and guardianship of Mason, it could never be done—for that by the Deed of Sequestration and Entailment from Major Mason of 9th of May 1671, the same was conveyed to Uncas, Oweneco, and Attawanhood, and their heirs and successors forever in an inalienable form, one-half the herbage being reserved to Ma-

son, and if that took place, the right was wholly in their Sachem and heirs.

"[We told them also] that Isaiah is heir in the line from Uncas through his son Oweneco, as well as his other son Major Ben, and that they were contending and endeavoring to establish that which would operate quite differently from their inclinations and desires. We let them know the Assembly looked on Isaiah as the now right heir—that as for making him Sachem, or as they called it, Government Sachem for the Mohegan Indians, there was no such intention—that we looked on them as subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, as well as the other inhabitants of the Colony—that if they had any custom of their own which they chose to keep up among themselves, the Government did not mean to hinder them, but that at the same time the Assembly must treat Isaiah as the legal heir and descendant from the Sachems.

"We advised Isaiah to behave in a decent and becoming manner, to avoid all evil and vicious company, promote religion, learning, and industry, avoid the common failure of Indians in drinking to excess, be kind to, and provide well for his aged grandmother, his mother-in-law, and the whole family, and do that which is praiseworthy, as the eyes of the English, as well as of his own people the Indians, would be more especially upon him.

"We spent all Tuesday, and the greatest part of Wednesday, upon the matter, attended by Isaiah, and his Council, Zachary Johnson, Simon Choyehoy, and Noah Uncas, who are near all the men who adhere to his interest. There is, however, a more considerable number of squaws and young persons that are his adherents. On the other side the Indians appointed Samson Occum, Harvey Quaquet, and Tuntoquegan, a Committee to attend us; who appear warmly engaged in the Mason cause, with their prejudices firmly riveted. Samson said our proceedings were not well-timed—that five or six years ago he was indifferent, and would have examined the state of the case on the part of the Colony, but that then it was not thought fit to bring the same to him. Mason had brought his papers, and left them with him, [he said,] and he had examined them, and judged the cause as exhibited by him to be right, and justice to lay on that side, and he intended to promote it. It was therefore now out of season to come there to say anything upon it.

"It was answered that he was not known, and considered as a person of so much consequence, as that the Colony must look up to him, and deliver him their papers for consideration, and that if he was minded to know the whole case, and judge impartially upon it, for the benefit of himself and the Indians, it was his duty to have asked the Assembly to give him a knowledge of the case. However we came to inform such as were willing to hear, we said, but that it did not answer our intentions to be heard only by two or three, who were zealously engaged in the interest of Mason. We meant to have all hear and judge for themselves—

that, if the case was finally determined against their inclinations, they should have no reason to blame the Assembly for neglecting a thing particularly requested by Uncas, which was that his successors might be informed, and have these things mentioned to them—a fit time for doing which was now, on the death of their late Sachem, and the coming forward of a young heir. The influence it may have on the Indians, who were generally present, is uncertain. It will serve to enlighten the people present, who before did not know the case. I believe more than a thousand people attended on Tuesday, many out of curiosity and amusement—many desirous to understand the cause—and many of the friends to Mason to prevent any impressions [the interview] might have on the Indians. Occum exerted himself to the utmost of his ability. I think 'tis his intention to raise himself to be King and High-Priest among them.

"The inclosed will bring to remembrance things fully known to you. The Genealogical Draught may amuse. The territory belonging to Uncas, the petty Sachem of Mohegan, lying principally in the town of Norwich, hath not been mentioned. The Pequot country was all conquered. Uncas was a Pequot. His territory at Mohegan was included in the conquest. He by his deed of Sep. 28th, 1640, gives and grants all his rights, save only to his then planted ground. Do transactions afterwards done, tending to establish the English claim, absorb and destroy such clear and absolute rights before obtained?

"Fear and covetousness in some laid the foundation for, and insidious and dark designs in others continue to support and keep alive this troublesome and tedious litigation. Oweneco, in 1707, did revoke and disannul his power to Capt. John Mason—says he was deceived by him—that he did allow no one but himself to interpret—and manifests an uneasiness with Mason for contending with the Colony—and had the same published at Norwich and Stonington. This paper, with Oweneco's Original Complaint, is in the hands of Mr. Richd Palmes, a descendant of Major Palmes, who was one of the Commissioners with Gov. Dudley. He encouraged the giving the same into the hands of the Government; but now asks £500 Lawful Money for them—an enormous price—and I do not see any great service they can be of at this time."

This letter shows that Trumbull was fully conversant with the Mohegan case, and had been employed upon it, before he came into office as Governor. He was, therefore, prepared to prosecute it now with understanding and with zeal. His own opinion upon its merits, long formed, was one, we see, which—while it conceded every reasonable and humane attention to the wants and wishes of the Indians themselves—yet—upon all the grounds that had been long taken and

maintained by the Colony—vindicated its territorial claim against all adversaries in the case, whether white men or red.

The Appeal of 1766, from one cause and another—from indolence, indifference, neglect, or disinclination on the part of the Council in England that was to try it—or from changes and ferments in the British Administration—or from a hope that the parties themselves would be wearied out with the contest, and abandon it—spite of all the most assiduous efforts of Jackson and Johnson to procure a hearing, had been postponed from time to time, until—upon that fresh movement in 1769 on the part of Trumbull and a Committee of the General Assembly, to which we have just alluded—it was at last, in January, 1770, seriously entertained by the Lords in Council—but with a result, upon this trial, by no means favorable to Connecticut. It came before the Lords upon a motion to dismiss the cause—upon the ground of previous judgments, long past and fairly procured, in favor of the Colony—of long acquiescence in the judgment particularly of 1743—of neglect on the part of the Appellants duly to prosecute—of settlements made in good faith upon the disputed lands, which it would be most unjust to disturb—and on the ground also of much adversary management that was extraordinary, abusive, and fraudulent.

"The motion for dismission of the Mohegan case," wrote Johnson to Governor Trumbull, describing the result—"was heard a few days ago, and decided against us. The Lords were of opinion that they would not dismiss it on motion, but have determined to hear it at large upon its merits, as soon as possible. We have nothing to rely upon but the justice of the cause, and I wish it may have fair play. If it has, I am persuaded it will be decided in our favor."

For this farther hearing of the case, upon its merits, Trumbull—neither appalled or disheartened by the untoward result just mentioned—set himself and the Colony diligently to work. He at once commenced a more active correspondence about it than ever before, with both the Colonial Agents in England—stimulating their zeal anew, encouraging their hopes, and sending them funds. He collected fresh evidence,

and sent it over.* Upon hearing from Jackson, in June, that a new trial—postponed already once in April preceding because of want of preparation on the part of one of the Counsel for the Appellants—was again postponed on account of the sickness of the Attorney-General of England, the leading Counsel for the Colony—he at once communicated the fact to the General Assembly, upon its first subsequent session in October, and renewedly instigated their co-operation in procuring additional testimony for the cause, and in pressing the trial on to a successful close.

"The last [letter] from Mr. Agent Jackson," he proceeds, addressing the Legislature—"informs that, unfortunately for him, and expensively for the Colony, the Appeal of the Cause of the Mohegan Indians against the Colony and Terre-Tenants on the Controverted Lands, was opened on the part of the Appellants. The Attorney-General was next to enter on the defence, but most unhappily before the day appointed for it arrived, was taken ill with the gout—and continued to grow worse, and it being concluded neither reasonable nor safe to proceed without him, 'tis most probable it will not be heard till after the long Vacation, which will most likely bring it into the winter."

And the Governor goes on to urge an "early consideration" by the General Assembly of "several things" that appear to him "material" in the case—especially the preparation and transmission to London, "without delay," of new letters and documents, of which, he says, the Colonial Agents are not possessed—and many of which, he adds—"not easily found"—in his own "search and inquiry" into the cause he had himself secured—particularly among the papers left by "the late Honorable Governor Wolcott." And in this connection he takes occasion to press the Assembly to provide that not only these documents, but that "all papers and files belonging to the Colony," should be "collected, sorted, and deposited, in a proper manner, in one place"—as "necessary for the Government, and for use on all future occasions."

* "Should we be driven to trial on the merits [of the Mohegan Case,] good use, I think, may be made of the Idea of Conquest which you have so often and so advantageously mentioned.

"I observe what you say of the original of the Mohegan Cause, and shall endeavor to make some good use of that hint."—*Johnson to Trumbull.*

Thus, with diligence and zeal, did Trumbull, at a dark moment in the progress of the Mohegan Controversy, accumulate resources of defence for the Counsel in England—four of them in number, two for the Colony, and two for the Terre-Tenants—who, besides the regular agents of the Colony, were also employed, at very great expense, to manage the case. Johnson's letters to the Governor at this time constantly acknowledge the receipt from his hands of papers most valuable to the cause—down even to a day or two only before the new trial came on—and when, on account of the lateness of their arrival, he regretfully expresses a doubt whether he shall be able to introduce them into the cause. The chances of the trial, in the judgment of Johnson, were against the Colony, though his own faith in the justice of its title was ever full and firm.

Our enemies are a host, he frequently wrote to Trumbull. They are "in general, in a greater or less degree, all those who are enemies to the liberties of America, and to the privileges of the Colony of Connecticut in particular—a long, a formidable, and," he adds, "a d–t–s–ble set." The strength of our adversaries, he continues, "seems to be in their clamors upon the ignorance, the poverty, and the misery of the Indians, on the one hand, and on the power, policy, cunning, fraud, and impositions, of the Colony and Landholders, on the other. They have not been wanting to declaim loudly on these topics, and, as I have said, to add to them much misrepresentation and abuse.* Our Counsel are prepared, however, to state the matter in a very different light, and, though there is ground enough of fear, I do not despair of a favorable issue."

That "favorable issue" came. The long night of suspense, which for now seventy years, had clouded the title of Connecticut to near eight hundred square miles of territory within its own colonial limits, was at last dissolved. Day

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* Describing to Trumbull, June 28th, the course of the opposing counsel upon the motion for a dismissal of the case, Johnson says their arguments "were long and labored, replete with the most illiberal and ill-founded abuse and misrepresentation both of the Colony and the Landholders, whom they represented as a set of the greatest cheats, and hypocrites, and deceivers, that the world ever saw."

broke with its sunlight upon the cause. "I have now to acquaint you," wrote Johnson to Trumbull, January twelfth, 1771—"that the hearing of the Mohegan cause ended yesterday." It was joyful news. The result was a triumph for the Colony—and a triumph particularly for that Governor whose zeal in the cause had been unremitting, and whose industry indefatigable.* "To his knowledge and instructions," said a writer of the day, in a public journal†—in just compliment to his services, and echoing the united voice of the people of Connecticut—"we are greatly indebted for the successful issue of the long, perplexing, and expensive Mason or Mohegan Case."

In preparing the two important causes upon which we have now dwelt—the Susquehannah and the Mohegan—Trumbull consulted very closely, upon old Colonial history, the Journal of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, as well as many other ancient records—which leads us to speak here farther of his connection not only with this invaluable work by the Father of the Old Bay Colony, but with documentary history generally.

Here he was emphatically a pioneer, and more than any man of his day contributed to the preservation of valuable records. The first two books of Winthrop's Journal—the only ones then discovered, and which he had borrowed from the elder branch of the Winthrop family—he proceeded himself, with the assistance of his Secretary, carefully to copy—and subsequently—after the War—the work was first published to the world, from this copy, in Hartford, Connecticut, by Elisha Babcock—under the supervision of Noah Webster—in one octavo volume of three hundred and seventy pages. In his Message of 1770, we have seen him calling on the General Assembly to provide, particularly, for the safe keeping of the public documents. In 1771, he was specially authorized by the General Assembly *himself* to collect all

* "I had very particular occasion to observe everything that occurred in this case," said Dr. Johnson, writing William Williams, November first, 1769—and Trumbull certainly "discovered great extent of knowledge and exact attention. I am very certain the Colony and the Proprietors of the land are much indebted to him for his good service."

† The Connecticut Courant.

those which might thereafter in any way affect the interests of the Colony, and "have the same bound together" that they might be preserved.* This task he proceeded to execute—and then it was that he began that collection, which, with the addition subsequently of most important Revolutionary Papers, particularly of his own correspondence with Congress, and General Washington, is now preserved—chronologically arranged, well-bound, and furnished with convenient indexes, in a mass of twenty-one volumes—in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. As has been justly remarked, these volumes—known as the "*Trumbull Papers*"—"constitute an invaluable treasure for history, and show, most conclusively, the high estimation in which the old Governor of Connecticut was held for ability, patriotism, and incorruptible integrity."

In addition to what has now been stated, and by way of illustrating his interest in statistical inquiry, it should be mentioned here, that in 1773, he undertook himself, and accomplished the task of replying, in detail, to the customary queries of the British Board of Trade in regard to the resources, population, institutions, and whole public economy of

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* Silas Deane was one among the citizens of Connecticut who warmly encouraged this preservation of State records. In August, 1774, writing to Trumbull for the loan of his extracts from Winthrop's Diary, and Custom House statistics, for use in Congress, he says: "Before I dismiss this subject, on which you must excuse my freedom, give me leave to suggest to your Honor whether it may not be a seasonable step to lay before the next Assembly the propriety and even necessity of preserving accounts, and the history of transactions of this kind, in some public office, for our own as well as the information of posterity. The Office Letters to and from the Governor, and the Journal of the House, are of more importance in my view, and will hereafter be more relied on when a reference is made to the sense of former times on any subject, than all the other records put together; yet neither of these are preserved in any office, nor indeed anywhere else that I can find; at least, they are in private cabinets; but much the greater part have been long since used for wrappers; and several important letters to and from the late Governor Saltonstall, have been sent me by the family round garden seeds, and the like; letters that would not only do honor to him, but prove of service to the Colony were they preserved; and surely we, as well as our posterity, have a right to these letters and journals. We have, as I may say, a property in them, being written by persons in our employment, and on our account."

"At your request," wrote Trumbull in reply—"I have enclosed my Extracts from Gov. Winthrop's Manuscript History. The sense of our predecessors appears fully from many things I send. It is matter of regret that so many useful papers are lost."

Connecticut—a task which he executed with great accuracy, and the result of which, in six hundred printed copies, was by order of the General Assembly distributed to the various towns in the Colony. In after years again—in 1778 particularly—he rendered cheerful and important aid to Mr. Hazard in collecting his valuable State Papers in relation to the origin and progress of the various European settlements in North America, and to the rise of the Revolutionary War. Investigations such as those now described were always peculiarly pleasing to Trumbull—and of course contributed much towards storing his mind with knowledge, and fashioning it to that exactitude for which it was ever remarkable.

CHAPTER XIII.

1770—1775.

A crisis in the issues between Great Britain and the Colonies. Trumbull, in consequence, proclaims a day of Fasting and Prayer, and doubles the military stores of the Colony. Correspondence between Gen. Gage and Trumbull in reference to one Thomas Green, a Boston tory, who had been severely handled in Connecticut. Cases of other disaffected persons, Abijah Willard, Dr. Beebe, and two Ridgfield tories, in connection with Trumbull. Trumbull and the first Continental Congress. His zeal in fostering it. His opinion of its measures He diligently prepares his own people for the emergency of war. He issues a Proclamation against riotous demonstrations. The famous Peters riot, as officially described by the Governor. Such disturbances not as yet common in Connecticut. Episcopalians not under the ban of public opinion, as sometimes charged. Trumbull a tolerationist. His Christian character described The non-importation scheme, and his activity in promoting it. His son John in revolutionary and educational connection with the parent. The father's taste and views with regard to the art of painting. Both sire and son are ready for the Revolutionary Future.

With the exception of Trumbull's ordinary Proclamations for Fasts—which were in general well composed, and in a strain, usually, highly devotional—we find nothing farther to note particularly* in his public career until we reach the spring of 1774, at which period his connection with Revolutionary matters again begins—and to this period, therefore, we now turn the attention of our Readers.

By this time the issues between Great Britain and her Colonies had reached a crisis. The obnoxious tea had been thrown into Boston harbor. British vengeance, in consequence, had concocted the Boston Port Bill—had struck, by legislative Act, at the Charter and Government of Massachusetts—had provided by another Act for the trial, in a foreign venue, of all supporters of the American Revenue System, whose arraignment might happen in the Colonies—and had erected a dangerous co-terminous tyranny in the Province of

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* Save, perhaps, a Proclamation, in the third year of his gubernatorial duty, prohibiting, on account of great scarcity, the exportation from the Colony, for twelve months, of all grains.

Quebec. These fatal contrivances were now all impending over America—but over America, fortunately, prepared in good degree for the danger. For by this time Samuel Adams, in Massachusetts, had systemized the Revolution, through Committees for all the towns—and the Old Dominion, through its Committee for Correspondence, began to do the same for the continent.. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, followed the precedent—so that all New England and Virginia "were now one political body, with an organization inchoate, yet so perfect, that, on the first emergency, they could convene a Congress"—and "every other Colony was sure to follow the example."

The first recorded evidence on the part of Connecticut, that indicated the general peril, was a proclamation by Governor Trumbull in May, 1774—which—after reciting "the threatening aspect of Divine Providence on the Liberties of the People, and the dangers they were menaced with"—enjoined a day of public Fasting and Prayer.

This Proclamation was soon followed by an order to all the towns to double the quantity of their powder, balls, and flints—and also by a series of Resolutions, on the part of Connecticut—which, after rehearsing the measures of the British Parliament that bore on America, denounced them as usurpations that placed life, liberty, and property, in every English Colony, at utter hazard—and proclaimed it as the indispensable duty, and unalterable determination of the Colonists to maintain and transmit their rights entire and inviolate to the latest generation. These Resolutions—of which there is some reason to believe Trumbull himself was the author, but which, nevertheless, met with his hearty support—form, in the year 1774—together with the Proclamation to which we have just referred, and the Order doubling colonial defence—his fitting introduction at this time upon the stage of Revolutionary action.*

We next hear of him, particularly, in connection with General Gage—who, in May 1774, sent him a formal notification of his own appointment to the gubernatorial chair of

* See these Resolutions at the end of this chapter.

Massachusetts, and expressed his readiness to co-operate with the Governor of Connecticut "for the good of his Majesty's service." Upon this co-operation Gage, it appears, made an immediate requisition—by urging Trumbull to apprehend and bring to trial certain persons in Windham and Norwich, Connecticut, who, it seems, had pelted and driven from their towns—with threats of "exaltation on a cart"*—one Francis Green of Boston, a somewhat noted merchant of that city, but a highly obnoxious loyalist—"one of that insidious crew," as the Journals of the day express it, "who fabricated and signed the adulatory address to strengthen the hands of that parricidal tool of despotism," Thomas Hutchinson. General Gage transmitted long affidavits—particularizing the offence. I have inquired into Mr. Green's complaint, wrote Trumbull in reply—and "find that others put a very different face on the transaction. Full provision is made *by law* for such offences, and Mr. Green may there obtain the satisfaction his cause may merit." And this was all the consolation that Gage received in the case from the unsympathizing, and, as he doubtless thought, disloyal Governor of Connecticut.

It was no moment just then, as it happened, for Trumbull to interfere in a transaction like that described—for at this time the fatal First of June arrived—day when the Boston Port Bill was to take effect—and the bells of the Governor's own native town—in tones strangely unfitted to attune either the sense of loyalty to his Majesty the King, or the duty of co-operation with one of his minions—began early to toll a solemn peal—and so continued the whole day. The door of the Town House was hung with black, and thereto the Port Bill was affixed. The shops in the village were all shut and silent. Their windows were covered with black, and with other ensignia of distress—and gathering from every quarter—"upon short notice"—the freeholders of Lebanon listened to the reading of the noted Bill—and in spirited Reso-

* A horse and cart with high scaffolding, did in fact make their appearance at Norwich, before the eyes of the astounded Mr. Green. On his return to Boston, he offered one hundred dollars reward for the apprehension "of any of the ruffians who had forced him to leave Windham and Norwich."

lutions, denounced it as an outrageous invasion of human liberty. Trumbull's eye was thus on proceedings different far from those which would tend to nurture the thought of giving satisfaction either to Mr. Green—or to any other known defender of tyranny.

Another such an one—to whose case Trumbull's attention was called—soon came, it seems, into Connecticut—like Green, to fulfil some important private business of his own. It was one Colonel Abijah Willard—a Massachusetts tory, and a member of General Gage's new Council. Two of his attorneys, who lived at Windham, met him at Union—and, looking upon him as a traitor, refused any longer to act in his service—and the people of that region, one night, rose—seized and confined him for awhile—and then carried him over to Brimfield in Massachusetts. There "the Provincial People"—four hundred in number, who had assembled upon news of his arrest—called a Council—decided that he should be imprisoned in Newgate, at Simsbury in Connecticut—and set off to conduct him thither. But after they had proceeded six miles on their way—upon his asking forgiveness of "all honest, worthy gentlemen" for the offence he had committed, and taking an oath that he would never sit in Gage's Council, and would maintain the Charter rights and liberties of Massachusetts, they consented to dismiss him. Trumbull's interposition in this affair was solicited—but, if it came at all—as does not appear to have been the case—it came altogether too late to save the captive from the fate which he experienced.

Nor did Dr. Beebe, an obnoxious tory of East Haddam, Connecticut, fare any better—not indeed so well—for certain inhabitants of this town, after calling upon the Doctor, and being refused any satisfaction whatever of their demands, proceeded to give him what they styled "a new fashionable dress"—a complete coat of tar and feathers. The indignant Doctor, naturally enough, thirsted to prosecute his assailants—and at once, therefore, applied to Trumbull for his advice, and for a precept in the case. "I believe if you grant one," wrote General Joseph Spencer to the Governor at the time—"it will not be executed to any advantage with-

out force from abroad to govern our people; for although the rough measures, lately taken place with us, are contrary to my mind, yet I am not able to prevent it at present." The particular satisfaction, therefore, which Beebe desired, seems not to have been obtained.

Nor again, did two tory inhabitants of Ridgefield, Connecticut, who at Wethersfield denounced the doings of the Continental Congress, and were in consequence drummed out of the town, fare any better than the British adherents already mentioned, in the way of securing Trumbull's interposition, or satisfaction from the State. They used language, it appears, in a public house at Wethersfield, which was considered by "a party of gentlemen" who heard it, as "a direct breach of the Association of the said Congress"—and consequently, "properly escorted," were "set off, at nine o'clock, the way from which they came"—amidst the groans and hisses of "a respectable concourse of people," who followed them out of town, beating a dead march. That "all honest and true men to their country might know and avoid" these offenders, proper persons were appointed to attend them as far as Farmington on their return, and there "acquaint the inhabitants with their behaviour," says the original account of the transaction, "and leave them to their further transportation, as is usual, and as by law is provided *in cases of strolling ideots, lunatics, &c.*"—"As no one of their principles," exclaimed the people of Wethersfield upon this occasion, "is supposed to be an inhabitant of this Town, it shall be our care and attention that no such shall be hereafter tolerated within it!"

It was not possible for the Governor, just at this juncture of ferment—when public sentiment against tories ran so high—to stay entirely the "rough measures" against them that were adopted, everywhere almost over Connecticut—though he disapproved of violence and riot, and so expressed himself—and though, moved at last by the frequent recurrence of scenes like those we have described, he charged the magistrates and civil officers of the Colony—through a Proclamation issued for the purpose—"to respectively use their authority, and influence, to preserve peace and good

order, and to promote a reformation of every evil, that the good end proposed in the laws might be attained." It is no small testimony to the depth and enthusiasm of patriotic feeling in Connecticut at this period, that it overflowed, not unfrequently, with severity, upon all those who attempted to withstand its course—and defied restraint, even when its waywardness seemed to require it, from the arm of the Chief Magistrate of the State.

While thus engaged in preserving the good order of the Colony, Trumbull was also busy in another important direction—in fostering the Continental Congress. With the progress and results of that first Convention—in September, 1774—of all the Colonies, to take into solemn consideration American rights and grievances—none, save some of its members, and a few leading patriots, perhaps, in Massachusetts and Virginia, had more to do than himself. He cherished it as a project which the exigencies of the country absolutely demanded—as one that no fears of parliamentary or ministerial resentment or prohibition ought to prevent, or should affect—as one, he hoped and prayed most fervently, that might lead to a reconciliation of difficulties, and, by the force of a wise, earnest, combined, and entire American movement, might curb the grasping temper of Great Britain, and stay her hand of violence.

With its members from Connecticut—Dyer, Sherman, and Deane—he was personally intimate—and both with them, and with the President of the Congress, and with many other members whom he knew, kept up an active correspondence during the whole time that the National Body was in session. He informed them of the state of public feeling, particularly in Connecticut. He warned them against any hesitation or delicacy in affirming the public rights. He suggested sentiments and measures for the general defence. He furnished facts and documents for consideration. He stimulated fervent appeals to the British Throne, the British People, and to the Colonies at home, both those within and those without the American combination—and, in general, counselled a course of manly and patriotic resistance to British aggression.

Many a fragment among his own Papers—many references among the papers of others—show that such was Trumbull's course. They show also that after the First Congress had achieved its purposes, and given to the world those documents which have immortalized its session,* no man in the country received them with more gratification, or took them more profoundly to his head and heart. To the appeals therein made—by men who "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, wisdom of conclusion, manly spirit, sublime sentiments"—who "for everything respectable and honorable"—are pronounced by the great Earl of Chatham himself as "shining unrivalled"—Trumbull gave every circulation in his power. He commended them to universal attention. He sustained them by correspondence and by conversation, and in this way aided materially to infuse their patriotic spirit, and their resistless reasoning, into the souls of his countrymen.

How far he believed in their eventual efficacy—or rather, whether like many other leading men of the day—like Richard Henry Lee, and even George Washington, for example—he had confidence that they would operate as a perfect remedy—is matter of some uncertainty. That he relied much upon them, however, is obvious. His strong hope, if nothing else, begat such a reliance. Yet from many little hints with which we are furnished, we are inclined to believe that if ever in the case, in any degree, he was over-sanguine—and events proved that all who surely trusted in reconciliation were so—he early abandoned the feeling. With John Adams and Patrick Henry—men who never were convinced that the measures of the Congress would succeed—he soon began to think "the die was cast, the Rubicon passed," and that the contest must be decided by force. With the foreboding Quincy, he soon "looked to his countrymen with the feelings of one who verily believed that they must yet seal their faith and constancy to their liberties with blood."

* The Declaration of Rights—the Address to the Throne—the Address to the People of Great Britain—that to the Inhabitants of the Colonies—and that to the Inhabitants of Quebec.

Certain it is that at this very time, he was exceedingly busy in doubling munitions of war for the Colony, and in procuring—in conjunction with his son Joseph—"early as possible"—a supply of ammunition. Certain it is that at this time he was doing all in his power—by discouraging every disorder in the Colony, and promoting a sober frame of mind—to fit the people with that moral force of conviction which would enable them to meet the public exigency in a manner the most resolute—was striving to impart to them even a devotional exaltation of purpose—such almost as characterized the old soldiers of Cromwell in the Commonwealth days of England—that they might go forth to battle—if go they must—panoplied by the God of Armies.

"Whereas," he says, under the influence of this spirit and purpose—in a Proclamation issued by him in December 1774, for suppressing vice, immorality, and all riotous demonstrations—"whereas the threatening aspect of Divine Providence on the rights and liberties of the People, and the dangers impending over us, are solemn warnings and admonitions to reform all the many sins and iniquities found among us, which are highly provoking to God, and reproachful to a people"—let the authority of magistrates, therefore, he proceeds to enjoin, and the example and influence of all, be directed to preserve good order and peace, and to promote a speedy reformation of every evil. After this manner did Trumbull stimulate his people to conduct that should be exemplary, and arm them with the victorious sense of religious duty.

Among the "riotous demonstrations" to which, in the Proclamation now cited, he more particularly refers, were those which at this time occurred in connection with the famous case of Rev. Mr. Peters—a loyalist Episcopal Clergyman of Hebron, Connecticut—whose house and person, on account of his obnoxious political conduct, had been attacked, and treated somewhat roughly. Of this case Trumbull, by special resolution of the General Assembly, was soon desired to prepare a statement, in order to obviate any misrepresentations concerning it that Peters might make in England, to the prejudice of Connecticut. This statement, in the hand-

writing of the Governor, we have found among his Papers—and we here subjoin it, both on account of the source from which it emanates, and of its intrinsic interest. It is dated Lebanon, December twenty-sixth, 1774, and though without address on the face of the Paper, was doubtless designed for the Agent of Connecticut in England.

"I am desired by our General Assembly," proceeds the Governor—"to prepare a general State of the Transactions relative to the Rev. Samuel Peters, of his application to me, and what passed between us upon that occasion; and to transmit the same to you, to be used as you shall find expedient, to obviate any misrepresentations that the said Peters may make or exhibit to the prejudice of the Colony, and to acquaint you that the intelligence transmitted to you, may and will be supported by affidavits and full proof, if there should be occasion for it.

"In pursuance thereof I have prepared and send you the following general state of the transactions, his application to me, and what passed between us, which you will use accordingly, to obviate and prevent the mischievous operation of any misrepresentations or accusations that the said Peters may make or exhibit to the prejudice of the Colony. These facts, if there is occasion for it, will be fully supported by affidavits and undoubted proof.

"Capt. John Peters of Hebron, brother to the Rev. Samuel Peters of the same town, did report in the hearing of sundry persons, that his brother, the said Samuel, had wrote at sundry times, and then had letters prepared to be sent home to England, by the way of New York, big with reflections on this Colony, and an account of the measures this and the neighboring Colonies were taking to obtain a redress for their grievances, occasioned by the present system of Colony administration, and some late acts of the British Parliament.

"This report spread in Hebron and the neighboring towns—which moved near three hundred persons, who met, without any arms, early on the 15th day of August last, and went to Mr. Peters' house, civilly to enquire of him concerning the matter reported of him. They made choice of a number of their company to wait upon him at his door, and inform him of the reason of their coming, and to enquire of him on that subject, the residue remaining in the street. Those who were chosen went to his door. He asked them to walk in. When they entered, they informed him of their appointment and business with him. Mr. Peters appeared very frank, and free to inform them concerning the rise and matter of said report, and solemnly declared he neither had nor ever would write home to any person in England touching the present disputes and differences between Great Britain and the Colonies. This declaration and his engagement was at that time satisfactory to all present. Not the

least affront or injury was offered or done to his person or property. On parting he tendered them his thanks for their kind treatment.

"Mr. Peters continued after the close conference to use his endeavors to instil and propagate sentiments subversive of the civil constitutional rights of this Colony, and to stir up contention and discord among the people. On the sixth of September last, near three hundred persons, without arms, met near his house to treat with him on these practices.

"When they came to Mr. Peters' house, they found it full of persons said to be armed. One Capt. Marsh came out and said Mr. Peters desired the people to choose a committee to converse with him—which was done, and about ten persons chosen for that end went into his house, and informed him of their business, and enquired if the people with him were furnished with arms. Mr. Peters declared there were no arms in his house except one or two old guns out of repair.

"A conversation ensued between him and the Committee. Mr. Peters endeavored to show there was no duty laid, without our consent, on the article of tea, because, he said, no man was obliged to buy, and when any one bought it, he consented to pay the tax, and no duty could be had, if no man purchased it.

"After the Committee had conversed with him some time, without receiving any satisfaction, they desired him to go out to the men who were in the street—perhaps he could convince them that he was in the right. On his request they gave him an assurance that he should return into his house safe, without abuse. Upon which Mr. Peters went out, and was advantageously placed in the centre of the men who had convened. In a short time a gun was discharged in the house—which much alarmed and exasperated the men around present. Eight or ten were immediately sent into the house, to find the reason, and whether any arms or weapons of death were there. They found several guns and pistols, loaded with powder and ball, some swords, and about two dozen heavy sticks or clubs—and that the gun, charged with two balls, was said by the men in the house to be discharged by accident. They soon cleared the house of all the men found therein, and set men at each door to prevent danger and damage. Upon this Mr. Peters finished his discourse—which gave no satisfaction.

"The Committee were desired to return with him into his house, they to draw an acknowledgment for him to subscribe and make, and he to draw up such as would suit himself.

"When this was done, on the like assurance as above, Mr. Peters and the Committee went out to the people. He read what he had written, which was unanimously rejected; then that drawn by the Committee was read, and approved. Mr. Peters refused to sign and acknowledge it. He was safely returned into his house. Many persuasions were then used with him to induce him to make the acknowledgment proposed, till the men abroad grew impatient and weary of delay, rushed into the

house, broke some squares in the lower part of one window, overturned a table, and broke a bowl and glass on it. They laid hold of Mr. Peters, and in this scuffle his gown and shirt were somewhat rent, and they brought him out at the door, placed him on a saddle horse, and went with him about three-quarters of a mile to the usual place of parade in Hebron. After some further conversation on the subject, Mr. Peters read what was drawn for his acknowledgment, with an audible voice, in the hearing of the company, and signed it. Three cheers were then given, and all dispersed.

"The persons chosen to confer with Mr. Peters, to the utmost of their power calmed and moderated the minds of the people present, who were greatly distressed and irritated by the discharge of the gun, the preparation of arms and clubs, and his other conduct so grievous to them.

"Mr. Peters' religious sentiments, his being a member of the Church of England, and a clergyman, were not the reasons of these transactions. Some men who were present were of the same denomination, and dissatisfied with him as well as the others. Had he been of any other denomination in religious sentiments, his treatment would doubtless have been the same."

Disturbance peculiar as that of which Trumbull thus gives an authentic account, was as yet rare in Connecticut. The time had not come for Captain Sears to parade the destined first Episcopal bishop of the United States, escorted by a rough and fierce-looking crowd, through the streets of Newhaven.* Nor yet, for "wishing well to the mother country," had a Committee of Inspection "put on the limits" the first Episcopal clergyman of ancient Woodbury.† Nor had the compassionate Trumbull yet occasion to extend the charity of a permit to relieve Fairfield's Episcopal rector—the Rev. John Sayre—from imprisonment and a guard at New Britain. Nor—though a few instances of severity towards the ministers of the Church of England, striking from the position and character of the suffering parties, occurred in Connecticut, after the case of Peters—was Episcopacy ever, in fact, exposed, as has been sometimes wrongfully asserted, to a general trial and condemnation at the bar of a patriotic public opinion. The testimony of Governor Trumbull himself on this point—that the sentiments and profession of Mr. Peters as a member of the Church of England had nothing

* Bishop Seabury. † Rev. John R. Marshall.

to do with his treatment on the occasion described—that men were present aiding and abetting who were of the same denomination with the preacher—and that his treatment would have been the same had he been of any other persuasion—is here of great weight.

Certainly, so far as the Governor himself is concerned, his own views on the great matter of religious toleration, were highly liberal. Though an exact Congregationalist, and a singularly devout Puritan—and though his convictions in favor of his own particular faith were most profound, and his pious observances most punctual and exact—he was ever charitable towards the "Mother-Church," and in no respect did he interfere to resist its worship, or aid in its opprobrium, by countenancing force.* Though he could not bear the idea—somewhat prevalent in his day—of civil obedience and submission to the King of Great Britain, as resulting from an acknowledgment of his spiritual supremacy, yet his instincts of freedom, civil and religious, were such—so strong, so consistent, and so enlarged—that he gave latitude to all consciences in the matter of ecclesiastical faith and practice, save to that faith, which, as in the case of Adamites and Rogerenes, led inevitably to the disturbance of the public peace. Beneath an exterior, which, to the eye of some observers, at times wore an air of devotional sternness, he bore a heart full of liberality. His own, more than that of most Puritans of his day, was the broad and beautiful Christian charity of that first noble patron of the new churches in America—the elder Governor John Winthrop.

During the month in which he reported the popular demonstrations against Peters, he was engaged in another duty which deserves mention here, and which closes, for the year 1774, his public career. He was engaged in enforcing that celebrated "*Association*" which was organized by the first Continental Congress, for the defence, in a commercial form, of American rights—and which, so far as its non-importation

* His family Bible—still extant, and in the possession of Hon. Joseph Trumbull of Hartford—contains in full the "Book of Common Prayer." It was printed at Oxford, England, in 1752, and was purchased by Trumbull the year after its publication.

feature is concerned, was to take effect on the first of December of the year now under consideration.

By far the largest portion of the citizens of Connecticut, it is true, were prepared for this measure—nay entered into it heartily—and made its enforcement the special duty of their Committees of Inspection. The people who at the beginning of the previous September—upon a bare report that British ships were cannonading Boston, and British soldiers slaughtering its inhabitants—started forth, twenty thousand strong, for the doomed city—simultaneously as if some gigantic warder had blown a "war-note, long and loud," that reached at once from the shores of Long Island to the Hills of Berkshire—a people, thus alert for freedom, were not those to withstand any plan for self-defence submitted to them by the patriot counsellors convened at Philadelphia. But yet the plan was to be first circulated and understood. It was to be made palatable to some few who in Connecticut as elsewhere, from motives of loyalty to the King, or of fear, did not warmly espouse the American cause. A thorough organization was required for its enforcement, and some towns had not yet appointed their Committees of Inspection. Appeal was to be made to instincts of hope and patriotism for its rigid observance.

To effect these purposes, Trumbull was active—both because of his position as Chief Magistrate, and because, at the outset, he had warmly concurred with the American Congress in recommending the non-importation scheme—not so much on account of any overweening confidence, however, in its efficacy, as in consequence of his conviction that every peaceable measure for redress of grievances should be tried, ere resort was had to that last terrible trial which stakes men's lives.

So passed with the Governor of Connecticut, the last month of that last year, which, in the great Revolutionary Struggle preceded the clash of arms.

And now, ere we lift the black curtain of War—for we stand close upon the blood-stained Green of Lexington—let us turn, in Trumbull's private life, to contemplate a peaceful scene. A son of his own—his youngest—whose experience

within the period now under consideration in many points illustrates the sire—is about, in his company, to step out, a youthful hero, upon the stage of Revolutionary action. Let us glance then here at a few points in his preliminary career.

We left him joining Harvard College, a remarkable proficient, in the middle of the third or Junior year. It was against his own wish, however, at the time, that he joined—not that he loved College less, but because he loved art more—that art of which he describes himself as catching the contagion from the pictures in oil of his sister Faith, and which he practiced first in the sand on the floor of his mother's parlor. He wished to study painting under the instruction of Mr. Copley, who then lived at Boston, and was of high reputation as an artist. The expense of his support there, he told his father, would be no greater than at College, and would be attended with the advantage of his possessing a profession at the end of his apprenticeship, and the means not only of supporting himself, but perhaps of assisting the family, at least of aiding his sisters. "The argument," he says, "seemed to me not bad; but my father *had not the same veneration for the fine arts that I had*, and hoped to see me a distinguished member of one of the learned professions, divinity in preference. I was overruled."

So to College John went—and from thence—having studied, meanwhile, Hogarth's "Analysis of Beauty," and Brook Taylor's "Prospective made easy," almost as much as the regular academical horn-books, and having devoured Copley's pictures and the engravings in the College Library, copying many—he returned to the family mansion.

"Not long after," he says, "a letter came by the post, and was first put into the hands of my father. He brought it to me, and said, 'John, here is a letter which I cannot read; I suppose it must be for you; what language is it?'—'Oh yes, Sir, it is from my friend Robichaud—it is French, Sir.'—'What, do you understand French! How did you learn it? I did not know that it was taught in college.'—'It is not, Sir, but I learned it in this gentleman's family.'—'And how did you pay the expense? You never asked me for extra allowance.'—'No, Sir; I pinched my other expenses, and paid this out of my pocket money.' My father was very much pleased, and soon after proposed to me to study Spanish."

The son suggests, it will be observed, that his father "had not the same veneration" with himself "for the fine arts." This is true, but chiefly under one aspect only—that of their availability, in his day, as a means of support. Under other aspects—as a source of pleasure—often of instruction—as often conveying solid meanings to the understanding, and rich moral lessons to the heart—he estimated them highly. He was, for example, one among the very first to subscribe for those early first prints illustrating the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the Death of Montgomery.—And afterwards, when his son had gone abroad to perfect himself in his art, he wrote him words of earnest encouragement—solicited in his favor the friendship of influential men in England, and rejoiced over his ultimate success. But at this early period in his son's career, when the public had, comparatively speaking, no taste for the arts, and there was no market at home for the products either of the painter's easel, or the sculptor's chisel—when Connecticut, as he afterwards remarked, was "*not Athens*"—he did not think it good policy for his son to cherish a pursuit, which, as it seemed to him, did not bid fair to be remunerative.

"I find he has a natural genius and disposition for limning," wrote President Kneeland of Harvard College, in regard to the son, who was then at Cambridge. "As a knowledge of that art will probably *be of no use to him*, I submit to your consideration whether it would not be best to endeavor to give him a turn to the study of perspective, a branch of mathematics, the knowledge of which will be at least a genteel accomplishment, and may be greatly useful in future life."—"I am sensible of his natural genius and inclination for limning," said Trumbull in reply—"an art which I have frequently told him will be of no use to him. I have mentioned to him the study of the mathematics, and among other branches, that of perspective, hoping to bring on a new habit and turn ot his mind. I direct him to diligence in his studies, and application to the various branches of learning taught in college. Please to afford him your advice and assistance on every needful occasion."

All was of no avail. Genius—that "Light Divine"—was

in the younger Trumbull, and no libation of cool advice could quench it. The kingdom of this Western World, within his own domain of art, was destined "to fall in his lap." Returning home from College, he postponed, but never surrendered his purpose of training himself as a painter. He postponed it because, first, his warm attachment to his "excellent friend, Master Tisdale," prompted him for awhile—when the latter was entirely disabled by a stroke of paralysis—to take his place as teacher—and next because the swelling difficulties between Great Britain and the Colonies warmed his imagination with the thought of becoming a soldier.

As the angry discussions increased, "I caught the growing enthusiasm," he writes. "The characters of Brutus, of Paulus Emilius, of the two Scipios, were fresh in my remembrance, and their devoted patriotism always before my eye; besides, my father was now governor of the colony, and a patriot—of course surrounded by patriots, to whose ardent conversation I listened daily—it would have been strange if all this had failed to produce its natural effect. I sought for military information; acquired what knowledge I could, soon formed a small company from among the young men of the school and the village, taught them, or more properly we taught each other, to use the musket and to march, and military exercises and studies became the favorite occupation of the day."

Thus side by side—the spirit of the younger kindled by sparks caught from the central fire of patriotism in the bosom of the elder—and by concentring flames from the hearts of co-patriots rendered daily more and more glowing—thus father and son ripened for the battle-fields of the American Revolution.

NOTE.

The Resolutions to which reference is made on page 151, are as follows—from the eleventh volume, page 284–5, of the Colony Records:—

"By the House of Representatives of the English Colony of Connecticut, held on the second Thursday of May, 1774.

"This House, taking into consideration sundry acts of the British Parliament, in which the power and right to impose duties and taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in the British colonies and plantations in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue only, are declared, attempted to be exercised, and in various ways enforced and carried into execution, and especially a very late act in which pains and penalties are inflicted on the Capital of a neighboring province; a precedent alarming to every British colony in America and which, being admitted and es-

tablished, their lives, liberties and property are at the mercy of a tribunal where innocence may be punished, upon the accusation and evidence of wicked men, without defence, and without knowing its accusers; a precedent calculated to terrify them into silence and submission, whilst they are stripped of their invaluable rights and liberties—do think it expedient, and their duty at this time, to renew their claim to the rights, privileges and immunities of free-born Englishmen, to which they are justly entitled, by the laws of nature, by the royal grant and charter of his late Majesty King Charles the Second, and by long and uninterrupted possession—and thereupon—

"Do Declare and Resolve as follows, to wit:—In the first place, We do most expressly declare, recognize and acknowledge his Majesty king George the Third to be the lawful and rightful king of Great Britain, and all other his dominions and countries; and that it is the indispensable duty of the people of this country, as being part of his Majesty's dominion, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all attempts upon his person, crown and dignity.

"2d. That the subjects of his Majesty in this colony ever have had, and of right ought to have and enjoy all the liberties, immunities, and privileges of free and natural born subjects within any of the dominions of our said king, his heirs and successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, as fully and amply as if they and every one of them were born within the realm of England; that they have a property in their own estates, and are to be taxed by their own consent only, given in person or by their representatives, and are not to be disseized of their liberties or free customs, sentenced or condemned, but by lawful judgment of their peers, and that the said rights and immunities are recognized and confirmed to the inhabitants of this colony by the royal grant and charter aforesaid, and are their undoubted right to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.

"3d. That the only lawful representatives of the freemen of this colony, are the persons they elect to serve as members of the General Assembly thereof.

"4th. That it is the just right and privilege of his Majesty's liege subjects of this colony to be governed by their General Assembly in the article of taxing and internal policy, agreeable to the powers and privileges recognized and confirmed in the royal charter aforesaid, which they have enjoyed for more than a century past, and have neither forfeited, nor surrendered, but the same have been constantly recognized by the king and Parliament of Great Britain.

"5th. That the erecting new and annual courts of admiralty, and vesting them with extraordinary powers, above and not subject to the common law courts of this colony, to judge and determine in suits relating to the duties and forfeitures contained in said acts, foreign to the accustomed and established jurisdiction of the former courts of admiralty in America, is, in the opinion of this House, highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majesty's American subjects, contrary to the great charter of English liberty, and destructive of one of their most darling rights—that of trial by jury—which is justly esteemed one chief excellence of the British constitution, and a principal landmark of English liberty.

"6th. That the apprehending and carrying persons beyond the sea to be tried for any crime alleged to be committed within this colony, or subjecting them to be tried by commissioners, or any court constituted by act of Parliament or otherwise within this colony, in a summary manner without a jury, is unconstitutional and subversive of the liberties and rights of the free subjects of this colony.

"7th. That any harbor or port duly opened and constituted, cannot be shut up and discharged but by an act of the Legislature of the province or colony in which such port or harbor is situated, without subverting the rights and liberties and destroying the property of his Majesty's subjects.

"8th. That the late act of Parliament inflicting pains and penalties on the town of Boston, by blocking up their harbor, is a precedent justly alarming to the British colonies in America, and wholly inconsistent with, and subversive of, their constitutional rights and privileges.

"9th. That whenever his Majesty's service shall require the aid of the inhabitants of this colony, the same fixed principles of loyalty, as well as self-preservation, which have hitherto induced us fully to comply with his Majesty's requisitions, together with the deep sense we have of its being our indispensable duty, in the opinion of this House, will ever hold us under the strongest obligations which can be given or desired, most cheerfully to grant his Majesty, from time to time, our further proportion of men and money for the defence, protection, security and other services of the British American dominions.

"10th. That we look upon the well-being and greatest security of this colony to depend (under God) on our connexion with Great Britain, which, it is ardently hoped, may continue to the latest posterity. And that it is the humble opinion of this House that the constitution of this colony being understood and practiced upon, as it has ever since it existed until very lately, is the secret bond of union, confidence and mutual prosperity of our mother-country and us, and the best foundation on which to build the good of the whole, whether considered in a civil, military, or mercantile light, and of the truth of this opinion we are the more confident, as it is not founded on speculation only, but has been verified in fact, and by long experience found to produce, according to our extent and other circumstances, as many loyal, virtuous and well-governed subjects as any part of his Majesty's dominions, and as truly zealous, and as warmly engaged to promote the best good and real glory of the grand whole which constitutes the British empire.

"11th. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to our king, our country, ourselves, and our posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend, and preserve these our rights and liberties, and to transmit them entire and inviolate to the latest generation—and that it is our fixed determination and unalterable resolution faithfully to discharge this our duty.

"In the Lower House—

"The foregoing Resolutions being read distinctly three several times and considered, were voted and passed with great unanimity.—And it is further voted and requested by the House, that the same be entered on the Records, and remain in the File of the General Assembly of this Colony.

"Test, WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Clerk H. R.

"In the Upper House—

"The consideration of the request of the Lower House, that the aforesaid Resolutions should be entered on the Records of the Assembly, &c., is referred to the General Assembly to be holden at New-Haven, on the second Thursday of October next.

"Test, GEORGE WYLLYS, Secretary.

"General Assembly, on the second Thursday of October, A. D. 1774.

"In the Upper House—

"On further consideration, &c., it is agreed and consented to that the foregoing Resolutions, according to the request of the Lower House, be entered on the Record, and remain on the File of the General Assembly of this colony.

"Test, GEORGE WYLLYS, Secretary."

CHAPTER XIV.

1775.

STATE of public affairs in the winter and spring of 1775 The Earl of Dartmouth's Circular to the Colonies, forbidding a second American Congress. Trumbull long on terms of friendly and useful correspondence with the Earl. He strongly advocates the forbidden Congress. A letter from his pen to the Earl of Dartmouth, on the grievances of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and of the Colonies in general. He repeats the sentiments of this letter in another to Thomas Life, Agent for Connecticut in England. At Norwich he first hears of the Battle of Lexington. His conduct in consequence. Upon receiving a circumstantial account, he transmits the same to Congress, and communicates it to the General Assembly of Connecticut. The duty, in consequence, devolved on him. By order of the Assembly, he addresses Gen. Gage. His letter. Gage's reply. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress is alarmed at this correspondence, and remonstrates. No ground for this alarm. It is soon, through Trumbull and others, dissipated

THE year 1775—the first of the War—shows Trumbull in all those striking lights in which we fain would view him —as workman, patriot, counsellor, and guide. We shall dwell upon it, therefore, with particularity.

The winter and spring of this year, as is familiar, brought no relief to the oppressed American Colonies, but, on the other hand, more and more darkened their prospects. In vain did the great Earl of Chatham plead for the removal of the troops from Boston, and for the trial of the American cause "in the spirit, and by the laws of freedom and fair enquiry, and not by codes of blood"—in vain press his favorite bill for rescinding all the obnoxious measures against the Colonies, and for restoring them to their ancient liberties. In vain the unexpected Conciliatory Bill of Lord North—that "infallible touchstone," as he called it, "to try the sincerity of the Americans." In vain the promising plans of reconciliation presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley. In vain the long and secret negotiations of the British Ministry—through Barclay, and Dr.

Fothergill, and Lord Howe, with Dr. Franklin--for a settlement of differences. In vain the petitions of the City of London, and other commercial towns in England, in favor of America—in vain all the humble supplications of three millions of American people. The die with England was cast. Obduracy ruled.

Every measure for reconciliation, except on terms of slavery, was thrust aside. A joint address to the King on American affairs, assured his Majesty of the determination of Parliament never to relinquish its sovereign authority over the Colonies—urged him to take the most effectual measures for enforcing it—promised him ample support, at the hazard of life and property—pronounced Massachusetts in a state of rebellion—declared the Americans generally, incapable of military discipline or exertion—and engaged, with but a trifling armament, to bring them back at once to their allegiance and their duty.

Accordingly, King and Parliament went on increasing their forces by sea and land—and prohibited—first refractory New England—and then all the Colonies—from the use of the ocean fisheries, and bound their trade, within narrowest limits, down to themselves—expecting in this way to starve them into obedience and submission. And one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State fulminated a Circular to the Governors of all the Colonies, commanding them each, in the King's name, to stop the choice of Deputies to a second American Congress, and "exhort all persons to desist from such unwarrantable proceedings."

How now did Trumbull receive this notification? This question brings us directly on his track.

He received it, as might be expected—civilly—for the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary for America, and himself, upon all matters save those which involved the fundamental interests of the Colonies, were friends. Like Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania—and with similar good judgment, good temper, and fidelity of statement—Trumbull, in a confidential intercourse that was long continued, wrote the Secretary frequently, pleading for his country, and warning against the consequences of the ministerial policy. He disclosed to him

the actual condition and spirit of the Colonies. He counselled the removal of commercial restrictions. He guarded against false intelligence and hasty conclusions—and urged the justice and expediency of conciliatory measures.* And on the point to which particular reference has now been made—the right of the Colonies to choose Delegates who should assemble and deliberate on public grievances, and concert measures for their relief—Trumbull never entertained a doubt. It was proper, in his opinion—it was just—it was necessary. And so, "highly displease the King"—as Dartmouth wrote him such an assemblage would—or not—Trumbull promoted it—sanctioned the choice of Delegates from Connecticut—and when the second National Congress met, gave to its proceedings, as to those of the first, all the weight of his good name and influence.

It became his duty soon—when the General Assembly of his own Colony met in March—to address the Earl of Dartmouth in behalf of Connecticut—to lay before him its condition, and that also of Massachusetts, and to ask his serious attention to the distresses of all the Colonies. How he accomplished this task, the Reader shall see for himself.

"Newhaven, March, 1775. My Lord: I duly received your Lordship's letter of the 10th of December last, enclosing his Most Gracious Majesty's Speech to his Parliament, and the Addresses in answer thereto, which I have taken the earliest opportunity to lay before the General Assembly of the Colony; and am now to return you their thanks for this communication.

"It is, my Lord, with the deepest concern and anxiety, that we contemplate the unhappy dissensions which have taken place between the Colonies and Great Britain, which must be attended with the most fatal consequences to both, unless speedily terminated. We consider the interests of the two countries as inseparable, and are shocked at the idea of any disunion between them. We wish for nothing so much as a speedy and happy settlement upon constitutional grounds, and cannot apprehend why it might not be effected, if proper steps were taken. It is certainly an object of that importance as to merit the attention of every

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* Reed, through his father in law De Berdt of London, carried on his own confidential correspondence with Dartmouth. "This country will be deluged with blood, before it will submit to taxation by any other power than its own legislature"—was the last solemn warning with which, two months only before the Battle of Lexington, he closed his correspondence with the noble Earl.

wise and good man, and the accomplishment of it would add lustre to the first character on earth.

"The origin and progress of these unhappy disputes, we need not point out to you; they are perfectly known to your Lordship. From apprehensions on one side, and jealousies, fears, and distresses on the other, fomented and increased by the representations of artful and designing men, unfriendly to the liberties of America, they have risen to the alarming height at which we now see them, threatening the most essential prejudice, if not entire ruin, to the whole Empire. On the one hand, we do assure your Lordship that we do not wish to weaken or impair the authority of the British Parliament in any matter essential to the welfare and happiness of the whole Empire. On the other, it will be admitted that it is our duty, and that we should be even highly culpable, if we should not claim and maintain the constitutional rights and liberties denied to us as men and Englishmen; as the descendants of Britons, and members of an Empire whose fundamental principle is the liberty and security of the subject. British supremacy and American liberty are not incompatible with each other. They have been seen to exist and to flourish together for more than a century. Or, if anything further be necessary to ascertain the one or limit the other, why may it not be amicably adjusted, every occasion and ground for future controversy be removed, and all that has unfortunately passed, be buried in perpetual oblivion.

"The good people of this Colony, my Lord, are unfeignedly loyal, and firmly attached to his Majesty's person, family, and Government. They are willing and ready, freely as they have formerly most cheerfully done upon every requisition made to them, to contribute to the support of his Majesty's Government, and to devote their lives and fortunes to his service; and, in the last war, did actually expend in his Majesty's service more than Four Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling beyond what they received any compensation for. But the unlimited powers lately claimed by the British Parliament drove them to the borders of despair. These powers, carried into execution, will deprive them of all property, and are incompatible with every idea of civil liberty. They must hold all that they possess at the will of others, and will have no property which they can, voluntarily and as freemen, lay at the foot of the Throne as a mark of their affection and of their devotion to his Majesty's service.

"Why, my Lord, should his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain alone enjoy the high honor and satisfaction of presenting their free gifts to their Sovereign? Or, if this be a distinction in which they will permit none to participate with them, yet, in point of honor, it should be founded on the gift of their own property, and not of that of their fellow subjects in the more distant parts of the Empire.

"It is with particular concern and anxiety that we see the unhappy situation of our fellow subjects in the Town of Boston, in the Province

of the Massachusetts Bay, where we behold many thousands of his Majesty's virtuous and loyal subjects reduced to the utmost distress by the operation of the Port Act, and the whole Province thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion, by the Act for changing the Constitution of the Province, and depriving them of some of their Charter-Rights. We are at a loss to conceive how the destruction of the East India Company's Tea could be a just or reasonable ground for punishing so severely thousands of innocent people who had no hand in that transaction, and that even without giving them an opportunity to be heard in their own defence.

"Give us leave to recommend to your Lordship's most serious and candid attention the unhappy case of that distressed people, and in effect of all the Colonies, whose fate seems to be involved in theirs, and who are therefore most anxiously distressed for them. Permit us to hope, that, by your Lordship's kind and benevolent interposition, some wise and happy plan will be devised which may relieve us from our present anxieties, and restore that harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, which we all most ardently wish for, and which alone can render us truly happy.

"I am, my Lord, in behalf of the Governor and Company of Connecticut, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant."

In a letter dated March twenty-fourth, 1775, to Thomas Life, Esquire—an influential agent for Connecticut in England—Trumbull again earnestly, and with comment that is sharper, repeats the sentiments expressed in his admirable letter to the Earl of Dartmouth now given. For the sake of harmony, that the Colonies might put forth their united strength against oppression—he instructs Life to stay all proceedings in the Susquehannah Controversy—although Connecticut had therein the deepest interest. He pleads to have his country placed on the basis that preceded the Peace of Paris. He recapitulates her present wrongs—hopes for their "happy termination"—and wishes to be kept accurately informed of all proceedings abroad that materially affected the interests of Connecticut.

"If the port of Boston," he concludes, "may be blocked up, many thousands of his Majesty's virtuous and loyal subjects reduced to the utmost distress, the many that are innocent punished with the few who may be deemed guilty of a trespass, the Constitution of the whole Province be changed, some of their charter rights be taken from them without

any opportunity to be heard in their own defence—if Boston may be made a garrison in the heart of our country, and the Province of Quebec be put into a situation, under the influence of their Roman Catholic principles and prejudices, to become a check on all the Colonies—no one can wonder their fears, distresses, and jealousies should be excited thereby. They look upon their own fate as involved in the unhappy case of their distressed fellow subjects in Boston, their safety to be in the blessing of heaven, the favor of the king, and in their own union in religion and virtue; and hope in the pursuit and practice thereof to obtain relief from their distresses, redress of their grievances, and to live quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty. I heartily join with you in wishing that all matters may be happily terminated and settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

"During the continuance of this hazardous contest, which God grant may not be long, you are desired to give your attention to everything that passes relative thereto, and give me early intelligence of what you think material for our government."

In such manner, through correspondence in the most influential quarters—was Trumbull busy in attempting to prevent an armed collision between Great Britain and her Colonies, when Lexington, April Nineteenth—from Maine to Georgia—from the Atlantic to the great River of the West—rung her terrible alarm.

He was at Norwich when the news of that first deadly fire upon the Green of this Massachusetts village, arrived. The General Assembly of Connecticut had but a few days before adjourned. Trumbull at once, therefore, applied to his Council—to decide whether it should not be immediately reassembled, to take measures suited to the emergency. It was determined, however—upon consideration that the news was as yet imperfect—not to convene the Assembly at once, but to wait for farther and reliable intelligence. To secure this, Trumbull promptly directed some of the Connecticut Committee of Correspondence to address its brother Committee at Boston. An answer was returned confirming all the accounts previously received—and at the same time there came also to Trumbull a letter from General Gage himself—dated the very day of the bloodshed—April Nineteenth—and accompanied with a circumstantial account of the transactions upon this occasion—all of which the Governor subsequently communicated to the Congress at Philadelphia.

Thousands and thousands of men—as in the alarm of the preceding September—upon the first reception of the news, had started from every part of Connecticut for the scene of action. Many and many a furrow, besides that of General Putnam's at Pomfret, was suddenly, by brave militia men, forsaken for the battle field. And now careful provision was to be made for these volunteers. They were to be organized anew for farther and special service. They were to be officered. They were to be equipped. They were to be furnished with ammunition and stores. Blood had run in Massachusetts. Connecticut itself was therefore now in imminent peril. All the Colonies were in peril. The crisis had come. It was to be met.

And met it was by Trumbull—manfully—as we shall see. He communicated his intelligence, all of it, to the General Assembly, soon as in April it again convened—and incited its action. One quarter of the militia of the Colony, consequently—to be distributed into companies of one hundred men each, and formed into six regiments—was to be prepared for immediate service. The Governor was to sign and deliver orders to the respective officers to push forward the enlistments. He was to direct the four regiments commanded by Spencer, Putnam, Hinman, and Parsons, or such part of them as he should judge necessary, "forthwith to be in readiness to march to Boston, or to some place contiguous." But farther—and particularly—he was to address General Gage, upon his late fearful proceedings, a letter—in behalf of the Colony—of grief, remonstrance, and reproof. How he accomplished this last duty, the letter itself will show. It is dated Hartford, April twenty-eighth, 1775, and proceeds as follows:—

"Sir. The alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this Colony, now sitting in this place, to appoint a committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to those very interesting matters.

"The inhabitants of this Colony are intimately connected with the people of your province, and esteem themselves bound, by the strongest

ties of friendship as well as of common interest, to regard with interest whatever concerns them. You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston with a body of his Majesty's troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain acts of Parliament, which in their apprehension were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this Colony a very just and general alarm. Your subsequent proceedings, in fortifying the town of Boston, and other military preparations, greatly increased these apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings, in that which is esteemed the common cause of this country: but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command, into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost into a state of desperation. They feel now, not only for their friends, but for themselves, and for their dearest interests and connexions. We wish not to exaggerate, we are not sure of every part of our information, but by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects, and it is represented to us that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even barbarians, and much more Britons, so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery.

"It is feared, therefore, that we are devoted to destruction, and that you have it in command and intention to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? To what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making? And why do we continually hear of fresh destinations of troops for this country? The people of this Colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of civil war. But, at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as they apprehend themselves justified by the principles of self-defence, so they are most *firmly* resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren, if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, as far as is consistent with your duty to our common sovereign. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character, for the honor of our sovereign, and by the glory of the British Empire, we entreat you to prevent it, if it be possible. Surely it is to be hoped that the temperate wisdom of the Empire might even yet find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished for. And will it

not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, we doubt not, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit, and favorable answer in your power.

"I am, with great esteem and respect,
"in behalf of the General Assembly,
"Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,
"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Dr. Johnson and Oliver Wolcott were the committee appointed on the part of the General Assembly to bear this Letter to Massachusetts—and thither they repaired. So far as Gage is concerned, his reply was what might have been expected. He justified his own conduct—repelled the charge of any outrages committed by his troops on the Nineteenth of April—and commended them as having acted "with great tenderness, both to the young and old." He had found no instance of their cruelty and barbarity, he said, and for himself disavowed any intention of ravaging and desolating the country.

But strangely—so far as the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety are concerned—upon being made acquainted with this correspondence, they became alarmed. They looked upon it in the light of a mediation—uncalled for, and inopportune. In their view it "squinted" too much towards reconciliation with the Mother-Country. And so the Congress of Massachusetts formally remonstrated against any separate negotiations, and voted Gage, renewedly, a public enemy—an instrument in the hands of tyrants, they said, whom there was no further obligation to obey—and, addressing the Deputation from Connecticut, drew a picture of consequences—fatal, as they apprehended—that might follow—"upon any one Colony's undertaking to negotiate separately either with Parliament, Ministry, or their agent here."

A grave delusion all this! One would think that Trumbull's letter itself—so full of pointed remonstrance against the proceedings of Gage—so expressive of the sympathy of

Connecticut for her suffering brethren of the old Bay Colony, and of her determination to support them in their career of opposition—and withal, on the point of reconciliation, saying nothing more than what, at this period, was the hope, and, everywhere, the publicly expressed desire of united America—one would think that such a communication might have saved itself from the possibility of misconstruction! So it did, after a very short time, and after a few re-assurances from Connecticut.

"No ill-consequences, it is hoped"—wrote Trumbull immediately to Dr. Joseph Warren, will attend the embassy to Gage. "Connecticut will be cautious of trusting promises which it may be in the power of any to evade. Our General Assembly will pursue with firmness, deliberation, and unanimity, the measures which may appear best for our common defence and safety."

"We hope good consequences will attend the embassy," wrote also the House of Assembly to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. "It is yet possible things may not of necessity proceed to further extremity—and although there is a great probability that they will, yet we conceive that you, and we, might get more advantage by gaining time, and collecting all our forces, and those of other colonies, on a regular plan and establishment."*

Such representations as these soon dissipated any unfavorable impressions in Massachusetts. The correspondence on the subject was all communicated by Governor Trumbull to the National Congress—was read before that Body—and elicited from it not a word of disapprobation. Trumbull's Letter is in fact a memorial of noble interposition. Massachusetts, from her peculiar situation—unlike other Colonies, "galled from without and vexed within"—had some reason, perhaps, for her peculiar sensitiveness. At other stages of the Revolutionary Struggle, there were those—as the patriot

* "The idea," wrote also Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, at this time, to his brother Joseph, who was then at Cambridge—"the idea" in this procedure "held out with us, and what governed almost every one, was that we should make some *categorical demand* upon Gage as to his intentions and designs, and at the same time be arming ourselves to treat sword in hand. You may depend upon this, that no preparation has been in the least relaxed. There is a noble firmness with us, and no thought of deserting the cause, and we shall from this event be strengthened to encounter any evasive or delusive propositions from Gage by our ambassadors."

John Dickinson, for example, who remonstrated with Quincy on the point—to whom this Province seemed at times to "break the line" of colonial opposition, by "advancing too hastily."—"Though not to be justified, may not her fault be considered venial," wrote Quincy in reply.

CHAPTER XV.

1775.

TRUMBULL'S activity, at Lebanon, in furnishing troops and supplies for the army at Boston, immediately after the Battle of Lexington His War Office, and Dwelling-House, and their associations. On request from the New York Revolutionary Committee, he strives to intercept despatches from England for Gen. Gage. He receives from Massachusetts an urgent demand for more troops—with which he complies. His connections with the expedition to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and with military affairs generally at the North, at this period.

AFTER the manner now described, as regards official correspondence with important parties, did the opening scenes of the American Revolution engage at once the services of Governor Trumbull. We proceed to view these services now under other aspects.

A remarkable feature of his zeal at this juncture is shown in the fact, that, when the Lexington news first arrived, his own store at Lebanon became the point from which all the soldiers in his own vicinity who marched for the relief of Boston, were supplied—and Trumbull was personally present, and a laborer in all the work of preparation.* There he was, himself, his sons, and his son-in-law Williams—in the midst of a crowd of neighbors and friends—aiding with his own hands to collect the needed stores, of all kinds—in the midst of barrels and boxes, horses, oxen, and carts, himself weighing, measuring, packing, and starting off teams—dealing out powder and balls—and everywhere instilling, by his own example as well as by words, a generous activity among all who were present. Pleasing fact! The Chief Magistrate of Connecticut, it is plain, could *work* as well as write and talk—could condescend for his country—could yield dignity to humble, but patriotic manual toil.

And here is a view of the store in which he worked upon

* A Lebanon Town account of services and supplies upon this occasion—made out subsequently, as in all the towns of Connecticut, for settlement at the Colonial Treasury—awards Trumbull, for his own personal labor at this time, the sum of two pounds and sixteen shillings.

this occasion—and of his dwelling-house also, just adjacent on the right—the former memorable not alone as his mercantile depot, but as containing the office also in which he transacted the great bulk of his public business during the Revolution—familiarly known as his "WAR OFFICE." They are each worth contemplating for a moment, ere we proceed with the great facts of his biography, associated as they are so closely with himself, and with his public labors.

The Dwelling House and War Office of Gov. Trumbull.

Within that house—which is still standing, a little removed from its ancient site—he not only lived himself, but entertained many of the most conspicuous characters of the Revolution—among others, General Washington, General Knox, General Sullivan, General Putnam, Doctor Franklin, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Jay, Jefferson, Count Rochambeau, Admiral Tiernay, La Fayette, the Duke de Lauzun, and Marquis de Chastellux—all of whom are believed to have lodged within its walls. Within the same walls also, his son, the eminent painter—Colonel John Trumbull—was born, and, we believe, the rest of his distinguished children.

Around that house also patrolled—night after night—guards that were set, in times of startling danger, expressly to protect his person from seizure, and his house from plunder—a precaution, which, as we shall have occasion hereafter to see, was not without its utility.

Within that "*War Office*" also, with its old-fashioned "hipped" roof, and central chimney stack, he met his Council of Safety during almost the entire period of the War. Here he received Commissaries and sub-Commissaries, many in number, to devise and talk over the means of supply for our armies. From hence started, from time to time during the War, besides those teams to which we have just alluded, numerous other long trains of wagons, loaded with provisions for our forces at the East, the West, the North, and the South—and around this spot—from the fields and farm yards of agricultural Lebanon and its vicinity—was begun the collection of many a herd of fat cattle, that were driven even to the far North around Lake George and Lake Champlain, and to the distant banks of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, as well as to neighboring Massachusetts, and the banks of the Hudson.

Here was the point of arrival and departure for numberless messengers and expresses that shot, in every direction, to and from the scenes of Revolutionary strife. Narragansett ponies, of extraordinary fleetness, and astonishing endurance—worthy such governmental post-riders as the tireless *Jesse Brown*, the "alert *Samuel Hunt*," and the "flying *Fessenden*,"* as the latter was called—stood hitched, we have heard, at the posts and palings around, or by the Governor's house, or at the dwelling of his son-in-law Williams—ready, on any emergency of danger, to fly with advices, in any desired direction, on the wings of the wind. The marks of the spurs of the horsemen thus employed, were, but a few years back, visible, within the building—all along upon the sides of the counters upon which they sat, waiting to receive the Governor's orders.†

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* Among other faithful post-riders were Jonathan Strong, Samuel Johnson, Joshua Hempstead, Charles Kellogg, and Theodore Skinner. Jesse Brown established the second line of stages in Connecticut.

† A section of the counter thus marked, from the old War Office, is in the pos-

Within this building too came many and many an officer of the land troops of Connecticut, to consult with the Governor about the organization, the support, the distribution, and the destination of forces—and around it mustered many and many a little band of soldiers, waiting to be scanned by the eye of the Captain General of the State, and receive his encouragement and advice ere they marched for the battle field. Five hundred men from the town of Lebanon alone—in remarkable demonstration of its patriotic character—were in the Army of the Revolution at one and the same time*—and around this spot it was chiefly, that they gathered for their march.

Thither repaired too, from time to time, many a naval officer of the State—the gallant Harding, the adventurous Smedley, the brave Niles, Coit, Stanton, Tinker, McLane, and numerous others who bore the flag of Connecticut upon the deep—here to receive their commissions, and sailing orders—or here to report the movements on the water of the enemy they had watched, or the prizes it had been their good fortune to take.

Hither came also—in order to secure the Governor's oversight and direction—many an engineer, with his plan for a work of defence—many a naval architect, with his model for a barge, a galley, or a ship of war—at times a mechanician,

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session of the Connecticut Historical Society. It is also marked by measures for a yard.

* Among these, particularly distinguished, were *Col. James Clark*, who commanded a company on Bunker Hill, and who was present at the laying of the corner stone of the Monument, just fifty years subsequent to the battle, and *Capt. Andrew Fitch*, who also served as a lieutenant at Bunker Hill, and continued in service to the close of the war. The former was buried with military honors, and the following striking inscription is upon his tomb:—

"To the memory of
Col. James Clark
who died on the 29th of Dec. 1826
aged 96 years and 5 mos.
He was a Soldier of the Revolution, and dared
to lead where any dared to follow. The
Battles of Bunker's Hill, Harlem Heights
and White Plains, witnessed his personal
bravery, & his devotion to the cause of his
Country.
He here in death rests from his labors,
For "there [is] no discharge in that war."

with his screw for lifting vessels from the water—at times an inventor, with his torpedo, or other ingenious device for blowing up hostile vessels—and agents and contractors without number—with specimens of their lead, their sulphur, their saltpetre, their guns, their gunlocks, or other articles upon which the State had given a bounty—to submit them to the Governor's personal inspection, and procure, if possible, his approbation, and claim the promised reward.

Upon the sill of this old War Office too has pressed the foot of many a soldier from the Duke de Lauzun's famous Legion of Hussars, as a portion of it, for a whole winter, lay quartered in Lebanon, ere it took up its march to join Washington on the banks of the Hudson. Indeed the old building is crowded with associations of the deepest interest, and may well for a moment arrest the eye of the Reader, ere he moves with us on in the path of proceedings which here, chiefly, took their rise. It had not, in the times of which we speak, the portico now seen in the plate—this is a modern addition. But within, it was divided, as seen but a few years ago, into two apartments—one of which, that on the north, was strictly the office-room of the Governor, where he matured his counsels—and the other of which, that on the south, was his store room, and the apartment also in which his messengers and expresses were usually received.

From the views now given, we turn to resume the main thread of Trumbull's life.

We left him busy at his store providing supplies for the army just after the Battle of Lexington. While thus engaged, he received notice from the Revolutionary Committee of New York that despatches for General Gage had just arrived in a packet from England, and was urged to take immediate measures for their interception. All the roads leading to Boston, they said, ought to be guarded. An express should be sent with the intelligence on as far as Providence and Newport. Every caution ought to be taken in the matter, they wrote, which "prudence can dictate, or your own zeal prompt you to think of—for it may save the lives of thousands, by enabling the friends of this bleeding land to defeat the designs of its implacable and merciless enemies."

Trumbull at once carried the request of the New York Committee into effect, though he was not fortunate enough, as it resulted, to secure the despatches to which so much importance was attached.

A few days subsequent to this affair, he received by express another important despatch—but this time from Massachusetts—from the Committee of Safety at Cambridge—entreating him to send them on immediately three or four thousand men, to enable them to fortify a pass of the utmost importance to the common interest—which, they said, General Gage, unless "prevented" then, would secure for himself, soon as his reenforcements should arrive. To this request also Trumbull gave prompt attention,* and troops were soon ordered to the East.

But the measure that about this time especially absorbed his zeal, was that first aggressive act of the American Revolution—*the Expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.* With this project, which resulted, May Tenth, in the capture of the fortresses—those keys of Canada—at both these places, and in the command consequently of Lake George and Lake Champlain—he was intimately connected. Of this connection we shall speak here—and for the sake of continuity, shall describe generally his relations with military affairs at the North during the whole of the year now under consideration—returning afterwards to his labors and responsibilities, during the same year, in other spheres of the War.

Deane, Wooster, Parsons, Wyllys, Root, and a few others, who first projected the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and borrowed funds from the Treasury of Connecticut for the purpose, consulted, in the first instance, closely with Governor Trumbull, and received his secret cooperation—secret, because there was danger of discovery, and so of dis-

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* "We have the fullest confidence," wrote the Massachusetts Congress at this time, June 25th, "that your Honor's zeal and ardour for the salvation of our country, and the preservation of our inestimable rights, will render every importunity unnecessary to induce you to take all the necessary steps to effect the proposed augmentation, for which we are most solicitous."

"This morning," answered Trumbull, June 27th—"received your pressing instance for an immediate augmentation of Troops from our Colony. In consequence expresses are gone forth to call our Assembly to meet at Hartford on Saturday next."

appointment, if there had been any promulgation of the plan, or any delay in waiting for the sanction of Congress. He cheerfully assented to the loan for the enterprise from the State Treasury, on the individual credit of its projectors—and as cheerfully, subsequently, approved the Act of the General Assembly which cancelled their pecuniary obligations. Carried so successfully as it was into effect, it inspired new and strong confidence, quite universally, in the power of American Arms—and to Trumbull—even though his taste, perhaps, might have been somewhat offended by Ethan Allen's rather wild demand of surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress"—it proved a source of high and peculiar gratification.

"As this advantage," he says—writing the Massachusetts Congress, fifteen days after the event, and communicating the intermediate action of Connecticut thereupon—"was gained by the united enterprise and counsels of a number of private gentlemen in your Province, New Hampshire, New York, and this Colony, prompted only by a zeal for their country, without public authority, (to *our knowledge*,) and is of great and general importance to the United Colonies, it was thought best to take the advice of the Continental Congress upon the manner of treating it in future, both by the General Assembly of this Colony, and the Committee of New York, as well as by you. Despatches were accordingly sent to Philadelphia, and the intention of the Continental Congress thereupon hath been this day received by express, with a letter from the Committhe of New York, copies of which enclosed are herewith sent you. By them you will see that the present custody of that fortress is committed to the Province of New York, with the assistance of the New England Colonies, if needed.

"The necessity of secrecy, and maintaining the posts on the lakes, becomes daily more evident from the iterated intelligence we receive of the plan framed by our enemies to distress us by inroads of Canadians and savages, from the Province of Quebec, upon the adjacent settlements. The enclosed copy of a letter from our Delegates attending at New York to concert measures with the Provincial Congress in that City, throws an additional light on this subject, and is thought worthy to be communicated to you; and whilst the designs of our enemies against us fill us with concern, we cannot omit to observe the smiles of Providence upon us in revealing their wicked plans, and hitherto prospering the attempts of the Colonies to prostrate them. With a humble reliance on the continuance of divine favor and protection in a cause of the justice of which a doubt cannot be entertained, the General Assembly of this Colony are

ready to cooperate with the other Colonies in every exertion for their common defence, and to contribute their proportion of men and other necessaries for maintaining the posts on the frontiers, or defending or repelling invasions in any other quarter, agreable to the advice of the Continental Congress."

New York—to which State, as Trumbull in this letter states, the custody of Ticonderoga and Crown Point—properly as falling within their territory—was committed—at once ordered the cannon and stores to be removed from thence to the south end of Lake George—but not being able herself, at that time, to protect the new acquisitions, her Provincial Congress wrote to Trumbull, expressing special gratification in the fact that *he* would undertake their protection—as an immediate attack upon them, for their recapture, was threatened from Quebec.* Our National Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, made a similar request. By a special resolution—transmitted to Trumbull by President Hancock—this Body asked him immediately to send a strong reenforcement to the captured fortresses, and to appoint a person in whom he could confide to command the forces. Yet before this direction was received—such was Trumbull's anxiety for the security of these posts—such his apprehension of threatened attack upon them, and of an incursion upon the Colonies from Canada—that he had ordered Colonel Hinman, with four hundred men—soon by order of the General Assembly augmented to a force of one thousand—to march thither for their defence. He had borrowed five hundred pounds of powder from the town stocks of Connecticut for this officer's use—had applied money from the Treasury of the Colony to pay for its transportation, and for the immediate support also of the fortresses at the North—and had sent Samuel Mott, a skilful engineer, to put these fortresses in re-

* "I have certain intelligence," wrote Arnold at this time—"that on the 19th there were four hundred regulars at St. Johns, making all possible preparation to cross the lake, and expecting to be joined by a body of Indians, with a design of retaking Crown Point and Ticonderoga."

"We shall be happy to hear that you have placed a part of your forces in these posts, with intent to defend them, until they shall be relieved by troops from this Colony"—wrote the Provincial Congress of New York to Trumbull, May 25th, 1775.

pair. Of all this he gave due information to Congress, to Massachusetts and New York, and specially urged the latter province forthwith to forward provisions, and send on tents for the troops—as had been directed by Congress.*

"We beg leave to present our unfeigned thanks," wrote to Trumbull the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, recognizing these his services—"for your most friendly and seasonable reenforcement, from the burden of which we shall, without loss of time, endeavor, in pursuance of further directions from the Continental Congress, to relieve our brethren of Connecticut; and should your stock of ammunition permit the increase of that supply which you have generously destined for that service, we shall exert ourselves in replacing it as soon as we shall have it in our power."

"We are far," renewedly wrote the New-York Congress to Trumbull, speaking again of the arrangements made by him for defending the fortresses territorially their own—"we are far from considering them as an invasion of this colony, or an intermeddling with the service entrusted to it, as you may collect from our former letter on this subject; but rather esteem them as a most friendly interposition for the safety of our frontiers, and as the wise improvement of your early intelligence, and your state of readiness to provide against immediate danger."

So passed the month of May with the Governor, in connection with affairs at the North.

Early in June, he was earnestly solicited by New-York to send powder on to this quarter, the supply of that State being so insufficient that they could not contribute the least—as her Provincial Congress wrote Trumbull at the time. "Be assured, Sir," they add, "that we are most grate-

* "It is matter of doubt with us," he says in his letter to Massachusetts at this time, speaking of the force under Hinman—"whether the above mentioned detachment of troops, ordered by this Colony, will be sufficient for the important purpose for which they are destined; but we recollect that Col. Arnold is now on the spot, with a commission (as we understand) to raise a regiment in the pay of your Province. We are not informed how far he has proceeded in that design. If he meets with success, we flatter ourselves that his Regiment, joined with the troops we have sent, will be able to maintain their ground, and keep possession of those important posts.

"We take the liberty to recommend to your consideration the furnishing such additional supply of powder, from you, as you shall think necessary to be sent forward for the supply of those northern posts. I am very sorry to have it to say, that we are credibly informed there are not 500lbs. of powder in the City of New York; but at the same time are advised that means are taking to supply them with that very important article."

fully sensible of the cheerfulness with which the Government of Connecticut has exerted itself to support the important posts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, until our abilities may enable us to execute that trust which the Continental Congress, on the subject, has thought proper to repose in us." Later in June, Schuyler—then in command at the North—appealed to him for money and ammunition. Colonel Mott wrote him from Fort George, asking him to commission Captain Niles, of Norwich, a bold and able sea captain, to take command of one of the vessels on the lake. With all these requests Trumbull promptly complied—and in a letter to Arnold, June nineteenth, urged the invasion of Canada—not as an undertaking by New-England specially—for the British army at Boston, and the prospect of the arrival of another at New-York, he thought, forbade this course—but as an undertaking which the Continental Congress ought to move—and he communicated his thoughts, and the despatches which he was constantly receiving from the North, to Massachusetts, for counsel and co-operation.

And to Massachusetts also, particularly, he communicated an interview held this month with a Deputation from the Oneida Indians—an interview which afterwards was renewed—and which, through the happy management of the Governor—especially by his securing the influence in the matter of President Wheelock of Dartmouth College, and of the Indian School there—was rendered fruitful of good results to the American Cause, by withdrawing the tribe from the malign influence of Sir Guy Johnson, and other noted adherents of Great Britain.*

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* The correspondence between Trumbull and Dr. Wheelock, at this time, was very active. Wheelock had kept his first Indian School at Lebanon, Ct., and was on intimate terms with the Governor. "Several of the Indian children," he wrote him early in the spring of this year, from Dartmouth—"from some of the most respectable tribes, are now at the Seminary, and may be considered hostages; Mr. Dean [who had been sent among the Indians at the West by Dr. Wheelock, to preserve peace in the frontier settlements, and influence them to join the Colonies] will probably bring more; this connection is our surest bulwark against invasion."—"The abilities and influence of Mr. Dean," replied Trumbull, "to attach the Six Nations to the interests of these Colonies, is an instance of Divine favor. If the Indian scholars are called from you in a manner that shows a design of hostilities, please to give the earliest intelligence of it. You may depend on my care to do nothing that may tend to injure you or your cause."

June twenty-seventh, he received a Speech and belt from the chiefs and warriors of these Oneida Indians, and by order of the General Assembly, made them "a kind and friendly answer."* He also procured for their Deputation a belt of wampum—and besides, much to the gratification of the Indians, sent them on in a wagon, at the expense of the State, to view the Camp near Boston. Of all these proceedings he gave full information to the Authorities of New-England, and sent them the Speech of the Indians. "May the Supreme Director of all events," was his pious and patriotic wish in his letter to Massachusetts upon this occasion—"give wisdom, stability, and union to all our counsels, inspire our soldiers with courage, cover their heads in the day of battle and danger; and convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all attempts to deprive us of our rights are injurious and vain!"

In July, the Governor sent Schuyler fifteen thousand pounds in money, and forty and a half barrels of powder—all he could spare—and again appealed to Congress and New-York in regard to requisitions and supplies. "You may rely," he told New-York—while urging them to send on tents to Ticonderoga—that, if the expense of supporting the Northern Army "is not seasonably defrayed by the Continental Congress, this Colony will not fail of doing so, altho' it has, without grudging, advanced near one hundred and fifty thousand pounds."† Despatches at this time reached him frequently from the North, and he was, almost constantly, employed in answering them. Ethan Allen gave

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* "The Oneida Indians met our Speech at German Flats, and expressed great satisfaction in it—promised an Answer in ten or twelve days."—*Trumbull to his son Joseph*, *Sep. 4th*, 1775.

† "We were a little surprised," he wrote the Delegates in Congress from Connecticut at this time—Dyer, Sherman, and Deane—July seventh—"that so large a requisition of money, especially, was made upon us in favor of Gen. Schuyler, when it is known how much we have cheerfully exhausted ourselves; and we cannot but suspect but that the money might have been raised with equal ease in a short time, either in Philadelphia or New-York. However, that nothing in our power might be omitted to promote the service, the Assembly have agreed to advance him £15,000 pounds; knowing the inability of other States with respect to the other article, [powder,] we should have very gladly complied with the full requisition, but it was impossible. We have done all that we could, and are only sorry that we could do no more."

him particular notice, that, unless an army was marched into Canada—a plan peculiarly acceptable to the Governor—the Indians and Canadians, who in general were disposed to be neuter, or to assist the United Colonies, would be compelled to join against us.* "Now, Sir, *it is time to carry Canada*," wrote to him Major John Brown. "It may be done with great ease and little cost, and I have no doubt but that the Canadians would join us. There is great defection among them."—"Is it not high time," responded Trumbull, addressing both Schuyler and Congress—"to proceed into, and even hasten forward to secure the government of Quebec, and thereby the whole Indian strength and interest in our favor? Is there anything to expect from the present Administration that is favorable or kind? If needful, may not Col. Waterbury with his regiment be spared to the northward? We are near the grand scene of action; are anxious for the safety of our friends, the security of our rights, and to convince our enemies that we are in earnest, and that the object in view is American Liberty. The barrier of Virtue is to be defended and maintained even at the sacrifice of life."—"Be assured, Sir," replied Schuyler, "that every recommendation of yours will claim my particular attention."—"The critical hour seems to hasten," exclaimed Trumbull to his son, writing *him* also at this time about affairs at the North—"May our eyes be on the Lord of Hosts! The Lord reigns!"

But the promise of the moment began to turn dark. Preparations are making by General Carleton to invade the Colonies, wrote Samuel Mott from the North to the Governor of Connecticut, on the third of August. General Schuyler

* "Your letter of the eighth ultimo," writes Allen, among other things, in reply to Trumbull—"gave me to understand that my painful services in behalf of my country were noted by your Honor. My letters having received your patronage, were received by the Honorable Congress with that additional lustre they needed. * * Your Honor's inviolable attachment, and unshaken religious perseverance in support of the liberties of America, manifested from the era of the detestable Stamp Act, have not only entitled, but gained you the love and esteem of every friend to his country, of whatever rank, or denomination. That your Honor may long live, and sway your respectable Colony in the way of virtue and liberty, and after this transitory life receive the unspeakable reward of social virtue, is the sincere desire of him who is, with the greatest respect, your Honor's devoted, most obedient, and humble servant,

Ethan Allen."

"drives on things fast as he can, considering the hindrance he has; but what can be done in the war with but few men, and less provision and ammunition—and not a tent to encamp the men in."—The troops "sicken alarmingly fast," wrote Schuyler to Trumbull the same day—"and without tents, they must suffer incredibly."* Intelligence of the same sort reached him from Ethan Allen, and Colonel Hinman.

Here then was fresh business for his hands. To the New-York Congress, therefore, he wrote, pressing them again to send on tents for Hinman's regiment. To Mr. Rensselaer, a purveyor of New-York, he at once gave a permit to purchase, for the Northern army, four hundred barrels of pork—in Connecticut—and this although there was then a great scarcity of the article in this Colony. That arms might be in good condition, he sent to Schuyler for all the old gun-barrels, and gun-locks, at Ticonderoga and Crown Point—that they might be transported to him, to be repaired for use. "Our enemies," he at the same time wrote Schuyler—re-assuring him for the Northern advance—"are the ministerial troops in Canada, while the Canadians are our friends, and will join us at a time when they are able, and not forced to the contrary by our enemies. The Indians will join the Canadians, and it will save both blood and treasure to make our approach while our enemies are few and everything looks promising. There are at least seven hundred and fifty men who may possibly be spared, who are yet in this Colony, to assist in the enterprise. Surely it is not the intention of the Continental Congress to prevent your going forward."

At the beginning of September he was informed, in confidence, by General Washington, that the latter was about to detach ten or twelve hundred men on an expedition into Canada by way of the Kennebec River—that the detachment would march in two days—and that new troops, whom Trumbull was requested particularly to supply, would be wanted to take the places of the troops about to leave.

* Fifteen thousand pounds in money are wanted, he added, and "all the ammunition you can spare, for it cannot be had in New-York, even in the smallest quantity."

With this call Trumbull immediately complied—and perhaps the more cheerfully, inasmuch as his own feelings, about this time, were very much gratified by the appointment of his son Jonathan to the post of Paymaster General for the Northern Army. "I take the liberty to recommend him," he upon this occasion wrote to General Schuyler—"to your kind assistance and countenance. I trust he will discharge his duties so as to meet your approbation, and merit your recommendation to the Honorable General Congress of the United Colonies in America, that he may meet a fit reward for his fatigue, risk, expense, and service."

Hearing about this time that some jealousies had arisen between the New York and Connecticut troops—and receiving letters which complained of General Schuyler, and even of the generalship, to some extent, of Montgomery—Trumbull interposed, and with good success, to restore harmony. He replied, in soothing strains, to the remonstrants. "It is unhappy," he wrote to Congress, and to Washington—"that jealousies should be excited, or disputes of any sort be litigated between any of the Colonies, to disunite them at a time when our liberty, our property, and our all is at stake. * * If our enemies prevail, which can happen only by our disunion, our jealousies will appear then altogether groundless, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side."

But the information which now most disquieted the Governor, was that which related to sickness among the troops at the North. It was indeed distressing. Their treatment, he heard from Dr. Young, was "not what it should be," and his particular instructions on this matter were sought. "Let the sick be placed where they will find good water," he responded—"let them be supplied with good milk. More tents will soon reach them from New York. I will send them on more beeves. I doubt not it will recover many of them, to find they are going into action!" Special relief having been voted by Connecticut, both for the soldiers sick at Ticonderoga and vicinity, and for those who were on the road home—to be paid for by this State, if not met from the purse of the United Colonies—Trumbull looked to its application. He had every direction enforced. It was but the

beginning of humane attention on his part towards suffering soldiers of the Revolutionary Army—as we shall have occasion hereafter fully to observe.

Hearing from Schuyler in November that affairs then looked promising at the North, he wrote him a characteristic letter.

"It is matter for an abundant rejoicing," he says—"that the Government is in the hands of Him who is possessed of all perfection, and doth all things right; and while his judgments are abroad in this land, may his people be instructed and learn righteousness. While the United Colonies do sincerely lament the unhappy necessity of taking up arms, they at the same time may rejoice with thanksgiving for the success of those arms; which, if they do, is an argument to support our hope of future prosperity. I do therefore reecho my hearty congratulations on your kind favor of the 7th instant—and am in hope of securing and defending the province of Quebec in their own and our interest, and thereby to circumvent the mischievous design of rendering that, and the savages under its influence, a scourge and ruin to the present rightful possessors of these Colonies."

November seventeenth, he received, by special express, the news that "on Friday, the third instant, the strong fortress of St. John was surrendered to the American arms." It was followed soon by a letter from Schuyler, informing him of the taking of Montreal. Glorious news was this indeed to him who had so earnestly toiled for the invasion of Canada! "The events announced," he wrote to Congress then—"are arguments of praise to the Supreme Director of all events!"

CHAPTER XVI.

1775.

TRUMBULL supplies the Camp at Boston with fresh troops and stores. Some of the powder he sent told at Bunker Hill. His daughter Faith an eye-witness of this battle. Its fatal effect upon her. Trumbull's conduct upon her death. He sends forces, under Gen. Wooster, and supplies, to New York. His difficulty at this time in procuring supplies He proclaims an embargo. He recommends Congress to appoint a National Fast—which is done. He objects to their renewed Petition to the King, but on other points harmonizes with their action. Congress highly commends his course. He congratulates Washington upon his appointment as Commander in chief. Washington's reply. A difficulty among Connecticut officers on Putnam's promotion to the post of Brigadier General. Spencer resigns. Trumbull's prudent management of the case. His letter to Congress on the subject. His letter to Spencer. Its soothing effect. Spencer returns again to the Army.

WE turn to contemplate Trumbull now, during the year 1775, in other departments of the War.

The Battle of Lexington, as we have shown, roused him to great activity in providing for the relief of Boston. This relief he continued to afford. To the troops from Connecticut already in camp under Putnam and Spencer, he soon added most of the regiment under Parsons—which he ordered on from New London, and supplied with ammunition from the Colony stores—besides sending to Cambridge "with the greatest possible secrecy and despatch," sixty barrels of powder—all that could possibly then be spared from Connecticut—together with a small quantity obtained from New Jersey. He sent cloth also to Putnam for forty tents.

Some of that powder told in June at Bunker Hill—in that deadly fire of small arms which twice totally broke the British lines, and precipitated them back to their landing place, with more than one thousand of their dead left on the field of strife—a majestic and tremendous scene, with its blaze of more than five hundred houses in Charlestown, added to the

continual blaze and roar of artillery—a scene whose havoc, in full view from the heights of Boston and its neighborhood, was witnessed by thousands of intensely agitated spectators—and among the rest, particularly, by the eldest daughter of Governor Trumbull himself. To her, as we have heretofore intimated, the spectacle proved fatal.

"About noon of that day"—the day of the battle—writes Colonel John Trumbull—"I had a momentary interview with my favorite sister, the wife of Colonel, afterwards Gen. Huntington, whose regiment was on its march to join the army. The novelty of military scenes excited great curiosity throughout the country, and my sister was one of a party of young friends who were attracted to visit the Army before Boston. She was a woman of deep and affectionate sensibility, and the moment of her visit was most unfortunate. She found herself surrounded, not by "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," but in the midst of all its horrible realities. She saw too clearly the life of danger and hardship upon which her husband and her favorite brother had entered, and it overcame her strong, but too sensitive mind. She became deranged, and died the following November at Dedham.*

A sad event indeed—sad to all her friends—but especially so to her husband, her brother, and to her doating father—to all of whom it gave the most poignant grief—for she was a lady whose "benevolence, obligingness, and affection," in their estimation—as was expressed by her husband subsequently, in a letter to his brother-in-law Joseph—were "without a parallel."—"You have seen," he adds, "the thousand agreeable and tender scenes in which I have passed with the dear partner of my soul, your lovely sister. The law of kindness was ever on her tongue and heart—but she is gone—and gone, I trust, to scenes of uninterrupted bliss. My tears must and will flow."*

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*The following is Gov. Trumbull's entry, in his own Family Bible, of his daughter Faith's death:—

"*Faith d. at Ded. Friday Morning*, 24*th Nov.* 1775."

*"I thank the God of all mercies," he continues, "that I have hope in my mourning. Your darling sister I all along pleased myself would be restored. If it could have been convenient for my dear son† to have taken a last parting look at his dear mother, I should have been glad—his presence might have soothed me—but it could not well be."

†Col. Jabez Huntington—only child left on the decease of the mother, and at this time at Lebanon with his Grandfather. He died at Norwich, Ct., not many years ago—in high estimation for his worth.

But though the joy which the Battle of Bunker Hill universally inspired in the American heart, was in the bosom of Governor Trumbull somewhat clouded by the melancholy association of that contest with the loss of a beloved daughter, yet, in the great cause in which he was engaged, this loss did not lead him in the least "to temporize with his affection." He seems to have anticipated the bereavement. Early in October he had written for his daughter's husband to leave the army, if possible, and visit her at Norwich, where she then was. "She is very low in her spirits, and unwell," he said. "I am really much concerned for her." But, though sorely afflicted, he wiped "the honorable dew" from off his cheeks. He gave Christian allayment to his grief—and kept steadily on in the discharge of his public duties—in which sphere we turn again to view him.

We have seen him raising forces and supplies for the East. We find him at the same time, doing the same thing for an opposite quarter—for New-York—where, owing to the intrigues of Governor Tryon, disaffection to the American cause began openly to appear—where the avowal of a determination to join the King's standard was made, it was reported, with impunity—and where four British regiments—to take advantage of the disaffection, secure the city, and possess themselves of the Hudson river—were daily expected. Trumbull, therefore, in June, sent thither a body of seventeen hundred troops under General Wooster, that had already been raised for the defence of Connecticut, and stationed at Greenwich, Stamford, and elsewhere along the coast of Long Island Sound.

The Provincial Congress of New-York had applied to him for this force. Wooster had informed him of his readiness to march, and solicited orders. But a New-York Committee—though grateful for his "kindness," they said, "in sending troops for their assistance"—yet requested him to direct their encampment *on the frontiers* of Connecticut. Trumbull, however, did not heed a caution which he deemed somewhat timorous, but sent the divisions on to Harlem, where they served a most valuable end in overawing the enemies of the American cause, and in strengthening the hands of its friends.

A part of them—four hundred and fifty men, with Wooster in person—passed over to Long Island—and there, while aiding to guard exposed points from the cruisers of the enemy, and to assist defenceless inhabitants in removing their cattle and crops to places of security, were carefully supplied by Trumbull himself, to the extent of his means, with the vital article of powder.*

This supply, as well as that of provisions, clothing, and refreshments, both for the entire force of Wooster and for the Connecticut Line near Boston—as well for present as in anticipation of future military operations—gave Governor Trumbull much anxiety.

Provisions of every kind, on account of the demands that had already been made for the army, were just at this time very scarce—and by order of the General Assembly, therefore, he proclaimed an embargo on wheat, rye, Indian corn, pork, beef, live cattle, peas, beans, butter, cheese, bread, flour, and every kind of meal, except necessary stores for vessels bound to sea. This embargo, the Governor was to see enforced—and one of its features, particularly, which shows the confidence reposed in his judgment, added much to his labor. By act of Assembly, the power and privilege was reserved to himself of giving permits for exportation, such as he should judge necessary and expedient, in case of the public service—a power and discretion, which, as we might cite numerous examples to prove, he exercised with commendable prudence, care, and benevolence.

Meantime, while Trumbull was thus busy with public

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* "Same day, at eleven o'clock," he wrote Washington, August eleventh—"I received a letter from Brigadier General Wooster, dated the 9th, at the Oyster Ponds, on Long Island. He had with him four hundred and fifty men, besides militia, designing to preserve the stock at that place. The people on the Island had left it. He applied to me for three hundred pounds of powder, before I had made my answer and order for the powder—which I gave, notwithstanding our exhausted condition. On receipt of yours, I inserted an extract from it, for his observation.

"I am informed a quantity of powder for the camp is to be at Hartford this evening, and more to follow soon. We have more lately arrived, which is daily expected. I request your direction, that of the next quantity that comes to Hartford, there may be lodged there so much as you shall judge expedient. Of what is expected to arrive in the meantime, I shall have no occasion to use your allowance."

duties, the National Congress was in session, and Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief of the American Army. To Congress, therefore, he transmitted full information of the transactions in Connecticut, and, as he had done at their former session, gave much useful counsel, and stimulated patriotic action. Among other things he recommended to this Body the appointment of a Fast—"throughout all the distressed American Colonies"—and his recommendation was adopted. "On that solemn day," he wrote, therefore, to President Hancock—"in which you have called the Inhabitants of all the English Colonies on this Continent, to humiliation, fasting and prayer, may the Almighty and most merciful Governor of the World hear the voice of his People, and His ears be attentive to the voice of their supplications—redeem them from all their iniquities;—grant an answer of Peace; and convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and of their injurious and vain attempts to deprive us and unborn millions of that inestimable Heavenly Gift of Freedom and Liberty!"

To all the proceedings of the National Congress Trumbull gave his unqualified assent, save to their renewed Petition to the King. This seemed to his independent heart too humble in its tone. "Were all the political heads joined in framing it?"—he inquired of Eliphalet Dyer, one of the Delegates then in Congress. "Doth it not express supererogatory love for the dignity and welfare of the Mother Country? Does it not show a love to our brethren more than to ourselves, and that the more we are beaten, the better we shall be? It may be received very graciously, but cannot constitutionally reach the royal ear." This was the only instance, however, of disagreement between Trumbull and the Congress of his countrymen at Philadelphia. Upon other points their sentiments were in closest harmony—and of Trumbull's management of the War, here at its outbreak, so far as his own services were concerned, Congress entertained the most exalted opinion—and took pains to express it.

"We are happy" wrote him from Philadelphia, June twenty-sixth, the Delegates from Connecticut—"we are happy to find that every measure within your power for the

public good has been uniformly pursued by you, and that the advice from the Congress has been rather as approving than as directing your conduct. You will by this express receive a letter from the President, informing you of the appointment of General Washington and other General Officers, and *by unanimous order of the* Congress expressing *the high sense they have of your important services to the United Colonies at this important crisis!*"

"I have to express," wrote Trumbull to President Hancock, in response to his flattering communication—"the great pleasure and satisfaction it gives me to find that my endeavors to serve the common cause of our bleeding country in this day of unnatural Darkness, meets the approbation of the Honorable General Congress of these United Colonies. I am sensible that care and zeal for the defence of American Liberty, attract the attention and regard of the Honorable Members of that august Body, whose wisdom and prudence, patience, time and labours, are exercised and employed for its security. I do most sincerely thank them for their kind wishes. Who of us wish to live in a land where Virtue may not dwell?—The prosperity and happiness of our country justly deserve the utmost exertion of all my abilities."

The appointment of Washington, in June, to the chief command, was received by Trumbull with unalloyed satisfaction. "It will answer great and salutary purposes, such is his character"—he said. And he immediately wrote him a congratulatory letter—which, filled with the prevailing spirit of the day, and tinged with the writer's religious cast of mind, warmly wishes him every success, and invokes Providence on his side.

"Suffer me," he proceeds, "to join in congratulating you on your appointment to be General and Commander-in-chief of the troops raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American Liberty. Men who have tasted freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easily taught to bear with encroachments on either, or brought to submit to oppression. Virtue ought always to be made the object of government; justice is firm and permanent." * *

"The Honorable Congress have proclaimed a Fast to be observed by the inhabitants of all the English Colonies on this continent, to stand be-

fore the Lord in one day, with public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, to deplore our many sins, to offer up our joint supplications to God, for forgiveness, and for his merciful interposition for us in this day of unnatural darkness and distress.

"They have, with one united voice, appointed you to the high station you possess. The supreme Director of all events has caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist amongst us.

"Now therefore, be strong and very courageous. May the God of the armies of Israel shower down the blessings of his divine providence on you, give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and danger, add success, convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their inestimable constitutional rights and liberties are injurious and vain."

"Allow me, Sir," wrote Washington in reply, "to return you my sincere thanks for the kind wishes and favorable sentiments expressed in yours of the thirteenth instant. As the cause of our common country calls us both to an active and dangerous duty, I trust that Divine Providence, which wisely orders the affairs of men, will enable us to discharge it with fidelity and success. The uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people has raised you to deserved eminence. That the blessings of health, and the still greater blessing of long continuing to govern such a people, may be yours, is the sincere wish, Sir, of yours, &c."

Thus beautifully did the two patriots—Trumbull and Washington—at the very outset of our War for Independence, commence an intercourse, which, as the emergencies of the struggle brought them more and more together, cemented soon into the closest friendship and correspondence. Upon Trumbull—"one of the firmest patriots and best men that his country has produced," says Sparks—"General Washington relied as one of his main pillars of support." A remark signally true! Upon no one, we think it can most safely be affirmed, was the Father of his Country destined to lean so much, for aid and counsel, as on the Governor of Connecticut. The voices of both, as if they "had been incorporate," were to sound ever on one glorious key of patriotism. Emphatically, their "double bosoms" were "to seem to wear one heart."

At the same time with congratulation to Washington upon his appointment to the chief command, Trumbull had an opposite duty—one of condolence and conciliation—to perform towards other distinguished officers in the American Army.

Under the new establishment by Congress, General Spencer and General Wooster of Connecticut had been both superseded in rank by the promotion of Israel Putnam—their inferior in grade in the Colonial service—to the post of Brigadier-General.

This procedure touched military pride in its most sensitive point, and led Spencer, among others, to quit the army in disgust. A warm remonstrance in his favor, from about forty-five officers, followed his resignation—in which they deprecated, "as injurious to the morals, good order, and discipline of the troops," that alteration in rank by which the first in command of the Connecticut forces at Roxbury—who was "respected by his officers, and loved by his soldiers"—was "degraded," they said, from his position. And they called on the General Assembly of Connecticut to interfere for their own and for the satisfaction of their affronted General. The Assembly at once instructed Trumbull to urge Spencer to return to the Army, and to acquaint Congress with the circumstances. He was to express to this Body the high esteem in which they held both Spencer and Wooster—to state their dissatisfaction at the injustice in appointments done to those officers, but to testify at the same time to "the singular merit" of General Putnam—and to request Congress, if practicable, "to devise some method of obviating the probable inconveniences that might ensue."

This delicate duty Trumbull discharged with fidelity.

"I am desired by the Assembly," he wrote the Delegates in Congress from Connecticut, July seventh—"to acquaint you that Gen[ls] Wooster and Spencer are held in great estimation by them, and by the officers and troops under their command. And from the intelligence lately received from the army, they are under some apprehensions that great inconvenience will be the consequence of the alteration made by the Congress, in the rank and station of those generals. At the same time they have the highest sense of Gen. Putnam's singular merit and services, and request, if it be practicable, that some method may be devised to obviate the difficulties that are apprehended." We wish the order already adopted with our generals, he further said—"had been preferred, and fear Generals Wooster and Spencer will think they have reason to complain. Indeed we should rather have expected that a matter of so much delicacy would have been first submitted to the approbation

of the Assembly, before it was finally fixed. However, we will do the best we can to prevent its being any prejudice to the service."

While thus using his influence with Congress in favor of Spencer, and to satisfy his troops, Trumbull also dealt directly and earnestly with the General himself. He wrote to him. He had a long conference with him at his own house at Lebanon. "By the love of his native land," he conjured him—as the General Assembly requested—"to call to mind the signal affection of his country towards him, so often testified," and "not precipitately to resign his command." Such a course, he assured him, would distress troops that were "attached to him by the warmest affection and duty," and would "give great dissatisfaction and anxiety to his country, which had placed, and continued to place high confidence in his wisdom, prudence, integrity, and military skill."

This soothing treatment had its effect. General Spencer—bearing with him grateful letters from Trumbull to Washington—was pursuaded to return to the army—a course—considering that he was now to serve under an officer whom he had himself formerly commanded—which was highly creditable to his patriotism, and which at the same time reflected honor on the man who so pleasantly had conciliated his pride, vindicated his reputation, and ensured the continuance of his valuable services to his native land.

CHAPTER XVII.

1775.

A Council of Safety organized to aid Governor Trumbull. The sessions of this Council, and Trumbull's efficiency as its Head He continues active in furnishing troops and supplies. He is appointed by Congress to confer with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Lynch, about the army. A difference between himself and Gen. Washington in regard to certain new levies. Correspondence concerning it It is happily reconciled.

From the time of Washington's appointment to the chief command, on the close of the year 1775—the main American Army lay encamped around Boston—hemming the British troops within the city by land, and strengthening itself, after the Battle of Bunker Hill, for further collision with the foe—and Trumbull, as before, continued to contribute all in his power towards furnishing it with troops and supplies. He had now—to unite with him in his arduous task—a *Council of Safety*, as it was termed—which, at the May session of the General Assembly, had been appointed to aid the Governor, when the Legislature was not sitting, in directing the marches and stations of troops, and in supplying them "with every matter and thing that should be needful." The Governor was empowered to convene this Council on all important occasions—and five of them might form a quorum to do business in all cases where great dispatch was required.*

Governeur Morris—writing of his own duties as Head of Committees in the Continental Congress—remarks, that "the Chairman received and answered all letters and other applications, took every step which he deemed essential, prepared reports, gave orders, and the like, and merely took the members of a Committee into a chamber, and for the form's sake made the needful communications, and received their appro-

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* Its first members were Matthew Griswold, William Pitkin, Roger Sherman, Abraham Davenport, William Williams, Titus Hosmer, Benjamin Payne, Gen. James Wadsworth, Benjamin Huntington, William Hillhouse, Thaddeus Burr, Nathaniel Wales Jr., Daniel Sherman, and Andrew Adams—fourteen in all.

bation, which was given of course. Necessity," he adds, "preserving the democratical forms, assumed the monarchical substance of business." This description applies, in good degree, to Trumbull's post as Chairman of the Connecticut Council of Safety. He convened them often during the War—in fact, for their Body, a prodigious number of times—*nine hundred and thirteen days* in all—upon *each one* of which days he *was himself personally present!* He consulted with them carefully. They were men, undoubtedly, of weight and wisdom. But *he* was emphatically their leading spirit. *He* was the organ of their resolves—upon *him* the great bulk of duty devolved.

So we find him, during the period now under consideration, executing in person the business of furnishing troops, and of procuring and forwarding supplies—now flour, particularly from Norwich*—now, from various quarters, beef and pork—now blankets—now arms—but especially, at all times, whenever and wherever he could procure it, powder—the manufacture of which vital commodity he stimulated through committees appointed to collect saltpetre, in every part of the State. "The necessities of the army are so great" for this article, wrote Washington to him almost constantly at this time—"that all that can be spared should be forwarded with the utmost expedition."—"Soon as your expected supply of powder arrives," wrote his son in law Colonel Huntington from Cambridge, August fourteenth—"I

* "There are," he wrote Washington, July seventeenth—"thirteen hundred and ninety-nine barrels of flour come to the care of Colonel Jedediah Huntington, of Norwich, for the use of the army, which I have ordered forward. The busy season with the farmers renders its speedy transportation difficult. Please to advise of the need of hurry, and where it shall be ordered to be delivered.

"Our Assembly supplied Major-General Schuyler with fifteen thousand pounds in cash, and forty barrels of another necessary article. The brig Nancy, Thomas Davis, master, which arrived at Stonington with molasses, is removed to Norwich. She hath on board eighteen or nineteen thousand gallons. The Committee of Inspection and Correspondence, I trust, will take proper care respecting both vessel and cargo.

"The road by my door being the nearest for post-riding from Cambridge to Philadelphia, I shall be obliged, whenever your Excellency has occasion to send to that city, if the rider may be directed this way, and call on me, for the convenience of any despatches I may have occasion to forward by him. Fessenden has passed this way more than once."

imagine General Putnam will kick up a dust. He has got one floating battery launched, and another on the stocks." The powder was sent—at one time six large wagon loads—and at the same time two more for New York, on account of an expected attack in that direction.* "Our medicine chests will soon be exhausted," wrote Huntington at the same time. The medicine chests were replenished. And before September, Trumbull had so completely drained his own State of the materials for war, that he was obliged to write Washington, and inform him that he could not then afford any more.

As regards troops, in July he sent to the Camp at Cambridge two companies of Wooster's regiment that had been stationed at New London—ordered the Colonels of the seventh and eighth regiments of the Colony to march their respective forces to the same point—and was closely occupied also in giving commissions, and taking measures for raising a further body of fourteen hundred men that had been ordered by the General Assembly, and was to be formed into two regiments of ten companies each, and be equipped for the special defence of the Colony.†

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* "The capital object of powder," wrote Richard Henry Lee from Philadelphia to Washington, August first, "we [Congress] have attended to as far as we could by sending you the other day six tons, and to-morrow we shall propose sending six or eight tons more, which, *with the supplies you may get from Connecticut*, and such further ones from here as future expected importations may furnish, will, I hope, enable you to do all that this powerful article can in good hands accomplish."

† "On the 1st instant," he wrote Gen. Washington from Lebanon, July seventeenth—"I met the Honorable Assembly of this Colony, to deliberate on the urgent and pressing reasons sent us from the Massachusetts for an immediate augmentation of troops from this Colony. Our Assembly agreed to augment with two regiments of seven hundred men each, who are now raising to join the Continental Army. It was wished that we could have the advice and direction of the Congress, or your Excellency, before we took this step, but thought the present critical situation of our affairs would not admit the delay of obtaining it. Since your arrival at Camp before Boston, views and considerations of their situation and circumstances I shall gladly be advised of, and shall attend your request for the hastening and marching the men." ‡

‡ Two days after the letter from which we have just quoted was written, a "direction of the Congress," which Trumbull was anticipating, passed that Body. But it was needless as regards his action, as the following passage from a letter by him to Washington, dated July thirty-first, shows.

"By the resolve of Congress of the 19th instant," he says, "it is recommended

In September, he sent to Washington another body of new levies that had been stationed to defend the sea-coast of the Colony—and in December was again engaged in raising and forming into regiments, still another body of troops—to consist of one-fourth part of the militia of the Colony, together with such able-bodied persons, not included in any militia roll, as should be inclined to enlist—and to be in readiness, all "as *Minute-Men*"—for the defence of Connecticut, and of the United Colonies. For the support of the troops now mentioned, Trumbull was also engaged in providing money—especially for those in the service of the Continent—whose accounts—to the amount in one instance of fifty, and in another of sixty thousand pounds—he transmitted, thoroughly prepared, to Congress for settlement—and at the same time he sent on to this Body two Frenchmen—Perret and De Pliccure—who were proposing to aid the American cause by furnishing military stores.

Thus active was the Governor of Connecticut, the present year, for the Army around Boston. And he received from Congress signal proof of their confidence in his knowledge and experience by his own appointment, in October, together with a few others, to confer with a special committee raised

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to the New England Colonies to complete the deficiencies in the regiments belonging to them respectively.

"I have not been informed of any deficiencies in the number of troops sent from Connecticut. It is recommended also to this Colony to complete and send forward to the Camp before Boston, as soon as possible, the fourteen hundred men lately voted by our assembly. The 25th instant I sent orders to the Colonels of the last named regiments to march forthwith to the Camp before Boston, by subdivisions, if all were not in readiness. I expect many of the companies will begin their march this day, and that the whole will move forward very soon."

July seventh, in a letter to the Delegates in Congress from Connecticut, Trumbull says—"As the expense we are daily incurring is so very great, we should be extremely glad to find that the Continental currency is in such forwardness as to be applied to the purpose of equipping and furnishing these troops; should this be the case, you will be so good as to apply for the money, and forward it to me with all despatch. We estimate the present expense at £40,000. It will be so much more convenient and less expensive for our troops stationed at New York, by order of Congress, to be supplied with provisions &c., by New York, than from us, that we hope the Congress will direct the Convention of that province to furnish them during their residence there, in the same manner as this colony has agreed to do—less than we have engaged them, I need not tell you, will by no means give them satisfaction."

by Congress—Dr. Franklin, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Lynch—"touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental Army."*

Among the troops sent by Trumbull to the East, we have stated, were some new levies that had been stationed to defend the sea-coast of Connecticut. His retention of these troops for awhile, for this purpose, brought him into a correspondence with General Washington which was somewhat tart—and which—as the only instance of a difference between these remarkable men—deserves particular mention.

On the fifth of September Trumbull wrote to Washington assigning the particular reasons for the detention of these troops. He informed him that the coasts of Connecticut were kept in continual alarm—that they were infested by ministerial troops and transports—that three ships of war, with thirteen other vessels, had been seen off Fisher's Island and in the Sound but the day before—that New London and Stonington were each in great fear of an attack—and that for the defence of these two places—as well as for that of some other points of the coast—as "absolutely necessary for their security at present"—he had stationed the new levies from Stonington on to Connecticut River, and four additional companies west of that river. He hoped, he wrote, that this use of the new levies, until the danger was over, would neither injure or hinder any of the operations around Boston.

To the contents of this letter Washington paid no attention, but by sending on, September eighth, a peremptory requisition for the levies, and informing Trumbull that by a resolution of Congress, troops on the Continental Establishment were not to be employed for the defence of the coasts,

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* Hancock, the President of Congress, under date of Sept. 30, 1775, thus writes to him on this subject: "As there are sundry matters contained in your letters which are of great importance, and on which the Congress, before they come to a final determination, are desirous to have the advantage of your experience and knowledge, they have appointed three of their numbers, Mr. Lynch, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Harrison, to wait on you, &c."

Trumbull in his response, dated Oct. 9th, 1775, and addressed to General Washington, speaks of the Assembly of Connecticut as detaining him, and says—"Had the meeting been earlier, it would have afforded me satisfaction to have attended, given me the pleasure of waiting on you and the other gentlemen, besides gratifying my curiosity to see the works the army has made."

or of any particular Province—the militia being deemed competent for that service. "Sir," he wrote from Cambridge—"upon the receipt of this you will please to give directions that all the new levies march immediately to this camp."

Trumbull was touched by the General's neglect to notice the exigency which had instigated his own course with the troops, and with the somewhat unusual tone of positiveness in his letter.

"I have received," he therefore wrote to Washington, September fifteenth—"your Excellency's letter of the 8th instant by the express, who was detained by sickness, and did not deliver it till the 12th, in the evening. * * Your peremptory requisition is fully complied with; all our new levies will be at your camp with all convenient expedition.

"At the time they were by your direction to remain in the Colony, on some reason to suspect a remove from Boston to New York, that they might be able to give them more speedy opposition, I ordered Colonel Webb of our seventh regiment, his men being raised in the western part of the Colony, to take his station, with three or four companies, at Greenwich, the nearest town of this Colony to New York; his Lieutenant-Colonel and Company at New Haven; the residue of his and Colonel Huntington's, who were forward in their march, one company in Norwich, and the rest to New London. Last week I sent orders to Colonel Webb to march the companies with him to Newhaven, to be on his way so much nearer to your camp.

"I am surprised that mine of the 5th instant was not received, or not judged worthy of notice, as no mention is made of it.

"Stonington," he proceeds in farther justification of his conduct, "has been attacked and severely cannonaded, and by Divine Providence marvellously protected.

"New London and Norwich are still so menaced by the ministerial ships and troops, that the militia cannot be thought sufficient for their security, and it is necessary to throw up some intrenchments. We are obliged actually to raise more men for their security, and for the towns of Newhaven and Lyme. I hoped some of the new levies might have been left here till these dangers here were over, without any injury to your operations. I own that it must be left to your judgment. Yet it would have given me pleasure to have been acquainted that you did consider it.

"I thank Divine Providence and you for this early warning to great care and watchfulness, that so the union of the Colonies may be settled on a permanent and happy basis.

"I have before me your more acceptable letter of the 9th instant. The necessities of the Colony to supply our two armed vessels, to furnish

the men necessarily raised for the defence of our seaports and coasts, and to raise the lead ore, which appears very promising, prevent our being able to spare more than half a ton, which is ordered forward with expedition. Before the necessity of raising more men appeared, we intended to send a ton.

"You may depend on our utmost exertions for the defence and security of the constitutional rights and liberties of the Colonies, and of our own in particular. None has shown greater forwardness, and thereby rendered itself more the object of ministerial vengeance."

In reply to this letter, General Washington, September twenty-first, expressed regret at any misconstruction of his purposes. He assured the Governor that nothing on his part "was intended that might be construed into disrespect." He said that he had "long been sensible that it would be impossible to please, not individuals, but particular provinces, whose partial necessities would occasionally call for assistance"—and concluded with the remark that "the spirit and zeal of Connecticut" were "unquestionable," and that he hoped it would not suffer from the alarm on the coast.

"I have no disposition," was the happy response of Trumbull to this epistle—"to increase the weight of your burdens, which, in the multiplicity of your business, must be sufficiently heavy, nor inclination to disturb the harmony so necessary to the happy success of our public operations. I am persuaded no such difficulty will any more happen. It is unhappy that jealousies should be excited, or disputes of any sort be litigated between any of the colonies, to disunite them at a time when our liberty, our property, our all is at stake. If our enemies prevail, which our disunion may occasion, our jealousies will then appear frivolous, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side."

Thus—his feelings soothed by kind explanations from Washington—his discontent softened by the consideration of public harmony—thus magnanimously did Trumbull close the only painful correspondence he ever had with the Commander-in-chief of the American armies. That the course he took with the troops—though contrary to the established policy of Congress, as this Body took occasion subsequently to say—was yet—under all the circumstances of the case,

under the pressing emergency of danger that then existed—warranted, we have not a doubt—especially so when we consider the fact that it was by Washington's own particular order that the new levies had been retained in Connecticut up to the time when he demanded their removal to Cambridge—having "had some reason," as he wrote, "to expect a remove from Boston to New York"—in which case these new troops would have been able "to give more speedy opposition to the enemy." But the difference between himself and the Governor of Connecticut was all closed, as we have seen, speedily, and in a manner highly creditable to both the parties concerned. Sweet peace ever after reigned in their counsellings. The friendships of Scipio and Lelius, or of Theseus and Pirithous, or of Orestes and Pylades—though they ran in different channels—never ran more fondly, or with a more perfect coincidence of interests, than those of the great Father of our Country and Trumbull, during the remainder of their lives.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1775.

TRUMBULL in connection with the sea coast defence of Connecticut The dangers upon the coast, from the enemy, both to property and person—what they were. Attempted seizure of Gov. Griswold, and of other leading whigs—as Gen. Washington—Gen. Schuyler—Gen. Silliman—Gov. Clinton—and Gov. Livingston. Trumbull a special object of the enemy's vengeance. A Tory threat against him. A price was set on his head. A special guard, therefore, appointed to protect him at Lebanon. A suspicious stranger at his dwelling. Spirited conduct of his housekeeper, Mrs. Hyde, upon the occasion. He receives alarming intelligence of an intended attack, by a large British fleet, upon the shipping, and seaport towns of Connecticut. He is busy for their protection. He detains the Nancy—a suspected ship—and distributes her avails to the public use. He is applied to by Congress to furnish a large armed ship to intercept two store brigs from England. He grants permits for exportation—commissions privateers—and sends out spy vessels His oversight of prisoners of war. Many such sent to Connecticut. Trumbull and the prisoners from Ticonderoga and Skenesborough. His management, particularly, of the cases of the elder Skene and Lundy. His management also of the cases of Capt. De La Place—Major French—and especially of Dr. Benjamin Church, his old classmate in College His watchfulness against tories, suspicious wanderers, and inimical persons generally. The Detective System of Connecticut at this time.

THE defence of the sea-coast of Connecticut, to which in our last chapter we alluded—and the oversight of prisoners—were other great objects of Trumbull's attention during the year upon which we dwell—and we proceed to notice him now, particularly, in these important spheres of duty.

British ships—especially the Rose, the Swan, and the Kingfisher*—were constantly cruising up and down Long Island Sound, sweeping it clear of American craft—firing at some vessels, and boarding others, and plundering all. Now

* "The Rose, Swan, and Kingfisher, ships of war, with a small tender," wrote Trumbull to Washington, July thirty-first—"the 26th instant came into the harbour of New London. On the 27th some men landed near the lighthouse, broke off the nuts, and plugged up with old files three or four cannon. They sailed out again on Friday last. It is reported Mr. Collector Stuart is packing up his effects, in order to leave that port."

they made a descent upon Fisher's Island.* Now they cannonaded Stonington, and now threatened New London, as we have seen. Now they chased vessels, as once the Lively, into Connecticut River—now chased another ashore before the very door of Matthew Griswold at Lyme, and roused the good old Deputy Governor of the Colony to rally his neighbors, put himself at their head, and amid a shower of bullets drive the assailants away—and now they made descents on other parts of the coast, and seized goods, cattle, and effects of every description.

Nor was this system of predatory warfare directed by the enemy against property alone, but also against persons. They frequently, and during every year of the war, concerted plans for the seizure of leading American Whigs. At one time they plotted to capture, and as was believed, even to assassinate Washington himself. At a later period in the war than that upon which we are now engaged, twenty of the foe, it will be recalled by readers of History, surrounded the house of General Schuyler at Albany—penetrated to the saloon leading to his bedroom—secured two of his men—wounded a third—and compelled a fourth to fly the house for safety—but fortunately missed the principal object of their search, the General himself.

In the darkness of the night again, at his own house at Fairfield, a hostile party of eight men succeeded in seizing General Silliman—and with him his eldest son†—and bore them both off in triumph to Long Island. Often it was planned to obtain possession of Governor Clinton of New York—but more often of the eminently patriotic Governor of New Jersey—William Livingston—who, at one time, for many months, was obliged in consequence to shift his quar-

* "We are again alarmed," wrote Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., to his brother Joseph, July thirty-first—"with the appearance of three ships &c. off New London—discovered Sunday morning, standing into Fisher's Island Sound, and sending their boats on the island. 'Tis conjectured they are taking the stock off that island. They will find *poor* picking, Mr. Mumford having, by particular advice, purchased all the fat cattle and sheep, and got them off the island the day before the ships appeared. I fear they have some further design. Three militia regiments (Saltonstall's, Coit's, and Abbot's) are ordered to muster forthwith, and to take measures to prevent any mischief."

† Gold Selleck Silliman.

ters every day. Once a party of British troops, landing near Elizabethtown, *did* succeed in reaching his mansion—where they grasped some of his papers, and carried them off—but luckily missed the Governor himself—who, by mere accident, though his family was at home, happened to be absent at the time, at the house of a friend a few miles distant.

Governor Trumbull, in a similar manner, was a special object of the enemy's vengeance. A villainous tory of New-town once said, that he "*would kill him quick as he would a rattlesnake!*" *A price was set upon his head*, as he informs us himself.* The facility with which the enemy—in the night season—in their little privateering craft—could shoot over from their countless lurking places upon Long Island to the Connecticut Main—make a descent—and suddenly retreat—rendered precautions, in Trumbull's case, particularly necessary. Accordingly a guard of about half a dozen men was established around his dwelling at Lebanon, to protect his person—a step which proved useful—for it prevented attempts that otherwise, in all probability, would have been made to seize this eminent and ever active Son of Liberty.

Once circumstances indicated a special plot for this purpose. A traveller, in the garb of a mendicant—of exceedingly suspicious appearance—came into his house one evening when he was unwell, and had retired to bed. The stranger, though denied the opportunity of seeing him, yet insisted upon an interview so pertinaciously, that at last the Governor's wary housekeeper—Mrs. Hyde—alarmed and disgusted at his conduct, seized the shovel and tongs from the fire-place, and drove him out of the house. At the same time she called loudly for the guard—but the intruder suddenly disappeared, and though careful search was made, eluded pursuit, and never appeared in that quarter again.

In May, 1775, news reached Trumbull from Cambridge, that General Gage intended seizing all the vessels on the Connecticut sea-coast, and attacking New-London—and shortly after, in October, he was informed by Washington that a British fleet had left Boston for this purpose. "They

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* In his Memorial to the General Assembly, May 24th, 1785.

cannonaded Bristol last Saturday"—it was then reported. In November again, alarming intelligence reached the Governor of fresh orders from England to destroy all the seaport towns of this Colony—and in December again, came fresh reports of a hostile embarcation at Boston, intended for Connecticut. "We are infested by ministerial ships and transports," wrote Trumbull this year from time to time.

All this kept the seashore inhabitants, as a matter of course, in constant, and at times intense alarm. Much, therefore, was to be done for their protection. By acts of the General Assembly, three armed vessels, and four armed row-gallies, were to be built, equipped, and manned for the coast defence, under the care and direction of the Governor and Council. Brigantines were to be chartered, and fitted for the same purpose, under the same direction. All care was to be taken to prevent provisions near the water from falling into the hands of the enemy. The fort at New-London, particularly, was to be put in the best condition for use, and an engineer, and men, and tools—sledges and shovels, crowbars and pickaxes, draught chains and log chains, oxen and carts—were all to be provided for the purpose. Batteries there, and at Groton, Stonington, Norwich, Lyme, Newhaven, Milford, Norwalk, and Stamford, were to be supplied with men and guns. Cannon were to be procured from New-York, and from Congress, and some were to be cast at Salisbury. Coast guards were to be stationed, and entrenchments made at all important points. Beacons were to be erected for the communication of intelligence. Expresses were to be established. And upon Trumbull, as the Chief Executive of the Colony, all this labor, mainly, devolved. Into his ear the inhabitants of the coast, whenever attacked, or whenever startled by the rumor of approaching danger, poured their apprehensions. From his hand they sought relief—and from his hand, to the extent of his means, they received it.

To him also, in July, Massachusetts applied for the detention, in the port of Stonington, of a suspected ship belonging to Boston—the Nancy and her cargo—the disposition of which, by public sale, and the distribution of whose avails

to public hospitals, and among the Commissaries of Supplies for the army, the Governor had subsequently to supervise.

To him too, in October, Congress applied to furnish the largest ship in the Connecticut service, to be sent out—with two armed vessels from Massachusetts—in order to intercept and capture, if possible, two "north country-built brigs" from England, that were on their way—loaded with six thousand stand of arms, and a large quantity of powder and other stores—for Quebec, without convoy.

To him also—as lying within his own peculiar power—owners of vessels in the Colony, during the period of embargoes, were in the habit of applying for permits in case of exportation for particular purposes—as to the West Indies, particularly, for powder.*

Here and there, too, Trumbull commissioned a few privateers, to commence a system of naval warfare upon the British—which, in succeeding years, as we shall have occasion to observe, was greatly augmented, and met with wonderful success. Many a little spy vessel also he chartered, and sent out, from bay and inlet, to watch the motions of the enemy upon the water, and make report. Many a communication from the armed brig Minerva, and the schooner Spy, reached him through their commanders—Captain Hall and Captain Niles—giving news of their naval ventures, and soliciting fresh instructions, and fresh equipments for new enterprises.

But besides this defence of the long seashore of Connecticut—one which, in the year that follows, we shall find making greater and greater demands upon Trumbull's time, and attended with many interesting and highly important results—he was also charged, we have said, with the oversight of prisoners. These he had to receive—especially pris-

* "The merchants of St. Eustatia are much our friends," he wrote in July to his son Joseph—"we shall soon have powder enough." Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., a highly enterprising merchant of New-London, and an ardent patriot, was at this time, as well as subsequently, closely connected with Trumbull in the importation of powder from the West Indies. "*Purchase gunpowder, and return soon,*" was the frequent direction which he gave to the commanders of his vessels, loaded with flour, pipe-staves, and other commodities, for Hispaniola.

oners of war—to distribute into suitable places of confinement, and look to their safe custody.

Connecticut, for some reason or other—either because of the natural security and comparative compactness of many of her inland towns—or from the fact that she was the first to receive any large body of prisoners—or because of a general confidence in her superior watchfulness and patriotism—had, relatively, more charge of prisoners, during nearly the entire War of the Revolution, than any other one of the Thirteen Colonies. Massachusetts sent them to her in great numbers—New-York by crowds—New-Jersey quite numerously—the Continental Congress numerously. Such and so many were they, in fact, in the first year of the War—and so heavy was the attendant expense—that, in October, her General Assembly was obliged specially to desire the Governor to request Congress to direct what provision should be made for them, and how the costs incurred in their keeping should be defrayed—a duty which, November eleventh, he took particular pains to perform.

Conspicuous among these prisoners were those surprised at Ticonderoga and Skenesborough, on the tenth of May of the present year, and those subsequently brought down from St. Johns, and from Chamblee in Canada. By order of Congress, and upon direction from the Governor of Connecticut, those from St. Johns were placed at Windham and Lebanon, and those from Chamblee, at Farmington—at which latter place, on account of the turbulence of many of the captives, and their attempts to escape, Trumbull was compelled to exercise unusual vigilance, and in several instances, at an extra expense, to increase their guards.

But the prisoners from Ticonderoga and Skenesborough—the first fruits, in their character, of the first aggressive act of the American Revolution—most exacted his attention. They consisted of forty-seven private soldiers of his Majesty's troops, of Governor Skene, Major Skene his son, Major French, Captain De La Place, Mr. Lundy, and quite a number of women, children, and servants—all of whom were brought to Hartford. Trumbull immediately communicated their capture to Congress, and, under the direction of the

General Assembly of Connecticut, provided for their due custody—with the exception of a few ladies of the party,* from Canada, who happened to have been taken at Skenesborough, and who, with praiseworthy readiness, under the escort of Captain John Bigelow, were at once returned to their friends. The elder Skene and Lundy, however, were soon, by special resolutions of Congress, placed under Trumbull's own immediate surveillance. He was to order them, under a guard, either to Wethersfield or Middletown. He was to confine them there on parole, within such limits as he should prescribe—and make such provision for their support, at the expense of the United Colonies, as he should think proper.† This duty he proceeded to execute—with strictness—more than was required, as it seemed to Silas Deane, then a Member of Congress, who had given Skene private assurances of a milder treatment than that which he in fact experienced, and wrote to Trumbull in his behalf.

"You have no reason to blame yourself for any seeming harshness towards the captive," answered Trumbull. "Doth it not rather appear that Providence interposeth to prevent the operation of Skene's inimical purposes and designs against the constitutional rights and liberties of these Colonies? Truly as a prisoner of war he is entitled to the performance of the conditions on which he was made such—but I could learn of no other conditions than such as came to me authenticated from the minutes of Congress." Trumbull continued, therefore, in the course he had already adopted, and his judgment of Skene was fully confirmed by succeeding events—for at Hartford—at Mr. Hooker's house in the

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* Among these ladies were the aunt and two sisters of Andrew Philip Skene. To Skene also liberty was granted, under the direction of a Committee, "to appoint and send a suitable man to take charge of his farm and business" at Skenesborough—and the Commander from Connecticut at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was directed to see that his estate "should receive no unnecessary damage from the troops under his charge."

† Gov. Skene, wrote Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., to his brother Joseph, July 24th, 1775—"has been very surly and turbulent—and is very much displeased with his destination in the town of Hartford—swore, before he left Philadelphia, that he would never come here—at least he would not come alive. Mr. Ross, one of the Pennsylvania Delegates, told him they did not pretend to have power over his *soul*—but that if he disengaged soul and body, his body should go where it was ordered."

West Division—to which place this leading captive was removed—he was believed to have been engaged plotting busily against the Colony—particularly, it was supposed, through the instrumentality of his servants. A special Committee, therefore, was raised to investigate and report upon his proceedings—and subsequently, after having been sent by Trumbull, as was arranged, to the care of Washington—with his son and some other British officers—he perfidiously broke his parole.*

Captain De La Place—who had been commandant of the garrison at Ticonderoga—often addressed Trumbull, as well as petitioned the Legislature, in behalf of himself and his companions in captivity—praying, in the first place, that they might be set at liberty—and next, have an allowance of money suitable to their rank. The first request was, of course, disregarded, but the second met with respectful and proper treatment at the hands of the Governor.

A third request, about the same time, but of a different character, was preferred to him. Major French—another of the northern prisoners, in custody at Hartford, and a Church-of-England man—applied for removal to Middletown, because for himself there was no place of worship, he said, in the town in which he was then confined. "The situation and circumstances of Middletown," wrote Trumbull to the President of Congress on this matter—"render that an improper place for the officers. There is an Episcopal Missionary at Simsbury. I have no objection to that place, if desirable to them." After this manner, during the year 1775, with frequent applications from captives of one sort and another, was the Governor of Connecticut considerably occupied.

But the most remarkable case among the prisoners sent at this time to his custody, was that of Dr. Benjamin Church, of Watertown, Massachusetts. This noted individual was with Trumbull in College, as we have formerly stated—and it was his peculiar destiny, in the period of which we now speak, to be incarcerated, in a common jail, under the eye

* So Trumbull was informed by Gen. Schuyler, in a letter from Albany dated the ensuing December.

and surveillance of his own old classmate. His traitorous correspondence with the enemy in Boston—and that too while a professed friend of the American cause, and while he was, by appointment of Congress, Director of the Hospital and chief Physician for the Army at the East, and while enjoying a seat of honor also in the Legislature of Massachusetts—brought him into this forlorn situation. November twenty-second, he was sent by General Washington to Lebanon, in charge of Captain Putnam and a sergeant with seven men—under a resolve of Congress that he should be closely confined in some secure jail in Connecticut, without pen, paper, or ink—and that no person should be allowed to converse with him except in the presence and hearing of a magistrate, or of a sheriff of the County within which he should be kept, and then only in the English language—until further orders from the Supreme Authority of the nation.

Governor Trumbull was requested to comply, in every particular, with the words of this resolve—and he did so. He sent Church to the prison at Norwich—and soon directed the Sheriff there not to permit him to go out from close confinement but once in a week—a precaution which the dangerous character of the prisoner rendered imperative. Soothed by no sympathy from the lips of his old college companion and friend—animated by him with no hope of escape, or of release, except on the stern condition of turning his freedom, heartily and unalterably, to the account of his suffering country—yet treated with no more rigor than circumstances required—it was not until July of the succeeding year, that, by order of Congress, he was relieved from restraint, and through his jailor—Prosper Wetmore—was returned to his home in Watertown.

But in addition to the oversight, now indicated, of those who strictly were prisoners, the Governor had also, at this period, to keep an eye of vigilance out in other directions—over tories, suspicious wanderers, and all inimical persons in Connecticut—to see that they carried on no traitorous correspondence with the enemy, and were in no way concerned in any plot or combinations for betraying the State, or for

resisting the measures pursued for a general union of defence in the American cause. "Arrest and secure every person whose going at large may endanger the safety of the Colony, or the liberties of America"—was the injunction of the Continental Congress. Seize the tories that are active, was the recommendation of Washington addressed to him in November—they are preying on the vitals of the country, and will do all the mischief in their power!

But neither this injunction from Congress, nor the recommendation from Washington, were needed to stimulate the conservative espionage either of Governor Trumbull, or of the State at large, at the critical period now under consideration. A perfect system of police, with reference to internal foes—at the head of which stood Trumbull—was organized by Connecticut upon her own warning impulse.

Let any person within this Colony, she proclaimed by act of legislation—directly or indirectly supply the Ministerial army or navy with provisions, or military or naval stores—or give to their officers, soldiers, or mariners, any intelligence—or enlist, or procure others to enlist into their service—or undertake to pilot any one of their vessels—or aid or assist in any other way against this or any one of the United Colonies—and the offender shall forfeit his whole estate to the use of this Colony—and furthermore shall be incarcerated—three years—if a Judge of the Superior Court shall think proper—in a common jail.

Let any one, proclaimed Connecticut again—either by writing or speaking, or by any overt act, libel or defame any resolves or proceedings of Congress, or of the General Assembly of this Colony, made for the defence of the rights and privileges of the country—and his arms shall be taken from him. He shall be rendered incapable of serving in any office, civil or military. Furthermore, he shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, or disfranchisement—shall find surety of the peace, as the Court may order—and himself shall pay the costs of his own prosecution. And the Civil Authority, Selectmen, and Committees of Inspection of the several towns, were commanded to examine every person charged with hostility to Connecticut, or to any other of the United Colonies.

It was made imperative that such offenders should solemnly purge themselves of the sin of unfriendliness to the country, or be at once disarmed. Warrants were to issue for this purpose. The Sheriff was to see them enforced. If resisted, the militia of any County, all or any part, was to be summoned to execute them. Let every informing officer take care to make presentments for any breaches of this law—concluded the stringent and warning enactment.

Here then, in Connecticut—with details needless to mention in this place—was a Detective Code and a Detective Police, for the suppression of internal foes—thorough for the purpose intended as was that of the Duke of Otranto's in the days of Napoleon the First. An open inquisition—under the supreme authority of the Colony—patriotic from its motive—searching from the pressure of danger—and irresistible from the support of the whole judicial and the whole military Arm of the State—stood at the door of every tory within the bounds of its operation. Innumerable Committees—the Magistracy—the General Assembly itself when in session—and the Council of Safety—all watched to seize every offender against the struggling liberty of the day, and swift punishment awaited swift trial, and swift condemnation.

It was a system, which—without moving phalanxes of supple, crafty, and salaried spies—without recourse to venal zeal in the gentler sex—with no fierce *gendarmarie* for its enforcement—with no fiscal support from the *visèe* of passports, or in taxes levied on gambling and prostitution—as was the vast and terrific system of Joseph Fouché—which yet, like that of this famous Minister of the General Police of France, spread a perfect network over the State for the discovery of disaffection—one so energetic, so elastic, and so penetrating, from the patriotism which inspired it, as to render it impossible for tart toryism to conceal its own activity, or to escape retribution.

Trumbull administered this system—as Chief Executive—as by virtue of his office the great Searcher into the State—with prudence and with energy. Its strings all converged upon himself, and he managed them with wary efficiency. Fortunately, the calls for its application, the

present year—so strong and overwhelming was the popular tide in favor of liberty—were comparatively few—and these confined, chiefly, to a little strip of the State bordering on New York. Elsewhere, there was almost universal harmony—one heart—one mind—one glorious end—and this end, FREEDOM!

CHAPTER XIX.

1775.

A NEW anxiety for Trumbull. Soldiers left the Camp around Boston, and among them some of the troops from Connecticut. Washington writes Trumbull respecting these, animadverting, in severe terms, on their conduct. An admirable reply from Trumbull. Another letter of censure, to Trumbull—from the New York Congress—in regard to Capt. Sears and the Rivington Press. Trumbull's reply. He blames New York for granting permits to carry provisions to the Island of Nantucket, then deemed somewhat disaffected to the American cause. Satisfied now that Great Britain will not yield, he continues diligent for the public good. For the sake of general harmony, he again urges Congress to aid in quieting, for the present, the Susquehannah Controversy. Dr. Franklin's Plan of Union sent to Trumbull. His views concerning it. He proclaims a Fast, at the close of 1775. The Proclamation.

THE month of December 1775 ushered in a novel and painful anxiety for the Governor of Connecticut, in connection with military affairs at the East. Enlistments in that quarter were, many of them, expiring—and some of the Connecticut troops, particularly of General Putnam's regiment—like other troops from other Colonies—induced in part by the termination of their contracts—in part by neglect in the payment of their wages—in part by "ill usage on the score of provisions"*— in part by the idea that, as winter had begun, there would probably be no call for any active service—and in part by the consideration that they had been summoned suddenly to the field, and had left families and property at home, that urgently required their attention—forsook the Camp.

In a letter addressed by Washington to Trumbull, December second, the Commander-in-chief animadverts, in severe terms, upon this matter—"the late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct," as he styles it, of some of the Connecticut troops. When the time of their enlistment was about to

* 1775. "Oct. 23rd, Mon. Went to Cambridge w'th Hd Comms'nd Officers to Gen'l Putnam, to let him know the state of the Reg't, and yt it was thro' *ill usage on the score of Provisions* yt th'y would not extend their term of service to the 1st of Jan'y 1776."—*Diary of Capt. Nathan Hale.*

expire, he said, they refused to remain a short time longer in camp, to man the lines until other forces should have been raised to supply their places. Through a Council of War assembled in the exigency, he continued—he had determined to call in, by the tenth instant, minute-men and militia, and two thousand troops from New Hampshire—and the Connecticut troops were informed of this arrangement. Yet on the first of December quite a number resolved to leave—and, eluding the vigilance exerted to retain them, started from camp. "Many were taken," he added, "and brought back. I have enclosed you a list of those that got off from Gen. Putnam's regiment only, with their arms and ammunition, and who have thus basely deserted the cause of their country at this critical juncture. I submit it to your judgment whether some example should not be made of them."

To this crimination from the Commander-in-chief, Trumbull made the following admirable reply:—

"Lebanon, 7th Dec. 1775. Sir. Your Excellency's letter of the 2nd instant, per Capt. Clark, came to hand the 14th—The late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the troops of this Colony impresseth me, and the minds of our people, with grief, surprise, and indignation, since the treatment they met, and the order and request made to them was so reasonable, and apparently necessary for the defence of our common cause, and safety of our rights and privileges, for which they freely engaged, the term they voluntarily enlisted to serve not expired, and probably would not end much before the time when they would be relieved, provided their circumstances and inclination forbid them undertaking further. Indeed there is great difficulty to support liberty, to exercise government, to maintain subordination, and at the same time to prevent the operation of licentious and leveling principles—which many easily imbibe. The pulse of a New England man beats high for liberty. His engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary—therefore in his estimation, when the time of his enlistment was out, he thinks himself not holden, without further engagement. This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation among the soldiers of other Colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that the people of the towns where the most of them belong, were so greatly affected by their unreasonable conduct, that they would readily march to supply their places. This is thought not advisable, as your Excellency made no such application. Our laws against desertion are well calculated to punish such as are

guilty. Provision is made effectually to punish such offenders, especially the ringleaders. Of this care will be taken.

"The officers, by Act of Assembly, appointed Paymasters of their companies, are not likely to return soon, and many might be uneasy for want of their wages. To obviate this, I advised three gentlemen of our Pay Table to proceed to the camp with money, to take your advice and direction therein—taking care for the public arms and ammunition, for minors and apprentices. The Union of the Colonies, and the internal union of each are of the utmost importance.

"I determine to call the General Assembly of this Colony to meet at Newhaven on Thursday the 14th instant. Please to notify me of any matters you think fit to suggest for consideration. You may depend on their zeal and ardor to support the common cause, to furnish our quota, and to exert their utmost strength for the defense of the rights of these colonies. Your candor and goodness will suggest to your consideration that the conduct of our troops is not a rule whereby to judge of the temper and spirit of the Colony. I am &c."

The readiness with which in the letter now given, Trumbull admits and censures the behaviour of the soldiers in question, and the pride with which he seeks in the liberty-loving zeal of the inhabitants of Connecticut some extenuation for the conduct of the few offenders, are pleasing evidences, the Reader will concede, of an ingenuous and manly spirit. Washington, in reply, fully admitted all that the Governor affirmed in commendation of the patriotism of his people, and expressed sincere gratification at the fact. "I have nothing to suggest for the consideration of your Assembly," he wrote. "I am confident they will not be wanting in their exertions for supporting the just and constitutional rights of the Colonies."

At about the same time with the letter from Washington now considered, Trumbull received another letter—from another quarter—in censure of Connecticut. It was a communication from the New York Congress, in regard to the famous exploit of Captain Sears in annihilating the Rivington press—a press whose political poison had created serious defections from the American cause—and which, for this reason, Sears, at the head of a party of horsemen from Connecticut, well armed, had broken up. To the tune of Yankee Doodle, in part destroying, and in part bearing off its types—

he by these means bravely overawed the tories, and gave check to a plan—regularly concerted, it was believed—for inviting the British troops from Boston to New York.

The Congress of New York—taking umbrage at this proceeding—addressed the Continental Congress respecting it, and wrote Trumbull in terms of serious remonstrance. They complained that they could not but consider "such intrusions as an invasion of their essential rights as a distinct Colony."—"Common justice," they said, obliged them to request that "all the types should be returned to the Chairman of the General Committee of the City and County of New York"—and, though they would not, they added, justify the man from whom the types were taken, they yet earnestly wished that the glory of the existing contest might "not be sullied by any attempt to restrain the freedom of the press."

Small consolation, however, did the Remonstrants in this case get in response from Governor Trumbull—and certainly they did not get one of the types. "The proper resort for a private injury," he immediately answered—"must be to the courts of law, which are the only jurisdictions that can take notice of violences of this kind." If the affair is to be viewed in a public light at all, the Governor continued, "the head and leader of the whole transaction was a respectable member of your city and Congress,* whom we consider as the proper person to whom the whole transaction is imputable, and who belongs, and is amenable to *your* jurisdiction alone—and therefore the affair cannot be considered as an intrusion of our people into your province, but as a violence or disorder happening among yourselves."†

It is plain from this that Trumbull had no sympathy to expend on the tory Rivington—as he had not, we know, upon tories anywhere. Even at the very time when he was thus answering New York on the affair of the ruined printing press, he was transmitting to the Council of Massachusetts per-

* Sears was at that time a resident of New York, but gathered his party in Connecticut.

† Rivington went off to England, and nothing more was done about the affair.

mits that fell into his hands, which New York had granted for the transportation of provisions to the then somewhat tory-infected island of Nantucket*—and was remonstrating against this indulgence—this sending supplies "to the favorites of Administration" in that quarter—as being a "suspicious" proceeding, and one to be carefully watched. "I give you this intelligence," he forcibly adds—"that such measures may be taken that while we are at war with, we may not at the same time *be feeding* our enemies."

From the proceedings in Great Britain, Trumbull was now satisfied that his country at last—alas too truly—was "reduced to the alternative of choosing between unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force." He was familiar with the fact that the Provinces had been freshly stigmatized, by large majorities, in Parliament, as in a state of "revolt, hostility, and rebellion"—that the British naval establishments and land forces had been augmented, and that measures had been taken by the King to procure foreign troops. "I am fully assured," he said in November, "of the insufficiency now of all petitions, and that the Royal Proclamations in regard to America, are decisive."

Most diligently did he, therefore, at this period, keep himself at work in cementing that union and harmony between the Colonies which he had always promoted, and which he deemed utterly vital to their success. It was his own most emphatic desire that his countrymen—as was immortally expressed by Congress, in its Declaration, in July, of the causes which led them to take up arms—should be "with *one mind* resolved to die freemen, rather than live slaves." So again—towards the close of the present year—he wrote the Supreme Authority of the nation in regard to the contest about the Susquehannah lands—and expressed his "strong hope that all altercations" between Connecticut and Mr. Penn and the Settlers, would "be quieted by the Honorable Congress." This Body, he urged, "may lay their hand

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* They were granted to one Captain Fanning.

effectually" upon the strife, "and prevent mischief."* And he at the same time labored assiduously to promote the success of those Articles of Confederation and Union between the Colonies, which, in August, Dr. Franklin had proposed to Congress—and which, though not adopted, are yet considered as containing much of the substance of the plan that was subsequently submitted to the Colonies for their approbation. He had objections to some features of the original scheme, it is true—and he expressed them to Congress. A draught of it was sent him, for his own particular consideration—which he returned with such alterations as suited his views. In his own opinion, however, it was "of the utmost importance" that this scheme, after being "well and maturely digested," should be "entered into as soon as might be with conveniency"—and should "continue firm and inviolate," even in the event of a possible reconciliation with Great Britain—as he could see nothing in such a confederation "inconsistent with the English Constitution."

But the most interesting among the acts of Trumbull, in the closing month of the year on which we dwell, was—December Nineteenth—his Proclamation for a Fast—in which, after recapitulating the tyrannies suffered from Great Britain, he proceeds, in a spirit of unfeigned piety, and in language of peculiar forcibleness, to assign a Day of Humiliation and Prayer, and to particularize the ends of the appointment. The document, as has been well remarked, "breathes the very spirit of the Declaration of Independence, whose predecessor it was by about six months." We give it, therefore, entire—and with all its typographical peculiarities—as a fitting close to our survey of the life and services of Governor Trumbull during the first year of the great American Struggle. It was published as follows:—

* "This cannot easily be done, if it can be done at all," he wrote the Continental Delegates from Connecticut, Nov. 17th, 1775—"by the Assemblies of the two Colonies, and it may endanger the peace of both. All desired here by the friends of American liberty, is that the two claims may lie dormant during our more important struggles—but the enemies who are seeking the ruin of our privileges, will make the best handle of it they can to embroil and divide the two Colonies. The Congress may lay their hand effectually upon it, and prevent mischief."

"By the Honorable Jonathan Trumbull, Esquire, Governor of the English Colony of Connecticut in New-England in America.

"A PROCLAMATION

"For a day of public Fasting and Prayer.

"Whereas it hath pleased the Most High God, blessed forever, the supreme and righteous Ruler of the World, to bring upon this Colony, and the other British Colonies on this Continent, grievous and distressing Troubles, by permitting the Administration and Rulers of our Parent State to make a solemn Declaration, that the Parliament of Great Britain hath a right to make Laws binding upon the Colonies in all cases whatsoever—and in Pursuance thereof have imposed Taxes upon us without our Consent; deprived one of the Colonies of their most essential and chartered Privileges; sent over a Fleet and Army which have engaged us in a Civil War; destroyed many lives, burnt two of our flourishing Towns; captured many of our Vessels that fell in their Way; prohibited and destroyed our Fishery and Trade; hostilely taken from the Inhabitants of our Sea coast and Islands, Live Stock, and other Articles of private Property, and threaten us with general Destruction, for no other Reason known to us, than that we will not surrender our Liberties, Properties, and Priviledges, which we believe God and Nature, the British Constitution, and our sacred Charters give us a just right to enjoy—And in the midst of these Calamities it hath pleased God to visit many of our Towns with Sickness in the last Autumn.—All which call for extraordinary Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer, and sheweth us that God demands our sincere Repentance and Return to Him.

"I have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of the Council, and at the Desire of the Representatives in General Court assembled, to appoint, and do hereby appoint Wednesday the Seventeenth day of January next, to be observed as a Day of Fasting and Prayer throughout this Colony, hereby exhorting our Ministers and People of all Denominations of Christians to observe the same; unfeignedly to humble themselves before God, penitently to confess their Sins; earnestly to beseech the Mercy of God, and His gracious Return to us.—That He would pardon our Iniquities, pour out His Holy Spirit upon us, and effect a thorough and general Reformation—That he would be pleased to remove the awful Calamities we are under; put an End to the Miseries of Civil War; restore, preserve, and secure our Liberties and Priviledges, and settle them upon a lasting Foundation.—That He would bless and direct the Rulers and Guides of His People in all the Colonies, and particularly guide the Continental Congress, and make all their Counsels, Advice and Determinations such as will be pleasing to Him, and will promote the Union and Happiness of the People and secure the Enjoyment of our just Rights, and more and more unite and engage the Hearts of this People in the Things of God, and their own Peace; succeed all just En-

deavors to obtain the Restoration of our Liberties and Priviledges, and go on to restore and establish Health among us.—That He would particularly dwell in this Colony, give his Presence and Blessing to our Civil Rulers, strengthen, direct and assist them in this dark and difficult day to understand and pursue the Things of our Welfare,—build up the Churches in Faith, Unity and Holiness,—prosper the Gospel Dispensations,—give his Presence with the Ministers of Christ,—make them greatly successful in gathering in Souls to Him,—bless the College and Schools of Learning, succeed Endeavors used for promoting Christianity among the Heathen,—preserve their Peace and Friendship with us,—continue to turn the Counsel of our Enemies to foolishness, and blast every evil Design against us.—And to offer fervent Prayers for our sovereign Lord King George the Third, our Gracious Queen Charlotte, the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family.—That God would direct the King's Councils, teach him ever to discern and incline him to pursue and promote the Things of God's Will, and the true Interests, Happiness and just Rights of His People, remove evil Counsellors far from him and bless him with such Ministers as fear God, hate Covetousness, and are sincere Lovers of the People.—That he would pardon, enlighten, and save the Nation, and fill the Earth with his Praise.

"And all Servile Work is forbidden on said Day.

"Given under my Hand in the Council-Chamber in New-Haven, the Nineteenth day of December, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, &c., Annoque Domini, 1775

"JONTH. TRUMBULL.

"God Save the King."

CHAPTER XX.

TRUMBULL known and denounced abroad as "the Rebel Governor of Connecticut." Extract from a London Magazine, of 1781, showing the manner in which he was vilified in England. Was in fact the only "Rebel" Governor in America, at the outbreak of the Revolution. His course, under this aspect, examined and vindicated by contrast with the course of every other Governor in the United Colonies—viz: Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts—John Wentworth of New Hampshire—Joseph Wanton of Rhode Island—William Tryon of New York—William Franklin of New Jersey—John Penn of Pennsylvania and Delaware—Robert Eden of Maryland—Lord Dunmore of Virginia—Joseph Martin of North Carolina—Lord William Campbell of South Carolina—and James Wright of Georgia.

"*God save the King!*"—concludes emphatically the Proclamation with which our last Chapter closes—yes, as the phrase concluded every official document—from every Chief Magistrate—in all the Thirteen Colonies—down to that memorable morning which ushered in the Declaration of Independence.

Intermitting now the fashion of royalty—relaxing for once its ceremonial silence and stately reserve—would George the Third at this time, do our Readers think, have consented to reciprocate the solemn invocation, and have prayed God to save that Governor who thus prayed God to save the King? In his heart he might have done so—nay did—for each of his own high functionaries in the New World, save for the one solitary Governor of solitary Connecticut—for other Governors all obeyed him. They were loyal—to all appearance affectionate—true to his maxims of power—nay almost all of them forward in their allegiance—ready, in truth, to bend "the pregnant hinges" of the knee in unquestioning adoration of every feature of his kingly omnipotence.

But for Trumbull—alone of all who stood at the helm of his subordinate sovereignties in the New World—he had no impulse of attachment—not a purpose but to condemn—not a wish but for his downfall and his extirpation. He would not have said "God save" *him*, for all the worth of his kingdom—for Trumbull was the outspoken foe to all his meas-

ures respecting America—his stern, uncompromising, unresting opponent upon every question that involved the liberty of the American subject. He was in thought—in word—in deed—against him. He was against him in arms. He had despised, repudiated, and forgotten, it was believed, every sentiment of what "his Majesty" deemed true allegiance. He was "the rebel, the Rebel Governor of Connecticut!"—so denounced by the king himself, and by his own haughty Parliament—so proclaimed in periodicals, and talked of at almost every fireside and wayside, in Great Britain—so known the world over, wherever American resistance found one eye to note its leaders.*

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* "Jonathan Trumbull, the Rebel Governor of Connecticut"—says, for example, the "*Political Magazine*" for January 1781, published in London—in one of the most mendacious and scurrilous articles on record—"a man of desperate fortune, with an abundant share of cunning"—"is about five feet seven inches high, has dark eyes, a Roman nose, sallow countenance, long chin, prominent forehead, high and broad cheek bones, hollow cheeks and short neck"—is "in person of a handsome figure and very active"—and is "now between 70 and 80 years of age. He is morose in his natural temper, reserved in his speech, vain and covetous, envious and spiteful to a great degree, never forgiving or forgetting an affront. He is at the same time very artful; he will smile in the face of those he hates, and court their friendship at the very moment he is endeavoring by every means in his power to effect their ruin. As to justice, he never had an idea of it; at least he never showed any in practice; always judging according to a party spirit, which ever domineered in his merciless soul."

The article from which this extract is taken—for which we are indebted to the politeness of John Langdon Sibley Esquire, the Librarian of Cambridge University—covers four pages and a half—of very fine print—two columns on a page—in the Political Magazine—and is entitled—"*History of Jonathan Trumbull, the present Rebel Governor of Connecticut, from his Birth, early in this Century, to the present Day.*"

It opens with gross defamation of Trumbull's birth, parents, and ancestry—and next—in order to sustain a charge of cheatery in business affairs, and of fanaticism and intolerance in religion, fabricates a story of a lawsuit between the Governor and one Joel Harvey, a loyalist and Church-of-England man. It then proceeds wholly to misrepresent and pervert, to his prejudice, his connection with the famous Peters riot at Hebron—and concludes with some references to his "rebel" children.

Connecticut also, in the course of the article, is abused without stint. Its "first emigrants," according to the malignant and ignorant writer, "had more zeal than honesty or common justice. They murdered King Connecticote, and killed or drove away all his subjects, seized their lands under pretence of spreading the gospel, and by way of compensation, or in memory of their triumph, called the Colony by the name of the murdered King.—In 1662, after having killed two kings, they accepted a Charter under Charles II, but declared at the same time, Jesus was their King, and themselves sole legislators and lords of Connecticut; admitting no law of England to be of any validity until it had re-

"*The Rebel Governor!*" Phrase significant indeed—and already abundantly explained by the acts of Trumbull during the year we have just surveyed, as well as by those of his previous life from the Peace of Paris down! But the *only* Rebel Governor—the sole Chief Magistrate of a Colony, who, at the *outbreak* of the American Revolution, as well as ever after, took the side of Freedom and the People! This, in the sphere in which he moved—this his naked *solitariness of rebellion*—is peculiarly fraught with patriotic beauty, and deserves to be contemplated in connection with the position of those *other* Governors—those other "*loyal*" Chief Magistrates, as they were termed—with whom Trumbull came so strikingly in contrast. Let us run the comparison then—summarily—but here fittingly at the close of the first Act in the Drama of the American Revolution.

There was first *Thomas Hutchinson*, Governor *of Massachusetts*—a classmate of Trumbull's in College, as we have heretofore had occasion to state, and notorious as a bitter foe to America—"like a mildewed ear," contrasting with "his wholesome brother." Acute, learned, thoroughly experienced in public affairs, affable, insidious, insinuating, ambitious, avaricious—ready to sacrifice everything for place and power—zealous to uproot now the Constitution of Massachusetts, now that of Rhode Island, now that of Connecticut, and now the whole New-England organization of towns—

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ceived the sanction of the General Assembly."—And their descendants, "after the reduction of Canada, judged the Millenarian State had commenced, and viewed Britain only as a foggy island, proper to be annexed to the States of Holland, or to France."

Almost the only passage in the article, concerning Trumbull, which, with much that is false, has yet one or two glimpses of truth, is the following:—

"No sooner had Jonathan taken his degree, [at College,] than he became a preacher in the independent way, and was esteemed to be *a man of grace;* but having a bad delivery, he could not obtain a parish. However, his politeness, apparent goodness, and address, recommended him to Miss Robinson, a descendant of the famous reverend Mr. Robinson, head of a Sect both in Old and New England. His marriage with this Lady (whose father was a burning and a shining light among the independents and children of the regicides, who settled in New England,) raised him from obscurity to a state of nobility, for all who have any blood in their veins of the first settlers, or of the regicides, are considered in New England as of the rank of *Noblesse.* Mr. Jonathan's matrimonial connection giving him the prospect of preferment in civil life, he bid adieu to the pulpit, and commenced merchant."

toiling now to restrain American commerce, now to make the Judiciary dependent on the Crown, now to render the denial of Parliamentary Supremacy a capital felony, and now to establish Martial Law—from the days of the Stamp Act down to the close of his career in the New World, he did more to embroil the Colonies and the Mother-Country, and to fan the quarrel after it commenced, than any other man upon the American Continent. All who are familiar with his pernicious administration of public affairs in the Colony which he governed, and with the fatal consequences which ensued, agree that "few ages have produced a more fit instrument than he proved to be for the purposes of a corrupt court." In 1774—defeated in his ambition—suffering "all the tortures of age trembling for the loss of place"—with his gray hairs, that should have been ever "kept purer than the ermine," now "covered with shame"—he left his native country forever—on the same day when, by Act of Parliament, the blockade of Boston took place. Without living to see American Independence established—but living long enough "to repent in bitterness of soul," it is said, "the part he had acted against a country once disposed to respect his character"—in London, in 1780—by a kind of retributive justice, a victim to chagrin, disappointment, and despair—he breathed out his disturbed and disturbing soul on the very day when the riots, roused by Lord George Gordon, reached their fearful height.

There was *John Wentworth*, Governor *of New-Hampshire.* Far back as 1767, this man manifested his hostility to American interests by preventing the merchants of Portsmouth from entering into the Non-Importation Scheme, which was then devised in resistance to the arbitrary measures of Great Britain. Soon as the Revolution dawned, he labored most assiduously to prevent the appointment of Committees of Correspondence—those props and safeguards of Liberty. When the New-Hampshire Legislature, in spite of his opposition, appointed them, he at once dissolved this Body. When these Committees met to appoint Delegates to Congress, he took a Sheriff with him, and dispersed them. He soon lost all power in the Province. An outraged People

compelled him to shut himself up in Portsmouth. An indignant mob pillaged his house. Popular anger continued to swell against him, and he fled the territory, leaving the political control of New-Hampshire entirely in the hands of its Republican Provincial Congress, and local Committees.

There was *Joseph Wanton*, Governor *of Rhode Island*—"a man of weak capacity, and of little political knowledge"—who not only "endeavored to impede all measures of opposition to Great Britain," but also "to prevent even a discussion on the propriety of raising a defensive army." After the burning of the Gaspee, treacherously to the interests of freedom, he sat on that most obnoxious inquisitorial Court of Inquiry, then raised by his Majesty—which was vested with the fearful power of seizing any person on bare suspicion—confining him on board a King's ship—and sending him, in desolation and despair—far from friends—out of the reach of a single witness in his favor—to stand trial, and receive a certain condemnation in distant England.

There was *William Tryon*, Governor *of New-York*, a most noted foe indeed to the Colonies. Several years before the Revolution, his administration of North Carolina had marked him as an extortioner and an oppressor. His merciless conduct in that Province—sword and torch in one hand, and the halter in the other—towards a poor, scourged, and almost defenceless people in the counties of Orange and Mecklenburgh—signalized him as one, says Bancroft, who "in his revengeful zeal for the Crown, had treasured up wrath against the day of wrath." The Cherokees there, with whom he negotiated boundaries, to mark his cruelty and craft, distinguished him by the name of the "Great Wolf." Able, enterprising, artful, a perfect master of intrigue, there was not one measure of the British Cabinet into which he did not enter with hot zeal. When he assumed the government of New-York, he counselled every soul under his rule there to submit quietly to the King, and "to decline any union of opinion and action with the other Colonies in their opposition to the new regulations of the British Parliament." He encouraged the recusants upon Long Island, and upon Staten Island, in their refusal to sign the Continental Asso-

ciation. Though he soon became so obnoxious as to be compelled, for personal safety, to fly on board the Asia man-of-war, yet he soon emerged from his retreat—like a dragon from his den—put himself at the head of a body of loyalists, and annoyed and scourged the inhabitants of New-York and the Jerseys, wherever he could penetrate. In the course of his career he burned Continental Village, and the public stores there, and houses and other buildings at numerous other points upon the Hudson. He reduced Danbury and Fairfield to ashes. He fired Norwalk. He plundered New-haven. He devastated wherever he could. A most active, malicious foe to the Colonies and all their rights, his memory is execrated.

There was *William Franklin*, Governor *of New-Jersey*. The fact that this man was, by order of Congress, deprived, as a prisoner, of the use of pen, ink or paper, fully shows his dangerous opposition to the rights of America. Far back as 1767, he had prevailed on New-Jersey to return a negative answer to the famous patriotic Circular of Massachusetts. It was a fit preparation, on his part, for the course he took when the doings of the first Continental Congress came before an Assembly of his Province for ratification. He then labored most zealously, but in vain, to prevent this ratification. He took the Assembly to task for avowing sentiments favorable to a separation from the Mother-Country, and denounced such separation as "a horrid measure." He held traitorous correspondence with the enemy. New-Jersey, therefore, made him a prisoner in his own house. Persisting in it, he was sent to rigid confinement in Connecticut—and when released, by exchange, became at once President of a Board of Loyalists whose object it was to trample down Colonial rights and liberties.

There was *John Penn*, Governor *of Pennsylvania*, and Governor also *of Delaware*—for it was not until 1777, when the Presidency of John McKinley commenced, that this latter territory, though previously enjoying a distinct administration, became in fact wholly separate from the adjoining "Propriety." Like the Governor of New-Jersey, he too, before the Revolution broke forth, acted out sentiments not

in accordance with that glorious event. He too, like William Franklin, had opposed that patriotic Massachusetts Circular, to which we have referred—had even enjoined the Pennsylvania Assembly to disregard it as factious, and of dangerous tendency. Soon after his first arrival in Philadelphia—at which time an earthquake, of ill omen as by many regarded, shook the city—he had, by a demand for proprietary taxes deemed extravagant, so incensed this Assembly, as that, by a very large majority, it determined to petition the King to take the jurisdiction of the province out from the hands of the Proprietors, and vest the government directly in the Crown. So that he too was prepared, when the Revolution broke out, to resist it—with occasionally, it is true, an appearance of sympathy with such leading spirits in his Province in the cause of liberty as John Dickinson, and perhaps his own co-Quaker friend, General Mifflin—and with comparative mildness—yet after all, with so much of positiveness, as that when the detested Boston Port Bill took effect, and he was requested thereupon to convene the Assembly of his Province, he refused absolutely to do so, and during the whole time that the storm was gathering, adhered to instructions from the Crown, and openly disapproved of the patriot mode of redressing grievances through the medium of Conventions, and of the immortal Continental Congress.

There was *Robert Eden*, Governor *of Maryland*—a man of conciliating manners, and estimable private character, but one whom Marshall describes as strongly prejudiced in favor of British interests, and a spy for the public enemy—a man whose arrest, in consequence of his traitorous correspondence with the British Ministry, was recommended by Congress—and to whom a Convention of his own Province formally signified its opinion that "the public safety and quiet required him to leave" Maryland. General Lee threatened to seize and confine him. The summer of 1776 saw him sail for England, a fugitive from his own seat of power.

There was *Lord Dunmore*, Governor *of Virginia*—a man whose intemperate zeal in behalf of the King caused universal disgust—who strove to cut short every deliberation upon the public grievances—who proclaimed Patrick Henry, and his

coadjutors in the cause of the People, guilty of rebellion—who, in the face of a tumult which his own rashness excited, was compelled to retreat for safety on board the British man-of-war Fowey—and who proceeded then, for several months, to wage a bitter predatory war upon Virginia—which terminated, most disgracefully to himself, in his applying the torch to the best town in the Province.* He seized the powder of the Colony, and placed it on board an armed ship. He dismantled the Colonial fort at Williamsburgh. He threatened to declare the blacks free, and to arm them against their masters. He *did* enlist fugitive slaves to butcher their masters. He encouraged the Indians to rush from the wilderness on the back settlements. After outraging in every form that he could the interests and liberties of the Province he had governed, this rash, ranting, and execrated defender of Parliamentary Power, found it necessary at last to retire with his plunder to St. Augustine.

There was *Joseph Martin*, Governor *of North Carolina*—also an inveterate, zealous, cruel tory—who, after doing all in his power to prevent the appointment of Delegates from his Province to the Continental Congress, and the subsequent ratification of the doings of this Body, conspired with the Regulators, and Scotch Highlanders, in his government, to overawe and subdue all the Sons of Liberty there—who commissioned McDonald and McLeod to march against them for their destruction—who angrily denounced all their conventions and proceedings. Compelled at last, in fear of their indignation, first at Newbern to fortify his own dwelling, and next to fly for safety on board a British man-of-war, he co-operated heartily with Clinton, in every form, to retain North Carolina in subjection to the Crown.

There was *Lord William Campbell*, Governor *of South Carolina.* He too, like the Chief Magistrates already described, was hostile to the liberties of the Province which he ruled. All the proceedings of the people there for putting it in a state of defence, he opposed. He struck at its Committee of Safety. He secretly negotiated with the Cherokees, and with the disaffected in the back counties of the South,

* Norfolk.

and encouraged insurrections of the negroes, in order to overpower the patriots. All harmony between himself and the latter being soon broken up, he too was compelled at last to retire for safety on board a British ship-of-war—where, in the attack on Charleston—in June 1776—serving as a volunteer in the flag-ship of the enemy, he fell fighting against the liberties of America.

There was *James Wright*, Governor *of Georgia*—another violent tory Chief Magistrate—who opposed the adoption in his Province of the American Association, and had influence enough for a time to prevent it—who issued proclamations against all conventions of his people—and who attempted to stop them from seizing powder at the mouth of the Savannah, that so they might be deprived of an article vital to their defence. Made at last, on account of his obnoxious course, a prisoner in his own house, he forfeited his parole—and after having done everything in his power to quench the flame of revolution, he too stole off for security to a British ship.

And now, in striking contrast with every other Chief Magistrate of every other American Colony, when the Revolution began, how does the subject of our Memoir, *Jonathan Trumbull*, Governor *of Connecticut*—how does *he* appear?

"*Quantum mutatus ab illis!*" Thoughtful only of the good of the people over whom he presided, we find him heartily and at once flinging himself on their side—and with a contempt of all the allurements or menaces of royal power, and an almost unparallelled assiduity, devoting his time, talent, and treasure to the support of colonial rights. Yes, with the ardor, courage, and inflexibility of an Adams' of an Otis, a Henry, and a Rutledge—with the wisdom of a Sherman and a Franklin—and with the serene confidence, and undying hope of a Washington—he sprang into the contest—and to every act of British tyranny opposed a wall of resistance—opposed a rampart of reason, and a rampart of men—thirty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine in number, in the course of the War—whom his own energy, as we shall see, gathered from every hill and valley in Connecticut, to fight the battles of Freedom!

"*The Rebel Governor!*" Ah, yes—title of glory indeed—a rebel to an arrogant King—to a dictatorial British Ministry—to an enslaving British Parliament—to all power, and all policy, not founded on the indestructible rights of mankind! The names of other Colonial Governors, at the outbreak of the American Revolution, may live—but it will be only in union with the thought of oppression. That of Trumbull will survive immortally associated with Liberty—that Liberty which is "the eternal Spirit of the chainless mind"—whose habitation is the heart of patriotism—and whose monument is "the independence, the glory, and the durable prosperity of one's country."

PART II.

CHAPTER XXI.

1776.

TRUMBULL in his connections with the War, at the North—around New York—and at the East. He issues two Proclamations for raising a Northern Regiment. He makes other preparations for the Northern Department, and hears favorable news from this quarter. He warmly aids the defence of New York by Gen Lee. An instance, here, of his promptness and decision. He guards against tories. Congress and Lord Sterling press him to continue his aid to New York. He strengthens and supplies the army around Boston He encourages the procurement and manufacture of the munitions of war. The works at Salisbury in this connection. Death of his friend and pastor, Rev. Solomon Williams. Trumbull in his relations to this worthy man—to his Church—and to his death-bed.

WE enter now with Trumbull upon the year 1776—one of renowned events both in the forum and the field of new-born America—a year peculiarly of triumph for freedom upon the civil and political stage, but upon the military arena, one of blood-baptism and distress. We shall watch his steps here—as in that we have just left, and in that which follows—closely—for these are the years especially in which the War—not yet, as subsequently, transferred mainly to the Southward—had its seat at the North—raged as it were around his own dwelling—and most particularly tasked his energies, tested his patriotism, and developed the man. Let us look at him then—as in our plan hitherto—in his connections with the War, at the North—around New York—at the East—and upon the waters and shores of his own native State—and first, during that period of the year—its three opening months—which closes with the marked event of the evacuation of Boston by the British troops.

And here let the Reader observe him first on the opening day of January, 1776—on which day, developing at this date both his own and the action of the State over which he presided—he addressed a letter to General Washington, from which the following are extracts:—

"I received the 20th of last month, your Excellency's favor of the 15th, enclosing a list of the officers and companies under the new arrangement, with the number of men enlisted; and at the same time, another of the 17th, with the information of several persons who then had lately come out of Boston. I return my thanks for both.

"By accounts received from various parts of the Colony, the recruiting officers, for the Continental service, have good success in enlisting men.

"The Assembly have granted Chaplains the same pay given last campaign, with the addition of forty shillings per month each, to enable them to supply their pulpits.

"Brigadier General Prescott is not arrived. Shall give particular directions to prevent his escape, if he comes into this Colony.

"The 23rd, yours of the 14th of December came to hand, per Messieurs Penet & De Pliarre. Every necessary assistance, for expediting their journey, was afforded without delay; they set out the next morning. You shall be made acquainted with the expense incurred on their account, when the same is known.

"The 28th instant, at evening, our General Assembly adjourned. There is great unanimity in our common cause."

And the Governor goes on to describe several important acts which the Assembly passed—among others, one for raising and equipping, as Minute-Men, one-fourth part of the militia of Connecticut—another for restraining and punishing persons who were inimical to the liberties of the country—another providing for the construction of armed vessels—another exempting the polls of soldiers from taxes—and still another for encouraging the manufacture of saltpetre and gunpowder.

"I hope," he continues—"to collect Saltpetre and manufacture a considerable quantity of gunpowder early in the spring. The furnace, at Middletown, is smelting lead, and likely to turn out twenty or thirty tons. Ore is plenty.

"Please to favor me with an account of the quantity of lead received from Crown Point. From thence I received one hundred and eighty old gun barrels, which are fitting up here, and will make one hundred and fifty stands of good arms. Hearing that those stands, taken in the ordnance store-ship, had each a spare lock, I thought proper to mention to you, that, if it be so, whether it may not be well to furnish a number for the arms fitting here.

"On the 26th, at evening, I met, at Hartford, on my returning from the General Assembly, yours of the 23d of December, and immediately sent to Captain Wadsworth, a person employed by the Commissary-

General, and much acquainted, to see if any blankets could be purchased, and found there are none. Many of our new enlisted men, I am told, will bring blankets with them, which they get from private families. Those lost at the Bunker Hill fight were furnished in that manner, and our minute-men will supply themselves in that way; but I am very doubtful of success, if attempted. Lieutenant Colonel Durkee this day mentioned to me your direction to him on this head. Shall lay the same before our Committee at their next meeting.

"Inclosed is a copy of an Act empowering the Commander-in-chief, &c., to administer an oath. Also, Minutes of the ordnance taken from the Ministerial troops at the several Northern posts, from the 1st of May to the 13th of November, 1775"—also "a letter from President Wheelock, at Dartmouth College."

The year 1775, as is familiar history, so far as the Northern Campaign is concerned, went down in blood—in the blood of one of the noblest Generals of the Revolution, and in calamity and defeat before Quebec. The fall of Montgomery, however, and the disastrous state of affairs at Quebec which immediately ensued, but stimulated effort afresh on the part of the United Colonies. Congress at once resolved to raise nine battalions of men for the preservation of Canada, and apportioned their quotas accordingly upon different States. Yet before he received particular instructions from Congress, Trumbull—to whom, from his peculiar efforts for the Northern Department, the rout proved most distressing—was up and doing.

January nineteenth, he issued a Proclamation for raising a Northern Regiment. After reciting the news of Montgomery's defeat*—in consideration of this, and of the fact that the Continental Congress could not instantly forward troops, and would approve his steps—he called for a regiment of foot, to consist of seven hundred and fifty effective men—which was "to be marched with all possible expedition," he said, "to the relief and succor of the Continental Army in Canada, and to continue in service until the first of March next," unless it could be "sooner released consistent with the public safety."†

* "I lament the loss of Gen. Montgomery, and the other brave officers before Quebec"—he wrote Jan. 21, 1776. "Let our eyes be upon the Lord. May we humbly and patiently bear his chastisement!"

† "And I do," he concluded—"earnestly recommend it to, and invite all per

Shortly after this Proclamation, he received from Congress, by express, directions for keeping up nine battalions in Canada, and for raising one regiment in Connecticut. Whereupon he issued a second Proclamation—in lieu of the former—drafted on the Congress plan—and calling for eight companies, of ninety men each, including officers. In this official document, after declaring pay and encouragement for those who would enlist, he pledged himself that they should receive all that was offered. "And considering," he concluded—"the generous encouragement aforesaid, granted by said Honorable Congress, the nature and importance of the service more immediately affecting the Northern Colonies, the justice of the cause &c., I repeat the invitation contained in my former Proclamation, to all able-bodied men, to a sufficient number, for the sake of all that is dear to freemen, and for security of those rights which render life desirable, freely and cheerfully to exert themselves on this great occasion, in which we have much reason to hope for the blessing of Almighty God, and that our vigorous exertion, for one ensuing campaign, will lay a happy foundation for putting an end to the unnatural contest into which we are forced by cruel oppression, and secure the lasting peace and tranquillity of this once happy land, on the sure and happy basis of religious and civil liberty."

The regiment thus called for was speedily prepared—and Colonel Burrall, a brave and energetic officer, was placed at its head. It is completed, as you desired, and will soon be on its march—wrote Trumbull to Congress. It will be at Albany soon—he wrote to Schuyler. Pay and all needful supplies were furnished—and in advance too of General Washington's request. "The early attention which you and your Honorable Council have paid to this important business," said Washington—addressing Trumbull on the subject—"has anticipated my requisition, and claims, and deserves, in a particular manner, the thanks of every well-wishing American."

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sons able for said service, to a sufficient number, freely and cheerfully to engage in and undertake the same, for the sake of the love of their country, and all the dear bought rights and privileges thereof, the happiness of themselves, and of all posterity."

In February, Trumbull sent Northward for as many old gun barrels as could be procured, and put one hundred and fifty pounds into the hands of his son David to see them repaired. He forwarded all the powder that could then be obtained. He made provision that John Lawrence Esquire—with twelve thousand five hundred dollars then lately appropriated by Congress to Connecticut for the expedition—should repair to Canaan or elsewhere, and pay off each officer and soldier of the Northern Battalion before they marched—thus anticipating again the request of Washington, Schuyler and others. And in this connection he was the first to adopt the measure of appointing a Regimental Paymaster—for which he received the special thanks of Schuyler. It will be attended "with vast benefit to the service," said the latter. Nor in this connection did he forget payment for those who first at the North—in the capture of Ticonderoga—signalized the American arms. He brought this matter before his own Council, and warmly urged it in letters to Congress.

In the midst of all this duty, he was gratified with news somewhat favorable from the North. "Our brave little corps before Quebec," wrote Schuyler in February—"hold their ground, and continue the blockade."—"It gives me great pleasure," answered Trumbull, on hearing the fact. "This is true bravery. It must convince Lord North that Americans are not all poltroons."

At the same time with the Canadian, the Atlantic frontier of New York was receiving military attention at the hands of Trumbull. Upon report of a hostile embarcation from Boston for its leading city, and authentic information that a great part of the inhabitants of Long Island were inimical to the American cause, Washington determined to detach General Lee* in that direction. Early in January, therefore,

* General Lee was himself very anxious that this plan should be expedited. "The consequences," he wrote Washington, January fifth—"of the enemy's possessing themselves of New York have appeared to me so terrible, that I have scarcely been able to sleep from apprehensions on this subject. * * I would propose that you should detach me into *Connecticut*, and lend your name for collecting a body of volunteers. I am assured that I shall find no difficulty in assembling a sufficient number for the purposes wanted. This body (if there

through Captain Sears, he communicated his plan to Trumbull—for his sanction—and asked him to provide troops for the purpose—especially, he said, "volunteers of gentlemen without pay." Trumbull warmly welcomed the proposal—convened his Council—drew money from the Treasury—and issued a Proclamation* to encourage enlistments—as the following letter, which, January fifteenth, he addressed to Washington on the subject, shows.

"I have received your agreable letter, of the 7th instant, per Captain Sears. The condition and circumstances of the Colony of New York give me pain, lest the friends to American liberty in that Colony should be too much neglected and become disheartened, and the inimical designs and mischievous operations of others succeed. I have received credible information that the Provincial Congress there had spent some time, just before they adjourned to the 1st of February, in debating whether they should not address Mr. Tryon for the purpose of calling the General Assembly of that Colony, to revive the old scheme of adopting the Parliamentary insult of the 20th of February last, which was rejected. Surely our friends want to be strengthened, and our enemies to be checked. * *

"I wrote a letter to President Hancock, dated the 6th of January, and another to one of our Delegates at Congress, requesting that more effectual measures may be taken for the security of New York, to prevent our enemies from being supplied with provisions, furnished with intelligence, and from having an opportunity to use every artifice to insult and injure us from that quarter. It therefore gave me sensible pleasure to find, that you have adopted the measures mentioned in yours, and with great cheerfulness I called my Council, and with their advice, appointed Colonel Waterbury, Lieutenant Colonel Bradley, and Major Holly, field-officers for one regiment, Colonel Ward, Lieutenant Colonel Lewis, and Major Douglas for another. Sent a Proclamation to the two Colonels, and orders to them with the rest of the field-officers, by voluntary enlistment, to raise seven hundred and fifty men each, to join and assist Major General Lee, with encouragement that they should be entitled to the same pay, wages, and billeting allowed the troops before Boston, during the

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should appear occasion to summon them) with the Jersey Regiment under the command of Lord Stirling, now at Elizabethtown, will effect the security of New York, and the expulsion or suppression of that dangerous banditti of Tories, who have appeared in Long Island with the professed intention of acting against the authority of the Congress. Not to crush these serpents, before their rattles are grown, would be ruinous."

* "That ardent patriot," says Sparks in this connection, speaking of Trumbull—"always foremost in vigorous action as well as in zeal, and public spirit, immediately issued orders for raising two regiments by voluntary enlistment," &c.—*Life of Charles Lee.*

time they served, and to be dismissed soon, when the service would conveniently admit.

"The field-officers of each regiment are to select captains and subalterns from those in the standing militia; if needful, to request the chief officer of the militia companies to call their companies together for the purpose of enlisting the men with expedition; and, to prevent difficulty from want of ammunition, I have ordered Captain Niles, Commander of our armed Schooner, the Spy, to take on board half a ton of powder, and transport four hundred pounds to Newhaven, two hundred pounds to Norwalk, and four hundred pounds to Stamford, with orders to him to follow such directions as Major General Lee may give for the service he is employed in, and to execute the same, until dismissed by him, or further orders from me. I wished, but failed, to have the pleasure of a short interview with him. When my orders were ready, very early on Saturday morning last, Captain Sears took them, and I apprehend he got to Hartford by noon. I wrote to Major General Lee, informing of what was done by me. I have no doubt but the men at the westward part of this Colony will readily and expeditiously engage in the service. May the Supreme Director of all events add His blessing on our endeavors to preserve, support, and maintain the constitutional liberties of these Colonies, which he hath made it our duty to do."*

In the Proclamation to which Trumbull above refers, he called zealously upon the good people of the Colony—especially in the parts most contiguous to New York—freely and cheerfully to engage in this most important service, to the number of fifteen hundred men—and was so successful as almost by the time General Lee reached Stamford in Connecticut, to have a highly spirited body of troops—two regiments under the command of Colonel Waterbury and Colonel Ward, with an additional body of three hundred volunteers from Hartford County†—ready to march. "I find the people through this province," wrote Lee from Stamford to Washington, January twenty-third—"more alert and more zealous than my most sanguine expectation. I believe I

* In communicating the same facts to his son Joseph at the same time, the Governor remarks that Washington's plan "is very judicious."—"The ministerial speech," he adds, "breathes destruction and ruin to the Colonies, but if the Lord of Hosts is on our side, *as I believe he is*, all their designs will prove abortive."

† "In consequence of General Lee's invitation," writes Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Joseph Trumbull, Jan. 21, 1776, from Hartford—"a number of volunteers set out from hence to-morrow—among which is my uncle Col. Sam. Talcott, more than sixty years of age, Col. Seymour, &c."

might have collected ten thousand volunteers. I take only four companies with me, and Waterbury's regiment, which is so happily situated on the frontier."

Yet ere Waterbury could march, Trumbull had occasion to display—quite remarkably—his own peculiar promptness and decision.

The regiment in question—Waterbury's—had been, by order of Congress, made ready for embarcation, to land at Oyster Bay, and in conjunction with Lord Stirling on the other side, attack the tories upon Long Island—but just at this moment, by another and counter-order from Congress—to the ruin, apparently, of measures essential to the salvation of New York, and to the infinite regret of all concerned in the expedition—the regiment was suddenly disbanded. Trumbull, at once—in an unhesitating exercise of authority—"like a man of sense and spirit," says Lee—"ordered it to be reassembled."* And on went Lee, therefore, with the regiment. Though sick himself with the gout, and borne upon a litter, on he went to take "strong possession" of New York—there to quarter Waterbury's troops in the upper barracks of the city, while Lord Stirling's occupied the lower—there soon to receive Ward's regiment, which also, Trumbull, in compliance with Lee's request, sent promptly on,† and which was stationed on Long Island to construct redoubts for commanding the entrance to East River—there, behind Trinity Church, to erect batteries for keeping off the enemy's ships—and throw a barrier mounted with cannon across Broadway‡—and barricade all the streets leading right and left into the main way, that his own force might not be taken in reverse—there to carry into effect, should occasion arise, his own fearful menace at the time, that if the British ships, then threatening the city, dared to set one house on fire in consequence of his coming, he would "*chain a hundred*

* "I believe it will be ready on Sunday, the day on which I shall leave this town"—wrote Lee from Newhaven, January sixteenth, to Washington.

† "In compliance with his [Lee's] request, we have already sent orders to Colonel Ward to repair again forthwith to New York."—*Trumbull to Washington, Feb. 12th.*

‡ To prevent the fort at its foot from being converted into a citadel for hostile use.

of their friends by the neck, and make that house their funeral pile!" And doubtless this impetuous general—of whom Irving remarks that he "had served in the famous campaigns of Europe, commanded Cossacks, fought with Turks, talked with Frederick the Great, and been aid du camp to the King of Poland"—would have carried this menace into effect, had the foe but given him cause.*

Tories, as already seen, were no favorites with the patriot whom we commemorate—and his eye was upon them at this time not only on Long Island, but elsewhere in the Province of New York—particularly upon some in the County of Westchester—concerning whom he made complaint to the Committee of Inspection for Greenwich, that, contrary to every principle of duty, they were supplying the enemy with provisions, and had already placed a large quantity on board the British ship of war Asia. Lee carried into effect certain precautions regarding these persons which Trumbull desired, and the latter was highly gratified. "The news from New York," he informed Washington—when in February Lee was thoroughly securing the city—"is interesting, pleasing, and sheweth God's marvellous interposition for our assistance.—I cannot but hope propitious Heaven will smile success on that most timely and judicious exertion of your Excellency to prevent our enemies from possessing themselves of that important station. I have the pleasure to enclose you a copy of Gen. Lee's letter."

In March a pressing communication from Congress reached Trumbull, desiring him to continue his aid in the quarter now under consideration. "The importance of the service," wrote President Hancock to him then—"and the distinguished zeal you, Sir, and the good people of your Colony, have discovered in this glorious struggle, give the strongest assurance that you will comply with this request, and exert your utmost efforts to repel our hostile invaders, and prevent them from gaining possession of a post from which they may so

* Gen. Webb, in a letter dated Wethersfield, Feb. 7th, 1776—speaking of the New York expedition from Connecticut, says—"our people are so much enraged at that Den of Tories, they swear if Gen. Lee is stopp'd, they will march in a body and destroy the city."

the Treasury of Connecticut—was at this period almost dry—and Trumbull, therefore, could get but little from this source with which to refund Colonial expenses. Still he was not disheartened, but pushed on with his labors. Fifty to sixty tons of lead, for the use of the army, he turned out from the mine at Middletown—and explored for more in different parts of the Colony. He sent Joseph Hopkins to examine and report upon another mine in Canaan, New-York—urged Congress to have it worked—and warmly encouraged throughout Connecticut the manufacture of saltpetre, the erection of powder mills, and the casting of guns and camp-kettles in the important works at Salisbury.

These works at Salisbury—that secluded town in the north-west corner of Connecticut—celebrated to this day for its rich and productive iron mines—where deep limestone vallies lapping elevated granite hills, lakes kissing the foot of mountains, and huge clefts in gaping rocks, strangely break and diversify the landscape—occupied the anxious attention of Trumbull and his Council, not only at the period

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"I received your favors," wrote Trumbull again to Washington, February twelfth—"of the 8th instant; have also received, per Bacon, the remittance for the expenses of the French gentlemen to Philadelphia. I had no design to have ever called on you for the money paid our troops under your immediate command, but to have accounted with the Congress, had we not been unexpectedly drained of cash, and had pressing calls upon us two or three ways at once. That to the northward could not possibly have been answered, but for the seasonable arrival of the Continental supply, just sufficient for that purpose. Our other demands for the common service are many. The men, for the short service with you, could not have marched without some money, which they have, I trust, wholly expended for necessary clothing, &c. I therefore could have wished it had been in your power to have remitted the sum advanced by our Pay Table, but shall do everything in my power, that the common interest does not suffer.

"I am greatly concerned for the scarcity of powder and arms. We have not half a sufficiency for ourselves, as the circumstances may be; yet, anxious to furnish you, for the common good, with every supply in our power, I have ordered a quantity of gunpowder arrived at Bedford, in Dartmouth, carted to and now lying at Providence, on account of this Colony, to be sent you, with all possible expedition. Three thousand weight of this we conclude to order to Major Thompson, Agent for the Massachusetts Colony, on account of money he supplied to Mr. Shaw, the importer, for that end, and you will consult him or them concerning the use of it. I suppose the whole to be upwards of six thousand weight; the residue, on account of this Colony, for which shall expect payment, or to be replaced, as shall be hereafter chosen by us. I shall send you this week twenty or thirty stands of good arms. I have not certain advice from any quarter, but I believe our three regiments are all on the march to your camp, except those already arrived there."

of which we now speak, but during the entire course of the Revolutionary War. There—for the use not only of Connecticut, but of the United States at large—cannon were to be cast, from time to time with quickest speed, and cannon balls, and bomb shells—swivels, anchors, grape shot, and hand grenades for vessels of war—iron pots and receivers for the manufacture of sulphur—kettles for camp use—pig iron for the fabrication of steel—wrought iron for musket barrels—and various other articles vital to the defence of the country. And to keep the furnace in blast, ore-diggers, colliers, firemen, moulders, founders, overseers, and guards—exempted all from ordinary military service—were to be procured from time to time, and furnished with clothing, subsistence in provisions, and money from the Pay Table. Woodlands for coal, teams for transportation, black lead, sulphur, and other articles essential to the foundry, were to be procured—and once—to facilitate its operations, a bridge was to be built across the Housatonic, from Salisbury to Canaan.

Trumbull, therefore, in the general superintendence of a foundry thus vital to America, and thus requiring attention, had much to do—and it is plain, from memorials that remain, that his own energy, particularly, promoted its success. Much of the time he had an express running from his door at Lebanon, to bear his own, or the orders of himself and Council, to its overseer Joshua Porter, or to its Managers Henshaw and Whiting. The cannon from this famous establishment—its shot—its munitions generally for military and naval use—it fell to him, very often, at his own discretion, to distribute—now to the Selectmen of towns, or to posts upon the coast—now to armed vessels in the Sound, or to points of defence without the State—and now to sell for cash, or exchange them, as was sometimes the case, for West India goods that were in demand for workmen, or for the soldiery of Connecticut. The brown hematite of Salisbury's "Old Ore Hill," and that furnace upon the outlet of its Lake Wanscopommuc—which, as it happens, the hero of Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen, was one of the first to establish—will ever be associated, in the minds of those who

know the facts, with the Governor's management, and with his name.*

Thus, one way and another—in every department of the war—was Trumbull busy during the first three months of the year on which we have paused.†

And it was an interval of anxiety to him, not alone in his relations to the public, but in his private sphere—for it was marked by the death of one of his most valued friends—one with whom for more than half a century he had been in the habit of almost daily intercourse, and to whom, by every social as well as, particularly, by every religious sympathy, his own soul was grappled. We refer to the death of that "eminently learned and pious divine," as he was justly called, the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon.‡ Let us turn here then for a moment away from the "tented field," briefly to contemplate Trumbull in his relations to this worthy man, to his church, and to his death-bed—for they show him in a new and pleasing light.

Dr. Williams, for fifty-four years in succession, occupied the pulpit of the first Congregational Church in Lebanon. He commenced his labors there just a year before Trumbull entered College—and it was into his religious arms that Trumbull threw himself after his graduation, when he made a public profession of religion, and became a communicant in the church. During the whole period that succeeded—down to the close of the good minister's career on earth—Trumbull was a regular attendant upon his ministrations.

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* The partners of Ethan Allen, in the erection of this furnace, were Samuel and Elisha Forbes, and a Mr. Hazeltine. It was first erected about the year 1762. The guns used on board the frigate Constitution, by Commodore Truxton, in capturing the French frigate L'Insurgente, were here manufactured. The armories of the United States, and private armories, still use extensively the Salisbury iron.

† "Furnishing orders to the troops of the Colonies of New York, Quebec, and Massachusetts," he informed his son Joseph in January—"prevents my being able to write but a word."—"I have long been in continued fatigue"—he again wrote in February—"more especially for three weeks"—making orders "and provisions for two battalions to aid Gen. Lee—another to march to the assistance of our friends at Canada—and three to the camp near Boston—for the building of a 20 gun ship-of-war—four row gallies—and for setting the Salisbury furnace to work for casting cannon, bomb shells, & balls."

‡ Trumbull and Williams were, in their day, often spoken of as *Moses* and *Aaron*.

He was a most heedful listener to his sermons from the pulpit—was in the habit of taking brief notes of them, and repeated and commented upon them at home, before his family, after his return from worship. He attended upon his exhortations during the "Lecture Days" of the week, and often himself aided in the duties upon these occasions. In short, in all "holy offices," he stood among the worthy preacher's parishioners, foremost by his side—him

> "followed with endearing wile,
> And plucked his gown to share the good man's smile."

Did the business affairs of the Church require special attention? Trumbull was the member most leaned upon to bestow it. Were contributions, for any benevolent purposes, wanted? He was among the first to open his purse—and liberally. Did the Meeting-House require, as in 1775, some monitor of time—an unostentatious clock? Upon him it devolved to devise a subscription paper for the purpose—to head it with his own "one pound," as the paper, in his own handwriting shows—and to commend a "skilful workman"—as he did upon this occasion one Jedediah Morse—to make it. Did some of the members of the Society, as in 1772, wish to abandon the venerable old House of Worship, and build a new one—upon a new site—and agitate the subject, warmly, at many public meetings in Lebanon, and before the General Assembly of Connecticut? Trumbull was the impartial draughtsman, who, with a thorough knowledge of the history of the edifice, and of the Society from its beginning, was relied upon to prepare a statement of all the facts in the case.

This he did in a pointed Memorial to the Legislature—in which he showed both to all the advocates of a new site, and to the State, that the change desired, under the circumstances, would be against justice—that it would violate old agreements—that it would be against faith that had been plighted in past payments—that the existing edifice was one in which the inhabitants of Lebanon had long and contentedly worshipped, and with a few repairs, might worship still—and that—as in pleasing deference to the age, infirmities, and ar-

dent wishes of his friend, the venerable pastor, he added—Mr. Williams had preached from its time-honored desk for now "fifty years next December."

Now when this good old man came, in February 1776, to his bed of death, Trumbull, his long-endeared neighbor, friend, and supporter, was by his side—to feel as the following brief extracts from his letters to his son Joseph, in part show him to have felt. There he was, like a ministering angel, to soothe the entrance of his revered pastor upon the dark valley—to look with him, in the deep sympathy of Christian faith and hope, at that dread future from which the curtain, to the eye of the sick man, fast began to rise—to comfort his afflicted family—and go away to mourn his own irreparable loss, and lay the event to profound religious use.

February sixth, he writes—"Poor Dr. Williams is in a dangerous and painful condition."

February nineteenth, he writes—"Dr. Williams' case is very dangerous."

February twenty-sixth, he writes— "All our connections are well, except our dear Reverend Pastor. I left him at 12 o'clock, to all appearance just at the entrance of the dark valley of the shadow of death—his family in tears. He is calm, patient, and resigned. The world and its objects lessen before him at every thought. His faithful labors will follow him. You was born, and bro't up under his ministry. Most of my life hath been under the like enjoyment. It is not his fault if we have not profited thereby.—O the vanity of man as mortal! O his grandeur, when prepared for immortal glory!"

March first—Dr. Williams being dead—he writes thus:—"Alas, he is gone from us—but let us follow him as he followed our dear ascended Lord and master Jesus Christ. His friendship hath been one of the great comforts of my life—pray God may provide another of like spirit, to take his people by the hand, and lead them in the way to everlasting life."

March fourth, he writes—"Our reverend and worthy Dr. Williams departed this life last Wednesday at midnight. His funeral solemnity is to be attended this day at two o'clock. A sermon is to be preached on the occasion."*

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* The following is the inscription upon a table of sandstone supported horizontally above his grave:—

"This stone covers the remains of that eminent Servant of God, the Rev'd Solomon Williams D. D. late Pastor at Lebanon. Adorned with uncommon gifts of nature, learning and Grace, he shone bright as the Gentleman, Scholar,

Christian and divine, conspicuous for wisdom, warm in devotion, bold in the cause of Christ, excelling as a preacher, most agreeable in conversation, clear & Judicious in counsel, an ardent lover of peace and the rights of mankind, firm in friendship, Singularly hospitable & in all relations exemplary; having faithfully serv'd the interest of Christ, of Religion & Learning at his Master's call, he calmly fell asleep in Jesus Feb. 28th 1776 in the 76th year of his age & 54 of his ministry.

"Them that sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."

CHAPTER XXII.

1776.

Trumbull aids the American Army on its way from Boston to New York. He meets Washington at Norwich. His sentiments on the evacuation of Boston. He is informed that a large body of foreign troops is on its passage to America—and that a British fleet of one hundred and thirty sail had left Halifax, bound for New York. His preparations thereupon both for the Continental Army, and for the defence of Connecticut He is officially apprized of the Declaration of Independence. His views of this Instrument He lays it before his Council, and it is referred for official promulgation and record to the next General Assembly. Depressed state of American affairs. Trumbull receives the Peace Propositions of Lord Howe and his brother as King's Commissioners. His opinion and action thereupon. They serve but to render his preparations for the defence of New York and Long Island more vigorous. His Exhortation to the people in this connection. Their quick response. Soldiers rush to New York.

From viewing Trumbull, in his devotedness and piety, in a scene of private death, we turn now to view him again in his preparation for that other theatre where the Destroyer "sounds the trump of war, and rushes to the field."

March eighteenth, he received advices from General Washington that the British troops were withdrawing from Boston, and entreating him to send two thousand men forthwith to New York—there to remain until the General could march his own army to this quarter. With this request Trumbull complied—giving orders for the purpose to the field-officers of the regiments nearest New York to forward, by land or water, twenty companies of ninety men each—and soon after, directing the commanding officers of seven other Connecticut regiments to draft each one-fourth of their men, and hold them ready to march. March twenty-first, Washington informed him that the enemy lay in Nantasket road—and that—as had been previously suggested by Trumbull—he should take his army to New York by the sea-coast route, through Norwich—at which place, April thirteenth, the two patriots met—at the house of Colonel Jede-

diah Huntington—where they dined together, and conferred until evening, when General Washington pushed on for New London.

The evacuation of Boston by the British troops gave the Governor of Connecticut lively satisfaction—and he did not fail to express it in letters to various correspondents. To John Adams and George Wythe, in Congress, for example,* he said, in a strain of mingling piety and patriotism—"I do most sincerely congratulate you on Gen. Washington's success, and on the shameful retreat of our enemies from Boston, which demand our humble adoration and praise of the Supreme Director of all events for his marvellous interposition for our help.—Burning and destroying our towns, robbing our property, trampling on and profaning places dedicated to divine worship and service, and cruel treatment of the persons so unhappy as to fall into their hands, are injuries of the first magnitude.—Every subtile art, as well as arms, are used against us. May God prevent their operations, and turn their counsels to foolishness, preserve and increase the union of the American people, grant them wisdom, and guide their public counsels!"†

May sixth, and Trumbull received intelligence from the Massachusetts Assembly, that a large body of foreign troops—hired by the Ministry of Great Britain to lay waste America—were on their passage to execute their "bloody orders," and in all probability were near our coast. They might be daily expected, he was told. He made immediate preparations, therefore, to receive them. In conformity with Acts of the General Assembly, he improved the organization of the Minute-Men of Connecticut. He raised two additional

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* To these gentlemen, about this time, he sent an account of losses sustained in Connecticut from the Ministerial navy—which he had himself carefully prepared.

† In a letter to Schuyler, March 21st, 1776, he thus concludes: "I most sincerely congratulate you on the success of Gen. Washington. The enemy evacuated Boston last Sunday. Boston is now open. The poor inhabitants are greatly emaciated, from their want of provisions, and rejoiced for their happy deliverance. The most of the tories are gone off with the troops. The cattle remain in the enemy's hands, but hope they will soon be ours. They have carried off the unhappy prisoners, it is said, in irons. Is it not time to retaliate? They have done all the mischief in their power."

regiments to serve within the Colony—which, by special resolve, were to be stationed, from time to time, as he should order. He raised also a battalion of troops to march "to Boston or elsewhere"—and upon a further requisition from Congress, levied seven battalions to join the Continental Army in New-York—and expended twelve hundred pounds in procuring tents and clothing.

At the same time—that supplies might be on hand—he proclaimed an embargo—and sent one vessel to Cape Francois for a cargo of powder—to be obtained "soon as possible"—and others to different ports in the West Indies for military and naval stores of every kind. That the resources of Connecticut in men might be accurately known, he proceeded, with great labor on his own part, to execute a census of the State—which, together with authenticated copies of the public documents of Connecticut relating to the War, from its commencement down, he transmitted to Congress—and, receiving from this Body twenty-one thousand dollars, he carefully expended it for the public service—procuring and sending to the army at New-York, among other articles, yarn stockings to the number of five thousand pairs. His hands just at this time overflowed with business. "The Intelligence is very alarming"—he wrote his son, June fifteenth. "The Assembly tho't it necessary to sit *on the Lord's Day*"—he wrote June sixteenth. "Four thousand Hessians are near our coast"—he soon heard. Soon again, and he received news of what he styles "Tryon's Assassination Powder Plot" in New-York. "Shocking! Barbarous!"—he exclaimed. "God be praised for the discovery made thereof in season!"

July second, he was informed by Washington that a fleet of one hundred and thirty sail had left Halifax, bound for New-York, and that General Howe had already arrived at Sandy Hook. He therefore ordered three regiments of Lighthorse forthwith to march for the menaced city, and held a special interview with John Jay at Lebanon, upon the matter of procuring cannon for the defence of Hudson River. At the same time—hearing from the frontier towns of western Connecticut, that they were greatly distressed on

account of the proximity of the enemy—he wrote Washington asking that a Continental Regiment might be raised for their relief. He also sent Eliphalet Dyer and Richard Law to confer with the General on measures to be taken for the defence of Connecticut, and the other States—and addressed Congress, praying for some new legislation against tories, and refugees, and counterfeiters of the paper money of the nation. "Notwithstanding our enemies are so numerous and powerful," he said, addressing Washington—"and have hired mercenaries into their service, yet, knowing our cause righteous, and trusting Heaven will support and defend us, I do not greatly dread what they can do against us."*

Just the very day upon which Trumbull was writing Congress, as we have stated—soliciting its special legislation against the foes of his country, and informing them, as he did also, of the measures he had himself taken for defence—that Body, through its Presiding Officer, was inditing a letter to him, communicating that immortal Instrument, which—finally and forever—absolved this country from all allegiance to the British Crown—and declared it—before God and the world—free, sovereign, and independent.

With what emotion it was received by the Governor—with what satisfaction his eye paused upon its solemn clauses—with what enthusiastic readiness his own soul sprung to unite

* "Our internal malignants," he continues, "may be permitted to do many injurious and insidious things. They are, therefore, to be watched with care and diligence, to prevent such hypocritical and designing men carrying on and perpetrating their wicked purposes. No doubt there are many such, the persons and characters unknown to me, and not convenient to mention in a letter the notices given me of any.

"Last week I sent circular letters to the civil authority, Selectmen, Committees of Inspection, and Military Officers, in all the towns of the State, to promote and facilitate the several battalions ordered to be raised here, and to send them forward to the places of their destination. Recruiting Officers for the companies not filled are necessary, and I conclude are left for the purpose. The people have, in some measure, got through the hurry of harvest, &c. Hope that they will now cheerfully enlist and go on.

"Colonel Dyer and Richard Law, Esq., are directed to repair to New-York to confer with your Excellency on every subject needful for our direction, for your information. You know our readiness to afford every assistance for the common defence.—I have put Colonel Ward's regiment under marching orders," Trumbull adds, "to proceed, without loss of time, whatever way Congress shall direct."

with the soul of Congress in its pledge of life, and fortune, and sacred honor, to the cause of freedom—and with what just confidence, and pious gratitude, he could himself appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of his own intentions—it is easy for our Readers to imagine.

He was himself fully prepared for the step. Long had his expectation fastened upon it—long his wishes. In the oppressed condition of his country—when, in the recorded language of Connecticut, no alternative was left "but absolute and indefinite submission to such claims as must terminate in the extreme of misery and wretchedness, or a total separation from the King of Great Britain, and a successful resistance to that power which was extended to effect our destruction"—in this state of peril, Trumbull knew and felt that America could not do otherwise than proclaim herself free. And after that fatal Restraining Bill of the British Parliament—at the close of 1775—which guillotined American trade, and, by "a sentence worse than death, obliged the unhappy men" who should be made captives in the predatory war it would occasion, "to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends and country, and, after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren"—after all this, in the winter and spring of the year which followed, no man was more active than himself in preparing the hearts of his countrymen for Independence.

"Talk of rebellion!"—he said in March—"if we are right, the rebellion is on the part of our enemies, who aim at the happy constitution of the Empire!"—"Talk of reconciliation!"—he at the same time said—"British supremacy such as it ought to be, and American liberty, *have* been seen to exist together. But under our present cruel treatment, it is *too late* to think of this now!"

Twenty days before that great step was taken of which we find Congress now officially apprizing him—on the Fourteenth of June—a memorable day in the history of Connecticut liberty—he had set his own hand to a Resolution of the General Assembly, which solemnly instructed the Delegates of Connecticut in General Congress "to propose to that re-

spectable Body, to declare the United American Colonies free and independent States—to give the assent of this Colony to such Declaration"—and "to move and promote" every measure necessary to sustain it, and to preserve our just rights and liberties.* So that it was with no surprise that he received the Matchless Document prepared by Congress—first, July eleventh, enclosed in a letter from his son Colonel John Trumbull—and next, the day after, in a letter from President Hancock. He immediately laid it before his Council, where it was again and again "largely discussed"—and finally referred, for official promulgation and for record, to the next ensuing session of the General Assembly—not the Assembly any longer of the Colony—but now, for the first time of the *State*—the *Sovereign State* of Connecticut!

To the pleasure afforded Trumbull by the great event to which allusion has now been made, was added, in a few days, "the joyful news from South Carolina"—as it was styled in a handbill which Colonel Huntington first sent him from camp, and which described the successful defence of Charleston against the attack by Sir Henry Clinton.

But save from these two sources, there was nothing elsewhere upon the face of the American struggle, at this time, to gladden the heart of the patriot we commemorate. Intelligence from every other quarter grew more and more alarming. Admiral Howe had arrived, and joined his brother at New York—and their united forces, and formidable batteries, were now frowning destruction on everything that should oppose them. Appointed as they both were by the King, Commissioners to bear what the Ministry called "the olive branch as well as the sword" to America—they, in July, addressed a Circular Letter to the Governors of the American Colonies, calling on the people to return to their allegiance—and declaring pardon to all who were willing, by thus evincing their loyalty, to reap the benefit of the royal favor. One of the Letters and Declarations, sent by Lord Howe, reached the Governor of Connecticut about the middle of July—and his opinion of the document is shown

* See this remarkable Resolution, with its Preamble, in a note at the end of this chapter.

in the following passage from a letter, dated July twenty-sixth, 1776, to William Williams.

"By Friday's post," he proceeds—"received Lord Howe's letter of the 20th of June, ult., and his declaration of pardons to all those who in the tumult and disorder of the times, may have deviated from their just allegiance, and who are willing by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favor; that pardons shall be granted, dutiful representation received, and every suitable encouragement given for providing such measures as shall be conducive to the establishing legal government and peace, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious intentions. In his letter he says 'I have judged it expedient to issue the enclosed declaration, in order that all persons may have immediate information of his Majesty's gracious intentions.'

"He desires me to promulgate it, assured of being favored with my assistance in every measure to restore the public tranquillity, and requests such information as will facilitate the attainment of that important object. I shall by next post forward copies to Congress; to them I shall refer him. Who began the war? Who withdrew his protection? Who refused to hearken to most dutiful and humble petitions? Who invaded our rights? Is not the appeal made to the Supreme Director of all events? Will not the Judge of all the earth do right? Doth not pardon presuppose guilt? Are we guilty of want of duty and allegiance? Could anything but tyranny, oppression, injustice, and war and desolation, have driven us to cast off our mother country?"

How manifest in all this is Trumbull's conviction that, in the struggle then going on, truth and reason were on the side of his country—and how manifest also his contempt for the propositions of the foe! He viewed these propositions just as Congress did—and just as Congress by resolution declared them to be, when it ordered their publication in all the gazettes of the land as an endeavor on the part of the insidious Court of Great Britain "*to amuse and disarm* the good people of the United States." Like Franklin—and as the latter told Lord Howe at the time—he felt astonished that the British Commissioners should imagine the American people would now submit to a government that had "with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters, and that was then bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood." Like Franklin, he had long

labored—"with unfeigned and unwearied zeal—to preserve that fine and noble vase—the British Empire—from breaking." But this vase was now ruptured—irremediably—and Trumbull was not the man to make the first advance in an impotent and humiliating attempt to reunite its scattered fragments.*

But from resistance to the Peace-Propositions of Lord Howe, Trumbull had now to turn to resist his arms. It was certain at this time, as we have intimated, that New York would be attacked—and August made heavier and heavier draughts on the Governor in the way of military preparations. On the first of this month, he issued a Circular to the Civil Authority, Selectmen, Committee of Inspection, and military officers in different towns of the State, to procure fresh recruits. It was addressed also—a curious and interesting fact—to many Ministers of Churches, with a request that it should be read at the close of public worship, and that the Authorities of the Society, and the Committee of Inspection, should be invited to meet with the Selectmen the next day.†

August eleventh, Trumbull directed the commanding officers of fourteen regiments of militia, to march their respective forces to New York, and place themselves under General Washington until the exigency there should be over. He

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* In a letter to his son John, dated Sep. 25th, 1776—Trumbull speaks farther of Lord Howe, and of his conference with a Committee of Congress, as follows: "It seems the conference with Lord Howe came to nothing. He had no powers but to pardon. The Rebels who need pardon from the King of Great Britain are not yet discovered. We disclaim the name, and judge that our rights and privileges have been injuriously invaded."

† That sent to Newhaven was communicated to Rev. Mr. Whittlesey. "What a contrast," it affords, "between our peaceful Sabbaths, and those days when the might of Great Britain was raised to crush our fathers in the act of asserting their constitutional liberty!"—"As I have the most pressing requisitions," proceeds Trumbull in this document, August 1st, 1776—"urging the absolute necessity of having our new levies filled up, completed, and forwarded with the utmost dispatch; and as delay may be attended with the utmost disastrous consequences, our enemies being about to use their utmost exertions as soon as the foreign troops arrive, which by the best intelligence are now on our coast, if not in port;—therefore, in this critical moment, on which the fate of America depends, I do most earnestly entreat you all, as you value your lives, liberty, property, and your country, that you immediately and vigorously exert all your influence, power and abilities, in encouraging and forwarding the enlistments within your respective spheres of influence and connections, that the same may be completed and sent forward with all possible expedition."

urged them by every patriotic consideration—by the "raised expectations" which he said had been formed of their "disposition and ability to serve their country" in this most important crisis—cheerfully to undertake the service, and "be at New York quick as possible." For the purpose of co-operating with Washington specially upon Long Island—to harass the enemy there in their rear or flanks, and prevent them from advancing eastward—at the particular request of the General, he rallied a force at New London, and elsewhere on the coast—as we shall have occasion soon more particularly to recount—in part provided transports to bear them across the Sound—and sent Major Ely and Benjamin Huntington over to the Island, to consult and agree with the sure friends of our cause there for an addition to the force.* And to all the able-bodied, effective men in the State, who were not obliged to do military duty in any Train-Band—and to such as were "gentlemen of horse"—for the purpose of securing *their* services also in the existing crisis—he published what he styled an "Exhortation"—a document so spirited that we here give it entire.

"Intelligence is just received," he proceeds—"from General Washington, of the necessity of a large augmentation of our forces at New York, that the number of our enemies is greatly increased by the arrival of Gen. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with the whole southern army from South Carolina, that the fleet which came in a few days since are Hessians and Scotch Highlanders, part of 12,000 who were left off Newfoundland, in the whole making 30,000 men, that it is said by officers both of the army and navy, that they are to attack New York, Long Island &c., in the course of a week.

"In this day of calamity and great expectations, when our enemies are exerting every nerve to pluck up, pull down, and destroy us, it is of the greatest necessity that everything in our power be done for defence of our rights, properties, lives and posterity. To trust altogether to the justice of our cause without our own utmost exertions, would be tempting Providence. Be roused therefore and alarmed to stand forth in our just and glorious cause. Join yourselves to some one or other of the com-

* "The knowledge," says Washington, in his letter of Aug. 24th—calling on Trumbull for this preparation—"I have of the extraordinary exertions of your State upon all occasions, does not permit me to require this, not knowing how far it is practicable. I only offer it, therefore, as a matter for your consideration, and of great public utility, if it can be accomplished."

panies of the militia now ordered to New York, or form yourselves into distinct companies of fifty men or more each, and choose a Captain, Lieutenant, and ensign forthwith. March on—this shall be your warrant—and give notice thereof to me, and commissions shall be forthwith issued, and sent after you. You are to join the regiment to which you belong, and the army under command of his Excellency Gen. Washington, for this important emergency—to be held only the short time the present necessity calls for your service. Stand forth for our defence. Play the man for God, and for the cities of our God. May the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, be your Captain, your Leader, your Conductor and Saviour—give wisdom and conduct to your generals and officers, and inspire our soldiers with courage, resolution and fortitude, that God may delight to spare and save us for his name's sake. The same provisions and wages shall be given to you as to others that go into the service, and it shall be recommended to the General Assembly to do everything for your service that justice requires. Given under my hand in Lebanon this 12th day of August, 1776.

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

This appeal was irresistible. It roused Connecticut like a fire-cry. Men rushed to supply the army—and of her twenty-five regiments, *all but two* were soon collected at New York, together with many companies of volunteers.*

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* The "good people" of this State, said Trumbull at this time, addressing the President of Congress—"do not hesitate to do all in their power to be freemen while they live, and to leave their posterity the heirs of freedom and its blessings." "Notwithstanding our enemies are so numerous and powerful," he wrote to Washington—"yet knowing our cause righteous, and trusting Heaven will support and defend us, I do not greatly dread what they can do against us."—"No exertion hath been wanting to forward men," he wrote his son then in New York. "This, with the support of the Colonies near you, will, it is hoped, be sufficient, with the protection and blessing of heaven, to defeat the devices of the enemy, and crush their plan in its cradle."

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 265.

"*At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America, holden at Hartford, in said Colony, by special order of the Governor, on the* 14*th day of June, A. Dom.* 1776.

"Whereas the King and Parliament of Great Britain, by many acts of said Parliament, have claimed and attempted to exercise powers incompatible with, and subversive of the ancient, just and constitutional rights of this and the rest of the English Colonies in America, and have refused to listen to the many and frequent, humble, decent and dutiful petitions for redress of grievances and restoration of such their rights and liberties, and turning from them with neglect and contempt to support such claims, after a series of accumulated wrong and injury, have proceeded to invade said Colonies with Fleets and Armies, to destroy our towns, shed the blood of our countrymen, and involve us in the calamities inci-

dent to war; and are endeavoring to induce us to an abject surrender of our natural and stipulated rights, and subject our property to the most precarious dependence on their arbitrary will and pleasure, and our persons to slavery, and at length have declared us out of the King's protection, have engaged foreign mercenaries against us, and are evidently and strenuously seeking our ruin and destruction.—These and many other transactions, too well known to need enumeration, the painful experience and effects of which we have suffered and feel, make it evident, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we have nothing to hope from the justice, humanity, or temperate counsels of the British King or his Parliament, and that all hopes of a reconciliation, upon just and equal terms, are delusory and vain. In this state of extreme danger, when no alternative is left us but absolute and indefinite submission to such claims as must terminate in the extreme of misery and wretchedness, or a total separation from the King of Great Britain, and renunciation of all connection with that nation, and a successful resistance to that force which is intended to effect our destruction—appealing to that God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, for the sincerity of former declarations of our desire to preserve our ancient and constitutional relation to that nation, and protesting solemnly against their oppression and injustice, which have driven us from them, and compelled us to use such means as God in his providence hath put in our power, for our necessary defence and preservation—

"Resolved unanimously by this Assembly, that the Delegates of this Colony in General Congress, be, and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies, free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such Declaration, when they shall judge it expedient and best, and to whatever measures may be tho't proper and necessary by the Congress, for forming foreign alliances, or any plan of operations for necessary and mutual defence; and also that they move and promote, as fast as may be convenient, a regular and permanent plan of union and confederation of the Colonies for the security and preservation of their just rights and liberties, and for mutual defence and security—saving that the administration of Government and the power ought to be left and remain to the respective Colonial Legislatures; and that such plan be submitted to the respective Legislatures for their previous consideration and assent."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1776.

DISASTROUS Battle of Long Island. Trumbull not disheartened—but sends reenforcements, and animates Massachusetts and Rhode Island to do the same. He appoints a Day of Fasting and Prayer. His Proclamation for this purpose. Forces from Connecticut pour into the Continental Army. Washington expresses his thanks to Trumbull. Trumbull's reply. American affairs still in a calamitous state. Trumbull, undismayed, continues his exertions for the common cause. Some of his labors.

THE plan of the enemy, unfortunately, was not destined, in conformity with Trumbull's patriotic wish, to be crushed. The disastrous battle of Long Island brought death to his hopes in this direction. New York was taken. Washington was compelled to evacuate the island. Everything wore the gloomiest aspect as the Autumn of 1776 began to open its prospect of desolated nature, and the verdure of the fields began to blast, and the "Flowery Race to resign their sunny robes." Yet to the heart of Trumbull the event did not bring despair—no, nor to the heart of his State—which still, notwithstanding defeat, beat with an "indomitable firmness"—such as neither Athens, when beset by the legions of Xerxes, nor Rome, when she had lost the battle of Cannæ, exhibited more gloriously.

To the urgent solicitations, both from Washington and the New York Congress, for military succor, Trumbull responded with an alacrity that is truly astonishing. Within six days only from the first of September, he started—first, eight regiments, and all the troop of Horse in the State east of the Connecticut River—next nine regiments of militia more, and two additional of horse—and next two companies additional of a regiment stationed at New London and Groton for coast defence—to march all forthwith towards New York. Some of them were to embark—if circumstances should require—for some convenient point on Long Island, and thence proceed "to the assistance of our army against the troops and mercenaries of Great Britain"—and some were to proceed

all the way by land—rendezvous in Westchester—and from thence defeat the enemy's design of throwing a force upon the Main, and cutting off in this quarter the communication with New York. And Trumbull appealed to Massachusetts—and he appealed to Rhode Island—informing both these States of what he had himself now done, and stimulating their immediate cooperation.*

And farther—at this dark crisis in American affairs—not content with providing the material of war merely, but wishing specially to propitiate the favor of Heaven—September sixth—in view of the "judgments" lately fallen upon the country, and of the "sins and shortcomings," he feared, of the people of the land—he issued the following Proclamation for a "Day of Fasting and Prayer" in Connecticut—the first of the kind, which since the Declaration of Independence, he caused to be published, and which will be found worthy of attentive perusal.

"*When it is considered,*" *he proceeds*—"*that all Mankind, and all Communities of Men, have an absolute, entire, and necessary Dependence on God;—that he is the great Governor of the World, and the wise Disposer of all the Affairs and Concernments of the Children of Men; that He hath done great and marvellous things for his People in this Land, from their first Beginnings to this Day, which our Fathers have told us, and which we have seen with our Eyes;—that He is, in his holy and righteous Providence, come out in Judgment against us, and doth permit the King of Great Britain with his Parliament, to sap the Constitution in its very foundation, and to sport with all the Privileges of the People in all Parts of the Empire; and to accomplish their Purposes, to have Recourse, in spite of the most powerful Arguments to the contrary, to*

* "We thank your Honor," wrote back to him the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, Sep. 13th—for your exertions in the common cause, and assure you it will be our ambition to cooperate with the United States, to the utmost of our power, in efforts for their common safety"—and a battalion from the old Bay State militia, destined for Rhode Island, was ordered to join the forces around New York "with all possible dispatch."

"Our eastward regiments are raised, and ordered forward to go to or near Westchester to cooperate with the army—or, if not needed there, to supply the place of some of the last militia sent."—*The Governor's letter to his son Joseph, Sep. 6th.*

"I have this minute sent a letter to Gov'nor Cooke—to move them on this question [that of military cooperation.] My Council will be with me in a hour or two. Our regiments are prepared for motion, whenever tho't necessary & best."—*Same to same, Oct. 11th.*

every dishonorable Artifice, and unprovoked Violence, and finally to levy an unnatural War upon his British People in America, who at that time were a dutiful and liege people; and to carry on the same with unrelenting Cruelty and Vigor, have engaged Mercenaries and Savages to join therein, using every Artifice to cause Division and Discord among the People:——When it is also considered, that humble and decent Petitions have been made and presented to obtain Relief and Redress of these Grievances, which have been rejected and spurned;—that Thirteen Governments in AMERICA *being declared Rebels, and deprived of the Protection and paternal kindness of the King, and suffering under the Malevolence of their British Brethren, have solemnly declared that they are, and of Right ought to be, free and independent States; that a solemn act of Confederation is forming, to be entered into by all these United States, so that all Men in them may lead quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty;—and that a solemn Appeal is made to* GOD *for his just and righteous Decision in this unhappy War;—The Scriptures, the Examples of Holy Men, and of our Fathers, show it to be our Duty frequently by Fasting and Prayer, to appear before the* LORD, *to humble ourselves in his Sight, to confess and lament for our evil Deeds, and for our great Trespass, and to repent for all our Iniquities, which deserve His righteous Punishment—to seek His Face, the Light of His Countenance, and Deliverance from the Hands of our Enemies, who have risen up against us, to deprive us of our Rights and Liberties—and to supplicate for his Mercy, for Wisdom and Direction, that so the free and independent States may be radicated, confirmed, established, built up, and caused to flourish, and to become a Praise in the whole earth:*

"I HAVE therefore, by and with the advice of the Council, thought fit to appoint *Thursday the nineteenth day of September* instant, to be observed as a Day of Fasting and Prayer throughout this State; hereby exhorting both Ministers and People of all Denominations, to humble themselves before *God*, confessing their sins, and intreating his divine Grace, Favor, and Blessing. Particularly, to confess and lament their having gone far from *God*, forgetting the errand of their Fathers into this Land, neglecting and abusing the inestimable Privileges of the Gospel, and trifling with the Liberties wherewith Christ hath made us free—to mourn for our Pride, Covetousness, Sensuality, Security, Vanity, Dissipation, and Insensibility of the Obligations we are under to the divine Author of all our Blessings;—Upon this solemn Day of Fasting and Humiliation, to set our Sins in Order before us, with all their heinous Aggravations, and in the Bitterness of our Souls to lament and bewail the general Prevalence of Impiety and Vice, which hath overspread and diffused itself throughout the Land:—To offer up fervent supplications to Almighty *God*, for his gracious Presence with us,—to give us true Repentance and Reformation,—to make us fully sensible that our Dependence must be on his Power and Grace alone,—to retrieve the an-

cient Piety and Virtue of the Land,—to prosper our Arms,—to deliver us from the Power of our Enemies,—to quicken and enlarge the Hearts of His People in the Fear and Service of *God*, of their Country, of one another, and in defence of their just Rights and Liberties.

"And likewise to offer up devout Prayers for the Representatives of the *United States* in General Congress assembled, that *God* would preside in the Midst of them, direct and lead them to such wise and just Articles of Confederation, and to such equitable and righteous Measures, as may preserve and secure the Rights and Liberties, the Prosperity and Tranquillity of the whole United States of *America*—That he would show Favor to each, and in particular to this State, carry them all safely through this unhappy War—give Wisdom and Conduct to our Generals and Officers, and inspire our Soldiers with Courage, Resolution, and Fortitude—defeat the Attempts and Designs of our Enemies—turn them back from us—and make bare His arm for our Salvation—bless and guide our Civil Rulers, and enable them with Wisdom and Courage to use all their Power and Influence to promote the Happiness of this People—make them Protectors and Examples of Virtue, the Terror of Vice, and happy Instruments of the public Peace and Tranquillity; that *God* would Grant plentiful Effusions of His Holy Spirit upon Rulers, Ministers of the Gospel, Colleges, Schools of Learning, and on all the People—cause true and undefiled Religion to flourish in this and all these States, and through the Christian world.

"*Further*, I do sincerely recommend to all the Churches in this State, to continue the laudable Practice of setting apart Seasons of *Prayer to God*, our *Almighty* Preserver and Deliverer.

"And all servile Labor is forbidden on said Day.

"Given under my Hand in Lebanon, the sixth Day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

True to the preparations which Trumbull had made, the Connecticut forces—in the crisis at New-York—poured on, at quick intervals, to join the Continental Army—much to the joy of the whole country—deeply to the satisfaction of Washington himself. "The exertions of Connecticut upon every occasion," he wrote to Trumbull, September sixth—"do them great honor."

"I observe with great pleasure," he wrote again, September ninth—"that you have ordered the remaining regiments of militia, that can be spared from the immediate defence of the sea-coast, to march towards New-York with all expedition. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks, not only for your constant and ready compliance with any request of mine, but for your own strenuous exertions and prudent forecast, in

ordering matters so, that your force has generally been collected and put in motion as soon as it has been demanded."

"When your Excellency," answered Trumbull, the next day—"was pleased to request the militia of our State to be sent forward with all possible expedition to reenforce the army at New-York, no time was lost to expedite the march; and I am happy to find the spirit and zeal that appeared in the people of this State, to yield every assistance in their power in the present critical situation of our affairs. The season indeed, was most unfavorable for so many of our farmers and laborers to leave home. Many had not even secured their harvest; the greater part had secured but a small part even of their hay, and the preparation of the crop of winter's grain for the ensuing year was totally omitted; but they, the most of them, left all to afford their help in protecting and defending their just rights and liberties against the attempt of a numerous army sent to invade them. The suddenness of the requisition, the haste and expedition required in the raising, equipping, and marching such a number of men after the large drafts before made on this State, engrossed all our time and attention."

Nor were this "time and attention" on the part of Trumbull to the American Army, destined to be otherwise than engrossed, for the residue of the eventful year on which we dwell. Disasters crowded thick and fast upon that of August Twenty-seventh. The evacuation of the City and Island of New-York*—the indecisive action of White Plains—the fall of Fort Washington—the abandonment of Fort Lee—the retreat of Washington, with but the shadow of an army, through the Jerseys—all these misfortunes rapidly succeeded the rout upon Long Island. They resulted, as is a familiar fact, from the wretched policy of using militia upon short enlistments, instead of troops upon a regular and permanent establishment—a policy which Trumbull was among the earliest to condemn, and one of the first, in common with Washing-

* "The City," Trumbull warmly says, writing his son Joseph, Sep. 21st—"is then left an asylum and resting place for our enemies.—Strange that those who fight *pro aris et focis*, should behave in such a poltroon manner, as you mention some of them did on Sunday. It seems some others made up for it on Monday. I lament the loss of the brave *Lt. Col. Knowlton*—would others behave with the spirit and bravery he did, our affairs would soon put on a different aspect.†—Pardon for rebels—who are they? Our enemies we say are the guilty. They may crave pardon on repentance, and coming to a better mind and behaviour."

† "Our greatest loss is poor Knowlton, whose name and spirit ought to be immortal"—wrote Gen. Joseph Reed, who saw him fall at the battle of Harlem Heights. "I mounted him on my horse, and brought him off—and when gasping in the agonies of death, all his inquiry was if we had driven in the enemy."

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ton, by appeal particularly to Congress, to labor to overthrow.* Still when the army, after the ill-success around New-York, was daily and fearfully diminishing in numbers, he continued, after the old mode, to recruit its exhausted ranks.

When, in October, he heard from various quarters of a projected invasion of Connecticut by way of White Plains, he made every preparation to meet it. When, on the second of the same month, he heard from Washington that the army was actually on the eve of a dissolution—that "every nerve," therefore, "should be exerted to enlist a new one"—and that he wanted aid also particularly for securing the Highlands—a point for which the New-York Committee of Safety too specially solicited Trumbull's assistance—the untiring Governor of Connecticut, upon these fresh demands, issued first one Proclamation calling on the militia to be ready to march—and then a second, renewedly stimulating officers and men to promptness—"fully confiding," he declared, "in the virtue and public spirit of the good people of this State, that has at all times exerted itself in so glorious a cause that they need no stimulus to duty at this all-important juncture." In November again, upon a requisition from Congress, he issued a third Proclamation, for raising eight battalions upon a Continental Establishment—once more desiring the people of the State, upon "the generous encouragements" then offered, "to step forth voluntarily in their country's service"—and expressing the ardent hope that "the justice of our cause, and reliance on the favorable presence of the God of armies," would inspire them "with that fortitude and magnanimity necessary to expel our enemies from our coasts and restore tranquillity to our land."

And when in dark and gloomy December, just previous to the flashing of the light at Trenton and Princeton—Wash-

* In a letter to Congress, Sep. 21st, 1776, he says: "The mode of supplying the army by militia is a measure not to be depended on; there must be a durable army, or the consequences will be fatal.—The time of the inlistment of our soldiery is beginning to expire. Congress will suffer me to ask, if it is not a matter worthy serious and speedy consideration, that measures should be adopted for their further enlistment. In which case I think it of great moment that the engagement should be for a longer time than has hitherto been."

ington—before "a numerous, well-appointed, and victorious" army of the foe—was retreating through New-Jersey—through a desponding country—with a force reduced now to less than three thousand men—almost wholly destitute of artillery—with but a single troop of cavalry—and this a little band of mounted militia-men from Connecticut under Major Sheldon—with his soldiers all wretchedly armed—without tents, with but little clothing, almost naked and bare-footed, in cold that froze the breath—it was at this despairing moment that Trumbull more earnestly than ever conjured the troops of Connecticut to rush to the rescue—"for the sake of their country and all its inestimable rights, for the sake of themselves and all posterity"—pleaded with them to comply with the requisitions of Washington.

There was a promising opportunity in New-Jersey, he thought—by reenforcing Washington in front of Cornwallis, and Lee in his rear—to cut off the enemy between two fires. So with the General Assembly of his State, he united in proclaiming, as a new incentive for enlistments, this "so great an occasion." And with a Committee of Twenty-Two—raised specially by Connecticut at this time, for the purpose of propagating "the spirit and zeal of the country," and rousing the people to serve in the existing conjuncture—Trumbull traversed and animated the whole State with his correspondence and his influence. Through the darkest period of the American Struggle, courage emphatically was in his heart. "*Fortuna favet audaci*"—he remembered it—his own family motto. Hope was on his banner,

"White as a white sail on a dusky sea"—

and he looked anxiously forward to some glorious morning, yet to break, when this auspicious Messenger was sure "to ride upon the wind, and Joy outshine the sun." A State with such a Governor, and such a People—thus spirited—thus harmonious—thus lighting up anew the torches of effort—was *bound to be free!*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1776.

Trumbull in the department of Home Defence. The hostile vessels and fleets in the Sound. He is made Chief Naval Officer of the State He builds three row-galleys, and a ship-of-war. He confers with ingenious men about marine devices. Bushnell and his Torpedo in this connection. Trumbull commends him to Washington. He regulates provision vessels, and guards against predatory descents, and illicit trade. He concerts expeditions, in aid of Washington, to drive the enemy from Long Island and the Sound. These expeditions described. He urges Congress to adopt New London as an asylum for the Continental fleet. The Marine of Connecticut this year. Its success. The Defence captures a valuable British ship and brig, after a sharp engagement. Admiral Hopkins reaches New London, from the West Indies, with valuable prizes, and important prisoners. Satisfaction of Trumbull.

While steadily sustaining—as in the last chapter described—the main army under Washington, in its operations around New-York and in New-Jersey, Trumbull was at the same time busy in protecting the sea-coast and waters of Connecticut. To comprehend fully his labors during the year now under consideration, we have to look at him here also—in the department of Home Defence.

The whole of Long Island Sound, this year, was almost incessantly crowded with vessels of the enemy, and sometimes with fleets of immense size, which cruised up and down—watching opportunities to seize American craft of every kind, and to land upon the Connecticut coast—as they did with impunity upon the coast of Long Island opposite—for purposes of plunder and devastation. Conspicuous among the single British vessels thus employed, were the *Kingfisher*, the *Swan*, the *Glasgow*, the *Phœnix*, the *Nautilus*—the man-of-war *Rose*, the same which, the preceding year, had attacked and fired upon Stonington—and the *Cerberus*, the same which captured the brave and unfortunate Captain Hale, and from whose hot pursuit—from Montauk Point over to the race of New-London—Captain Niles of the Spy

but barely escaped, with the loss of his topmast. And there was also the *Bellona*, the same whose crew, eager for plunder, sprang on board the vessel of Captain Hawley—as he sailed from Stratford—and, after rifling his chest, in vain labored to bribe the gallant sailor into their service as pilot by offering him payment for his vessel after the War closed, and his choice of a plantation anywhere upon the continent of America.

Conspicuous among the fleets which threatened America were, first, one in March—when the British were about to withdraw from Boston—which was reported as designed for devastating the entire coast towards New-York—next, shortly after, one consisting of twenty-one vessels of war, which appeared off Newport—next, one which, in May, was said to be on its passage from England—again one early in July, which, consisting of one hundred and thirty sail, left Halifax, bound for New-York—and again, one in the last week in August, consisting of three ships and two tenders, which anchored off Fisher's Island, and then off Stamford. In the beginning of December there was another, consisting of one hundred men-of-war and transports, which appeared off Black Point—about eight miles from New-London harbor—and there remained at anchor three days. Shortly after, there was still another, composed of twenty-two sail, which lay at anchor between Fairfield and Norwalk, and menaced the whole coast in this direction.

All these alarms gave, of course, intense anxiety to the people of Connecticut. Forts and entrenchments for defence, consequently, were to be erected, and supplied fully with batteries, and every munition of war, all along the shore—especially at Stonington, New London, Saybrook, Newhaven, Milford, Bridgeport, Fairfield, Stamford, and Norwalk. Forces were to be raised and stationed from time to time. Minute-men were to be kept in readiness. Signals were to be agreed upon—quick modes of communication established—little spy-boats were to be constantly despatched. Row-galleys, whaleboats, and vessels of war were to be built—sloops purchased and fitted up as brigantines—and all to be armed, officered, manned, and have their cruising grounds appointed. Everything in short was to be done,

for the security of American navigation in the Sound, and of towns on the coast, that general alarm and prudent bravery could instigate*—and in all this Trumbull took a leading part. It was upon himself and his Council that the duties to which we refer, mainly devolved—and chiefly on himself—he and his Council being by the Assembly specially empowered to make such regulations, from time to time, for defence of the sea-coast and of the Sound, as they should think best.

By special Act of the General Assembly too, Trumbull was constituted Chief Naval Officer of the State, with power to appoint four naval officers under himself—one at New London—one at Middletown—one at Newhaven—and one at Norwalk—and with power also to fill blank commissions for private ships of war, and letters of marque and reprisal, sent by the President of Congress to Connecticut, and take bonds for the proper execution of the same—which last power—as is manifest from the numerous naval commissions to be found among his Papers—he exercised to a very great extent.†

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* At times all supplies for the use of the army and people of Connecticut, which were stored upon or near the sea-coast, were to be removed back into the country, to some deposit safe from the enemy. At times not even a little canoe, under any pretence, without a written license, was to leave any port, bay, creek, or river in the State—but all the small craft were to be laid up on shore and secured. And at times again, not a boat from any islands under control of the enemy—as from Block-Island, particularly—was to be permitted to land in Connecticut. Every hostile vessel that might be hovering about the coast, was to be closely watched, and captured, if possible. Particular orders were to be given with regard to Provision Ships, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Any American vessels that might be discovered about New London offing, or in the Sound, without legal clearances from Congress, were to be seized and brought into port—and all smuggling and clandestine management, that should be contrary to the laws, or to any embargoes, or to any prohibitions of Congress, or of the State, were to be carefully prevented. Horned cattle, sheep, and swine, were to be ordered off from islands adjacent to the coast—from Fisher's Island, particularly—and brought to the Main. And vessels were to be sent over as convoys for transports to bring off inhabitants, with their effects, from Long Island to Connecticut—Whig inhabitants, who at times appealed to Governor Trumbull in crowds, and most earnestly, for aid and protection.

† One of his papers contains a list of fourteen different bonds—the basis of fourteen different commissions for privateers, all issued within five months. They were taken to the Treasurer of the United States, usually in the sum of twenty thousand Spanish milled dollars—conditioned that commanders and owners should govern and direct themselves according to the Commission, and ordinances, and instructions of the United States.

Early in the year he had three row-galleys built—the *Shark*, the *Whiting*, and the *Crane*—and started at Saybrook the construction of a new and large ship of war—the *Oliver Cromwell*, as she was afterwards called—giving orders for the materials necessary to build her—looking to the manufacture of her anchors—and sending to Philadelphia and Boston for the duck and ropes with which to rig her. And when, in October—mounted with artillery which he had himself ordered*—she was made ready for sea, he immediately sent her out—Captain Coit commander—to cruise against the enemy.† In April, he caused the armed brig Defence, and the schooner Spy, to join Admiral Hopkins in a cruise of eight weeks. At other times—and indeed during most of the year—he kept the State Captains, Stanton, Tinker, and Mc Cleave—with Stonington and New London harbors as their places of rendezvous—cruising respectively, from Stonington on through Fisher's Island Sound westward to New London, and east and south of Fisher's Island—from New London westward again to the mouth of Connecticut River, and southward as far as Montauk Point—and westward again to New Haven harbor and beyond—while the Spy and the Defence particularly, were to cruise at large. He was in almost constant correspondence with the commanders of these vessels. They were often in his presence, to receive his orders, and to report, when made, their prizes—and upon one occasion, in July, he sent the captains of the three row-galleys above-mentioned, upon Washington's request, specially to aid the General in New York, when the American ships in the North River were threatened with an attack.

In conference often with him too, and with his Council, were ingenious men, who came to explain their contrivances for aiding, in one way and another, the little marine of Con-

* She was struck by lightning just before she was taken from Saybrook, but did not receive much damage.

† In the same month he received a request from the Marine Committee at Philadelphia, to provide sixty-four cannon for a frigate then building in New Hampshire, and another building in Massachusetts. "Your well-known zeal in the common cause," say the Committee writing him on the subject—"gives us perfect confidence that you will do herein what will most contribute to promote and expedite the public service."

necticut, or for damaging the foe—Willard from Killingworth, for example, with his singular plan for applying the screw to weigh off vessels—and Bushnell from Saybrook, with his famous "American Turtle,"* and torpedoes, for blowing up hostile ships.

Bushnell, particularly—a well-educated, scientific man, of remarkable mechanical ingenuity, and a zealous patriot—was warmly encouraged by Trumbull. He received him at Lebanon before his Council—listened with great interest to his explanation of his submarine explosive machine—fully approved of his plan—and, holding out to him "the expectation of future notice and reward," directed him "to make every necessary experiment about it," and wrote to Congress strongly in favor of its adoption, and for their patronage of the inventor. Again he bestowed on Bushnell his special attention, when the latter, attended by Colonel Huntington, brought him a specimen of his new torpedo—and he ordered the officers, agents, and commissaries of the State generally, to assist him with men, boats, powder, lead, and everything necessary for his purpose, "without stint."

True the inventions—from want of skill in operators, misdirected attachment of driving screws, from the vigilance of the enemy, or from untoward accidents by wind or tide—did not fully answer public expectation. Yet they effected much good at times in alarming British men of war, and causing

* "Outwardly this machine bore some resemblance to a large sea turtle. Hence the origin of its name. In the head there was an opening, sufficiently large to admit a man. This apartment was air tight, and was designed to be supplied with air sufficient to support life for half an hour. At the bottom, opposite this entrance, was a deposit of lead for ballast. The operator sat upright, holding an oar for rowing forward or backward, and having command of a rudder to direct his course in any direction. An aperture at the bottom, with its valve, admitted water, for the purpose of descending, while two brass forcing pumps served to eject the water, when necessary to rise to the surface.

"Behind this vessel, and above the rudder, was a place for carrying a large powder magazine. This was made of two pieces of oak timber, large enough when hollowed out, to contain one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, with the apparatus used for firing it, and was secured in any place, where it was designed to act, by means of a screw turned by the operator. Within the magazine, was a piece of clockwork, capable of running twelve hours, and so arranged as to be set at any moment, at the will of the manager. When it had run out its time, it unpinioned a strong lock, resembling a gun-lock, by means of which the explosion was produced."—*Cutter's Life of Gen. Putnam*, p. 227.

them to avoid the coast and harbors of Connecticut—as the British frigate Cerberus found one day to her cost, when, as she lay off Nyantic Bay—west of New London—her deck was suddenly strewn with the bodies of men prostrated by a torpedo, exploding with tremendous force, which some of the crew, from ignorant curiosity, had drawn up from the waves*—and as the Eagle—the flagship of Admiral Lord Howe—in New York harbor, would also have found to *her* terrible detriment, but for that unfortunate sweep of the tide which misdirected the driving screw of one of Bushnell's Turtles against impenetrable iron plates near her rudder. Still, in this case, the magazine of the machine, bursting at a little distance from the ship—with a noise stupendous as if produced by "a bomb, a meteor, a water-spout, or an earthquake," and sending "a vast column of water to an amazing height"—drove the Eagle, the Asia, the Chatham, and all the rest of the British fleet that lay near the Battery instantly down the Bay—not again from Staten Island to move towards the city, until the morning of the Long Island battle. Trumbull never forgot the inventor of this fearful machine—but pursued him with his kindness and encouragement, until, with a well-timed and warm-hearted letter† to General Washington, he introduced him to a permanent and honorable post as Captain in a Continental corps of Sappers and Miners.

Among the naval duties of Trumbull this year, was that, particularly, of stopping provision vessels from going out of any port in the State through the Sound—save in special cases—lest the enemy might be supplied. It devolved on him also still to arrest the many plundering descents made on Connecticut by a vile set of tories and refugees, from Long Island, in those little piratical boats and sloops familiarly known in their day as "*Shaving Mills.*" His cruising orders, to meet these cases, were very numerous, and were gratefully

* "A line was one day seen from the ship floating upon the water at a little distance, which the tender of the ship was ordered to examine. It was drawn up with great caution, and found to be 150 fathoms in length, and to have a machine attached to the end of it, weighing about 400 pounds. This, upon being hauled into the frigate, exploded on the deck, and as was currently reported at the time, killed several men."—*Miss Caulkins' New London*, p. 525.

† See this letter in a note at the end of this chapter.

acknowledged by the New York Congress. He took strong measures also to prevent that illicit contraband trade—"fraught with mischief, misrule, and villainy"—in which supplies from the Main were sometimes carried over to Long Island, and there exchanged for British gold and goods—an occupation odious indeed—and which made the phrase "*Long Island trader*" everywhere one of peculiar opprobrium, and exposed the guilty party to the contempt and indignation of every true American.

In August, particularly, in close accord with General Washington—in order to cause a diversion to the enemy, harass their rear, and put a stop to their excursions upon Long Island for provisions—he concerted an expedition across the Sound, of which, in the following letter to the Commander-in-chief, August thirty-first, he gives an account himself.

"Sir. Adjutant-General Read's letter,* of the 24th instant, came to hand Tuesday Morning, the 27th; yours, of the same date, yesterday.

"On receiving the former, I advised with my Council. We concluded to send Benjamin Huntington, Esq., one of our Council, with directions to take with him Major Ely, at New London, an officer there well acquainted with the people on Long Island, to proceed there and consult and agree with some of the sure friends of our cause—with secrecy, as far as the circumstances would admit—for a number of their men, assured friends, and well acquainted on the Island, to join with a body from this State, if possible to accomplish your wishes, to cause a diversion to the enemy, to harass them on their rear, and to prevent their excursions in pursuit of the provisions the Island affords. I hear they sailed for the Island yesterday. His return is expected the beginning of next week.

"If he succeeds according to our hopes, no exertions of this State, I trust, will be wanting, at this critical conjuncture, to harass and keep the enemy at bay, to gain time and every advantage the case may admit. I shall give the earliest intelligence of our proceedings, that you may co-operate with our designs. * *

"A post comes in, and brings the letters, copies of which are inclosed. I now expect Mr. Huntington's speedy return. Have sent for my Council. My own thoughts are to send forward four or five of the companies now stationed at New London, with four field-pieces, I hope six pieces, to join those men who may be ready for the service on Long Island; four or five companies to follow from New London as soon as they can be

* Read wrote Trumbull in behalf of Washington, as his private Secretary.

marched down; and also to order on other regiments to take the places of such as are removed from thence.

"I am inclined to think we shall fall upon some measure similar to what is mentioned. No delay can be admitted at this critical moment. Please to give me the earliest intelligence how we may best serve agreably to your desires.

"Shall send in the morning this intelligence to Gov. Cooke, of Providence, and ask his assistance in the best way he shall think the circumstances of that State will admit."

Trumbull made every preparation to carry into effect that plan which in this letter he suggests.* Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, made ready an entire brigade in that quarter, and two galleys, for the purpose of cooperation. But the disastrous battle of Long Island, August twenty-seventh, checked and postponed awhile the undertaking. Uncertain and aggravated accounts of the evacuation of that Island, and of imminent danger in consequence to Rhode Island from the ships of the enemy, reached Governor Cooke at Providence, and led him to stop the embarcation of the brigade which he had prepared. The same cause, and reports besides that Long Island had universally gone over to the enemy—led Trumbull also to defer the expedition for the present—except so far as assistance to the inhabitants in that quarter in removing their stock and effects is concerned—to which he gave attention.†

But though thus disappointed as to an immediate diversion in favor of Washington and his army, Trumbull did not relinquish the project of driving the enemy both from Long Island, and the Sound. In the same letter in which he communicated to Washington the abandonment of the August plan, he started another. "I have it in contemplation," he

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* "We have ordered 10 or 15 hundred men to go on L. Island to give a diversion, defend the inhabitants, and secure the stock."—*Governor's letter to his son Joseph, Sep. 2nd.*

† "I have received intelligence," he wrote to Washington, September fifth—"that since our troops retreated from the west end of Long Island, the Militia have disbanded themselves, laid down their arms, and are making their submission to General Howe. Two companies of Continental troops that were stationed there are arrived at Saybrook. In this situation we cannot hope to make a diversion there, to any purpose, with what force we can throw over. We can only assist such as choose to retire from Long Island in getting off their persons and effects, which to the utmost of our power will be done."

wrote—"if practicable, to procure a sufficient naval force to clear the Sound of the enemy's ships now in it, and have proposed the matter to Governor Cooke, and requested of him to join their force with ours, and ask the concurrence of Commodore Hopkins with such part of the Continental fleet as are ready, and capable to act. I beg leave to ask your opinion whether a plan of this nature be practicable and useful, and, in case it should be attempted, whether a number of seamen may not be drafted from the army to assist in the enterprise."

Washington warmly approved the plan—and soon—upon fresh advices that the enemy were recruiting a large number of men, with great success, upon Long Island, and were also collecting there large quantities of stock—renewedly urged it upon Trumbull's attention, and promised the cooperation of General McIntosh and General Lincoln, with a force from his own army—for the purpose of suppressing, if possible, practices so deleterious to the American cause. Trumbull, therefore, "put everything forward" for the expedition proposed, "fast as possible." Besides to Rhode Island, he wrote also to Massachusetts for particular aid and cooperation—for a special regiment of men, and for whaleboats.*

For the marine force to be employed, in addition to a portion to be provided by Connecticut, Trumbull applied particularly to Commodore Hopkins at Rhode Island—whom, in the beginning of the year, he had aided to fit out—in the harbor of New London—the first naval expedition ever made under the authority of Congress.† The Commodore,

* "I am informed," he said, addressing the General Assembly of Massachusetts—"that a large number of whaleboats that belong to the Continent, are at or near Boston, and might be used for this important service. We have but very few with us. I am also informed that a regiment is ordered from you to Providence—to replace the Continental battalion removed from the State of Rhode Island—and whether your regiment could not come in the whaleboats to Providence, carrying them across the land at Buzzard's Bay, is, I apprehend, worthy of your consideration, and to be executed without delay.

"We are equipping what naval force we have, with all possible expedition. We are exerting ourselves, and desirous to unite our whole strength with the other States in our common cause. I don't doubt of your utmost attention, and most vigorous exertions therein."

† The little squadron consisted of four vessels—the *Alfred*, *Columbus*, *Andrea Doria*, and *Cabot*—varying in armament from fourteen to sixteen guns.

in consonance with the Governor's views, and much to his gratification, pushed on his preparations rapidly.

"Your favor of the 5th instant"—wrote Trumbull to him, October eleventh, in a letter which develops his own careful foresight and industry in the scheme—"came safe to hand, in which you inform me that the Alfred and Hampden are ready, and that two new frigates, you expect, will be ready in about a week. I hope no attention or diligence will be wanting to have them prepared by that time, and shall endeavor that there be no delay as to ours, though I am necessitated to apply to you, or your State, to furnish a quantity of shot for our ships. We have the round, but double-headed, chain sliding, and star shot we have none; hope you can supply what will be wanting for the present. We have sent to our furnace for them, but fear it will be impossible to have them ready at New London by the time they may be wanted for the present expedition, but may be ready to be replaced, if necessary, very soon after. The size of the cannon for which we shall want them is nine-pounders. I understand the Columbus is now in port; if so, cannot she join your squadron? For no force ought to be omitted which human foresight can devise to render our ships as sure as may be at this critical time with our army, as this expedition, if successful, may much disconcert the enemy."

On the same day on which Trumbull wrote this letter to Commodore Hopkins, he addressed another—from New-haven—to General Washington, explaining his own proceedings thus far—giving some further details as to his plan—and again soliciting men from Washington's army to aid in the enterprise.

"In consequence of your favor," he proceeds—"proposing a descent upon Long Island, although I was so unhappy as not to be able to meet Generals Clinton and Lincoln at this place, as requested, I applied to the State of Rhode Island, and obtained their consent and orders, that Colonel Richmond, and such part of his battalion as shall not enlist on board the Continental vessels, should assist in the enterprise. Colonel Richmond will accordingly begin his march this day for New-London, and bring with him the whaleboats collected in Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island, to the number of between eighty and ninety, which, it is apprehended, will be of great use to the troops ordered on this service, especially to secure and assist their retreat, should it be attempted to be cut off.

"I have this day conferred with Colonels McIntosh and Livingston on the subject. They inform me they are supplied with provisions and ammunition for their purpose, and only want such a number of water-craft,

as, with the whaleboats divided into three parts, in the whole may be sufficient to transport twelve hundred men, as he means each division to be so placed at the inlets to the Island, as, if cut off from one, he may resort to the other to make his retreat sure, if necessary. These I have ordered for him, and they will be provided and ready without delay.

* * "Our naval expedition against the ships of the enemy in the Sound is still in contemplation, and preparations are making for the same as fast as we can. Commodore Hopkins writes me, the 5th instant, that the Alfred and Hampden are ready, and that the two new frigates there would be ready in about a week, if they can be manned, neither of them having more than half their compliment at that time. Our ship and brig will, we trust, be ready to join them, and when they are equipped it is proposed that they first attack the two frigates that infest the coast and Sound, if they, or either of them, shall appear in their way; otherwise they will proceed directly up the Sound, and give the best account they can of the ships this side Hell Gate, which is the principal object.

"I am now informed that the two frigates and the Alfred are manned from Colonel Richmond's regiment, which I hope will prove true; but, if not, am in hopes they may be completed by volunteers from Rhode Island and New-London; but if they should still fall short of their full compliment, I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency whether they could not, without inconveniency, be filled up from some parts of your army. * * * Since my last from Commodore Hopkins, I am informed that the Columbus, Captain Whipple, has arrived in port at Rhode Island. I have wrote to him to take her with him, which will make considerable addition to his force. Please to afford me your advice and fullest information. I cannot but flatter myself with strong hopes of advantages to be derived from this adventure of our ships, as well as the expedition to Long Island. Secrecy in both is of the utmost importance."

But the "strong hopes" which Trumbull entertained of success in the expedition which he so carefully fostered, were destined, in great part—as in the August plan immediately preceding—to disappointment. Instead of the fifteen or eighteen hundred men he expected for the service, he was unable to collect more than half that number. Such was the pressure around New York that Washington could not spare him any force. It was found impossible also either to man or properly equip the ships at Rhode Island intended for this expedition. Seamen there were wanting—shot were wanting.* Water-craft too, for the conveyance of troops

* "No sort of shot are to be had in this State," wrote Hopkins from Rhode Island to Trumbull, October fifteenth—"there is no encouragement in getting the ships manned."

across the Sound, failed. Colonel Richmond, it is true, with four hundred men, and fifty-four whaleboats, proceeded to New London—and Livingston collected some companies at Saybrook—but when their united force, in obedience to the orders of Trumbull, after a stormy passage upon the Sound, was to be gathered at Newhaven, but twelve whaleboats—with as many men only as each could carry—made their appearance at the point of rendezvous. Without cooperation then, either from the fleet under Hopkins, or the army under Washington—and, as it was found, with not more than half the whaleboats requisite for transporting the men that were collected, across the Sound—the expedition—though carefully concerted, and finally arranged in every particular by Trumbull and the commanders, in an interview at Newhaven—could not be carried into effect in the form in which it was originally designed.

Something, however, in pursuance of the public service upon Long Island, notwithstanding the failure of the general plan, was accomplished, by part of the force which the occasion collected. Several companies did in fact go over to the Island. The active, spirited, sanguine Livingston, was there with them. Many families, with their stock and effects, were successfully brought off from the Island. The well-affected there were protected. Many of the hostile militia there were disarmed. Many obnoxious tories were taken and secured.* And, more than all—a fearful attack upon Norwalk in Connecticut, which, about this time, had been projected by that famous partisan ranger, in the employ of General Howe, Major Rogers—"that scouter," as Trumbull calls him, "skilled in waylaying and ambuscade"—was diverted. It was to have been made by a battalion of tories from Huntington, and was to have taken place in the night season—but the activity of the companies sent across the Sound by Trumbull frustrated the undertaking—and Rogers was pushed into extremities which soon resulted, at other hands, in his surprise and defeat at Mamaroneck.

* Like Col. Abram Gardiner, for example—a man who had been exceedingly active in administering the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants of South and East Hampton—and like Zebadiah Howell, another "infamous abettor of the ministry," as he was styled.

While all this was doing for Long Island, and for the Connecticut service upon the water, Trumbull was also busy with troops and fortifications upon the land—for coast defence. He was continually raising and stationing companies—now in May, for example, one entire regiment—now in November, eight regiments—and now in December again, the quarter part of five regiments, to be stationed at and about New London. He personally inspected most of the works of defence. From time to time he advanced money to complete them, and for the support of men and troops employed upon them. He mounted them with cannon from Salisbury—supervised them through committees, whose reports he received and scrutinized—and kept up an alert correspondence respecting them at every point—especially with their commanders, with Washington, and with Congress.

The works at New London received in particular his attention. The harbor there, he said, "may be made an asylum for the Continental fleet, for our armed vessels, and other Navigation."—"Its situation and natural advantages," he wrote his son Joseph—"to render it a place for defence, and for the security of the American fleet, are at the least equal, if not superior to any on the continent. When at Philadelphia you may have an opportunity to promote it as an object worthy the attention of Congress. I wish it may not be neglected on any account." And he sent on to his son a little box containing an accurate map of the harbor.*

The preparations thus made by Connecticut, under the superintendence of her Governor, proved to be of extensive utility. Their importance indeed cannot be overestimated—crowded as the Sound was with British cruisers and fleets,

* "I have left it easy to open," he wrote—"that you may observe it, and show it to others who may be desirous to be acquainted with it, that may have opportunity to influence and promote its being fortified at the continental expense."

"During the whole war," says Miss Caulkins in her History of New London—"the inhabitants of this town could never lie down with any feeling of security that they might not be roused from their beds by the alarm bell and the signal fire, proclaiming the invader at hand. There was indeed, in the early part of the war, no spoil to allure an enemy; but the harbor, capacious, accessible, and secure, would furnish a fine winter refuge for their ships, and it would be a vast benefit to their cause to seal up the State, and have the whole Sound to themselves."

spreading consternation along the coast. "They have all just arrived at Newport," reported Colonel Saltonstall from New London to Trumbull, April first—writing of the twenty-one British ships-of-war then on their way towards New York—and "our fortresses are deficient—we want working materials—the present danger is imminent."—"In addition to your present forces," responded Trumbull—"detach one-third of the present regiment of militia—charge them to be ready for service at a minute's warning.—How soon the enemy may enter the harbor, make the attack, and attempt to land, is uncertain. Readiness to receive them is the best preventive remedy." And readiness in this case fortunately caused the enemy—soon augmented to a force of thirty sail—to pass by without any attempt to land or attack.

So in July, when one hundred and thirty sail from Halifax were reported as on their way to New York—so again in August, when a British fleet made a plundering descent, first on the fated Fisher's Island, and next at Stamford—and so in numerous similar cases of menaced invasion of Connecticut from the water side—menaced, and often made too in the night season, or at seemingly obscure points for landing—Trumbull's timely preparations warded off much, nay almost all of the impending danger.

And when, particularly—at the beginning of December—that hostile fleet, which, in the course of the year, most alarmed Connecticut—the fleet of one hundred men-of-war and transports—anchored at Black Point—for three days—within one hour's sail of New London—looking as if prepared to "sweep the foundation of the town from its moorings, and filling the minds of the inhabitants with astonishment and dismay as from hill-tops and house-tops they gazed on the distant spectacle"—the anticipated invasion was fortunately escaped. Trumbull, upon this occasion, instantly ordered the whole of the militia on the east side of Connecticut River, and three regiments on the west side, to march to New London—dispatched letters to Washington for aid—and removed the continental and colonial property then at New London back immediately to Norwich for security.

And on a Friday morning, the fleet hoisted sail—about mid-day, in formidable array, in abreast of New London, terrified the inhabitants for awhile with momentary expectation of an attack—but soon stood out again—anchored for the night on the south side of Fisher's Island—and thence disappeared.*

The little marine which Trumbull established this year—and for which he procured Richard Law to draw up a naval code—did not go unrewarded with success. Many of the privateers which he commissioned, were highly fortunate. They started out from almost every port in the State—made their way up and down the whole American coast—even south to the West India isles, and east to Massachusetts Bay, and beyond—encountering—as did the armed vessels of the State also—and often bringing in as prizes, British merchant shipping laden with supplies for the army. So numerous were their prizes in August of this year—and such were the profits of their cargoes, as sold both in Connecticut, and in different ports to the eastward—particularly in Boston, where Trumbull established Samuel Elliot, Junior, a highly efficient man, as naval agent for the State—that Jamaica

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* The following are notices, from Governor Trumbull's own pen, in letters to his son Joseph, of the event mentioned in the text.

Dec. 6th, 1776. "The 3rd instant 11 sail of ships appeared off New London harbor—passed up the Sound as far as Saybrook—were joined by 80 sail that came down—and they now lie across the Sound, from Nyantic to L. Island. Whether they design to make their attack on New London, and Newport, or both, remains uncertain. They probably wait to be joined by more. Orders are given out to 13 of our militia regiments to march for our defence. Intelligence is sent to the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island—the latter is in great alarm—the former doubtless will be. Have wrote to Gen. Washington a state of facts—with a quere whether some general officers ought not to be sent previous to the coming on of continental troops, to take command whenever the descent is made.—Would it not be well that some most experienced be sent—you will know the necessity of it."

Dec. 8th, 1776. "The British fleet mentioned in my last appeared off New London harbor—proceeded to Rhode Island at 9 o'clock. This morning received intelligence from Gov. Cooke that upwards of one hundred sail and transports entered Narragansett Bay, and were steering directly for Providence. They were seen between Canonicut and the main land. Besides these, thirty sail were coming into the harbor of New York. I have ordered some eastward regiments to their assistance—and sent for Col. Champion to furnish provisions. Am sending out to forward raising the four battalions to serve till 15th of March.—Have sent an earnest exhortation to the soldiers."

rum, an article of frequent capture, was reduced to the comparatively low price of four shillings and fourpence per gallon, and sugar to five dollars per hundred pounds.*

But the efforts of the Connecticut Marine were not confined to the capture of merchant vessels alone. The Defence and the Spy—carefully equipped by the care of Governor Trumbull—frequently encountered British men of war, and the former, particularly, signalized herself by daring enterprize. Once, in the month of June, her commander fell in with an English ship and brig in Nantucket Road. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon he took station in between them—cast anchor—hailed the ship—and receiving for answer "From Great Britain," ordered her to strike her colors to America.

"What brig is that?"—shouted the English commander.

"The brig Defence"—was Captain Harding's reply. "I do not want to kill your men—but I will have your ship—Strike!"

"Yes, I'll strike"—answered his opponent—and immediately fired a broadside at the Defence—which was instantly returned—and after an engagement of three hours, the ship and brig both yielded to the Defence, the latter losing no men, but the former having eighteen killed—among these the British commander himself—and several wounded. Two hundred and ten prisoners—and among these Colonel Campbell of General Frazer's regiment of Highlanders—rewarded the attack. Captain Harding at once communicated his success to Governor Trumbull—to whom it gave great gratification, not only as a triumph for the Connecticut Navy, but also as reflecting lustre on a man who was his favorite both as a naval commander and as a friend—and of whom he subsequently spoke in a letter to Congress, as "experienced, brave,

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* The ship *John*, with a full cargo of sugar and rum, brought in by the Defence, Capt. Harding—the schooner *Hannah & Elizabeth*, loaded with rum—the prize brig *Annabella*—a ship from Jamaica, sent into New London by Capt. Harding, and loaded with three hundred and six hogsheads of sugar, one hundred and fifty of rum, sixteen bales of cotton, a quantity of coffee and mahogany, and two sea turtles—and a Guineaman taken by Capt. Harding at the same time—were conspicuous among the prizes of this year. And their cargoes were of great use in supplying the wants of the State. At the particular request of Congress, Trumbull, in August, sent a vessel to St. Eustatia for supplies.

intrepid, cool in action," and as meriting "proper acknowledgments from all the United States."

The Governor was farther gratified this year by the arrival—in the port of New London—of Commodore Hopkins with forty cannon and fifteen brass mortars, besides other military stores—the first-fruits of the first American Continental Navy—which Hopkins had captured from the island of Abacco lying near New Providence. With these he had seized the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and one Counsellor of the island, and seventy odd prisoners—together also with a British schooner, a Bermudian sloop, and a British bomb-brig, laden with arms, which he took near the east end of Long Island. And in New London, to the delight of Trumbull, the Commodore deposited his valuable prizes. The cannon and stores were, by orders from the Governor, carefully inventoried—and he transmitted an account of them to Congress, with a request at the same time that some of the cannon, and the captured sloop, might be retained for the service of Connecticut—a request with which Congress promptly complied.

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 283.

"I suppose your Excellency," wrote Trumbull to Washington, May 29th, 1779—"is not wholly unacquainted with the character of Mr. David Bushnell, the bearer. He has had a liberal education, and discovers a genius capable of great improvement, in mathematical, philosophic, and mechanical literature. His inventions for annoying the enemy's shipping are new and ingenious, and, I trust, founded on such principles as would insure success. The vigilance practised in guarding the shipping has, I suppose, been the only means of preventing such execution as would have been attended with very alarming and beneficial consequences. He has, with persevering and indefatigable industry, pursued the object with very little prospect of any other reward than that of serving his country.

"Misfortune and accident have prevented the execution of this design; but there is reason to believe the explosion of one of his machines, taken on board one of the enemy's ships some time since, has greatly alarmed their marine, and made them very cautious in their approaches to any of the neighboring shores.

"It is a pity that so promising a genius should not be encouraged. I understand an establishment of miners and sappers is forming under your Excellency's direction, and would therefore take the liberty to propose to your Excellency, whether a person of his particular genius might not be very useful in that department.

"If you should not have filled, and probably cannot fill, the offices with gentlemen of greater merit and genius, permit me to recommend Mr. Bushnell to the

office of Captain in that service, which, from his abilities, genius, and integrity, I should judge him capable to execute with honor and advantage. The Council of this State, now convened, join with me in this recommendation.

"I am, with very high respect and esteem,

"Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Mr. Bushnell died, at an advanced age, in the State of Georgia. He left a handsome property, which was brought on by one of his friends, and delivered to the children of his deceased brother Ezra, in Connecticut. Among the property was "some curious machinery, partly built, which had been viewed by several gentlemen," none of whom, however, it is said, could determine the purpose to which it was to be applied.

Upon one occasion in Connecticut, in promotion of his scheme for annoying the enemy's shipping, Bushnell was captured by the enemy. "Last night," wrote Gen. Putnam to Washington, May 7th, 1779, from Reading, Conn.—"another party landed at Middlesex, near Norwalk, in quest of one Capt. Selleck, who happened to be absent; but a Mr. Webb, late a lieutenant in the train, two of the inhabitants, and the *ingenious Dr. Bushnell*, fell into their hands. As the last mentioned gentleman, who was there in the prosecution of his unremitted endeavors to destroy the enemy's shipping, is probably known to very few people, it is possible he may not be discovered by his real name and character, and may be considered of less consequence than he really is."

CHAPTER XXV.

1776.

TRUMBULL and the Northern Army. His letter to Washington upon the failure of the Expedition into Canada. He urges renewed exertions for the defence of the Northern Frontier. They are to be made. His own preparations therefor. Distressed condition of the Northern Army at this time. Trumbull's efforts for its relief. The enemy about to descend, in great force, from Canada, and occupy the whole country south. Trumbull, therefore, aids to form a lake squadron ample for defence. His efforts, in other respects, to reestablish the Northern Army. The testimony here of General Gates to his conduct. Arnold's defeat. Trumbull communicates the news to the States adjacent to Connecticut. He continues to refurnish the army. Gen. Schuyler warmly acknowledges his services. His son Col. John Trumbull receives the American prisoners taken at the defeat of Arnold. A curious conference, involving the Governor, between Sir Guy Carleton and Gen. Waterbury. Gen. Gates renews his thanks to Trumbull. Many officers of the Northern Army are recommended by Trumbull to rewards. He sympathizes with their grievances, and gives them counsel. Case of Gen. Schuyler in this connection Soothing letters to him from Trumbull.

WHILE Trumbull was engaged, as has now been seen, with the Main Army under Washington, and with the defence of Long Island Sound, and the sea-coast of Connecticut—he at the same time kept up his exertions in behalf of the Northern Army—a department in which we turn again to view him.

In July this Army—after having been, to the extent of his ability, reenforced and supplied by Trumbull, in the months of January,* March, April, and May—had been compelled

* "Your letters," wrote Trumbull to Washington, Jan. 21st, 1776—"of the 20th and 21st instant, are received. I thought fit this morning to acquaint Colonel Burrall, appointed to command the regiment destined to Canada from hence, that a month's pay will be advanced to officers and men by you. This additional encouragement will enliven them to the service. * * A month's pay was promised the men by my proclamation. * * The men in that quarter are well spirited and zealous, but have yet received no intelligence of the progress made in the business. Shall give you every necessary intelligence as it comes to my knowledge. Every necessary requisite for the march of this regiment will be provided on the best terms in my power."

"The battalion raising in this Colony," wrote Trumbull again to Washington, Feb. 5th, 1776—" to march to the assistance of our friends at Canada, are enlisted

to retreat from Quebec. The battle of the Three Rivers, so disastrous to it, had been fought—and the Americans had evacuated Canada—post after post yielding to the British force which followed close in the rear, until—with their baggage only saved, and military stores—worn, dispirited, and sick with the small pox—they retreated to Crown Point—and soon to Ticonderoga, where thev made a stand. Hear Trumbull now upon this reverse.

"The retreat of the Northern army, and its present situation"—he wrote, July fourth, to General Washington, in a letter which we here quote in full—"have spread a general alarm. By intelligence from Major-General Schuyler, received last evening, I have reason to conclude that they are now at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, in a weak state, and under the necessity of an immediate reenforcement, to enable them to make a stand, and prevent the enemy from passing the Lake and penetrating into the country. The prevalence of the small pox among them is every way unhappy. Our people, in general, have not had that distemper. Fear of the infection operates strongly to prevent soldiers from engaging in the service, and the battalions ordered to be raised in this Colony fill up slowly; and though no measures be taken to remove the impediment, may not the army be soon freed from that infection? Can the reenforcements be kept separate from the infected? Or may not a detachment be made from the troops under your command, and the militia raising in the several Colonies, and ordered to New York, of such men as have had the small pox, to be replaced by the troops raising for the Northern Department? Could any expedient be fallen upon, that would afford probable hopes that this infection may be avoided? I believe our battalions would soon join the Northern army. I shall omit nothing in my power to expedite them.

"The retreat of the army from Canada exposes the Northern frontiers of New York and New Hampshire to the ravages of the Indians, who will doubtless be spirited up to fall upon them. Some of the settlements on Onion River, I am informed are breaking up and removing, and the whole filled with the most disquieting apprehensions. Some powder and lead, upon application, have been supplied them from this Colony; but the settlers there, from their infant state, and consequent poverty, are unable to devote themselves to the defence of the frontiers, unless they should be enabled to hire laborers to carry on the business of their farms in their absence. I could therefore wish, that your Excellency might think proper to recommend it to the Continental Congress, to order a battalion

to serve until the 1st of February next, with bounty, pay, wages, and allowances, agreable to resolve of Congress, sent me by the express who last came to you this way."

to be raised and stationed there, for the defence of those settlements. It would, I trust, be immediately filled up with a hardy race of men in that quarter, well adapted to repel the attacks of the savages, and ready to join and support the Northern army, upon occasion, and at all times may scour the woods, and furnish intelligence of the enemy's motions.

"If those settlers are driven back, besides the loss of their property, a much heavier expense will fall on some of the Colonies for the support of their families, than the charges arising from the raising and maintaining a battalion of Continental troops; and we shall still have a frontier to defend.

"The anxiety of the friends and relations of many, if not most, of those settlers who emigrated from this Colony, and the importance of the matter, will, I trust, be my sufficient apology for wishing to engage your influence with Congress to support the motion I judge advisable and shall make, to have a battalion raised out of, and stationed on, those frontiers.

"By a letter from General Schuyler, of the 1st instant, I am advised that Generals Schuyler, Gates, and Arnold, were to set out on Tuesday morning. I trust they are by this time at the end of their journey, and hope their presence may have a happy effect towards retrieving affairs in that quarter. I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"Jonathan Trumbull."

But with the failure of the expedition to Canada, did not end American hope and exertion. It was, universally, deemed of the utmost importance to defend the Northern Frontier—and as the theatre of action, by the retreat of the Americans, "approached nearer home, the scenes assumed a deeper interest." The possession of Lakes Champlain and George—the highways from the North to Albany—which might lead to the acquisition of Albany by the enemy, and so to a free cooperation between their forces at the North and in New York, and to a fatal severance, therefore, between the eastern and the middle and southern States—was to be warmly disputed. The British army must at all events, reasoned every American, be kept back. Busy preparations, consequently, during the whole month of July, were made for accomplishing this vital object—and into all these preparations, both by land and water, Trumbull entered with undiminished activity.

And first as regards a fleet to oppose the enemy on the

Lakes. For this purpose, he immediately organized two companies of ship-carpenters—under the charge respectively of Job Winslow* and Jonathan Lester—and sent them both on to General Schuyler, with letters commending them to his care, and extolling their skill. "They will march next week," he informed Washington, July sixth—"and carry their tools with them to go to that work at Crown Point."

Further to aid the operations in this direction—at an expense—which was advanced—of three hundred pounds—he sent one thousand felling-axes to Schuyler, upon the latter's request.† He sent also to the Paymaster of the Northern Department—his own son—the sum of eighteen hundred pounds in money—and again asked for old gun barrels, locks, &c., which he intended to have repaired, and fitted up into good guns and bayonets for future service. At the same time he was active in hastening on the battalions which had been ordered for the North‡—and in urging upon Congress§—as he had already done upon Washington—the formation of a special battalion for the protection of the frontiers of New York and New Hampshire against British and Indian ravages.

The American army, during the period just now under consideration, was in a most distressful condition—as is fa-

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* "Received," says, July 1st, Job Winslow—a head carpenter from Connecticut—in a paper still preserved—"of the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, the sum of fifty pounds lawful money, to be used for advance wages to myself as Head Carpenter, and twenty-five other ship carpenters to go under me, for building and constructing batteries, vessels, and other buildings, under the direction of Major General Schuyler, or any persons at his direction, at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, or other places in the province of New York or Quebec." A similar receipt was also given by Jonathan Lester of Norwich, another approved ship builder, who, under directions from the Governor, organized another band of twenty-five ship carpenters for the North.

† "Your Honor's goodness, and the dispatch with which everything comes from you," responded Schuyler at this time—"will expose you to much trouble and many applications, but as I know where your consolation lies, I do not hesitate to beg your assistance on this occasion."

‡ "The troops from this State, destined for the northward," he wrote Washington, August fifth—"are marched to Bennington, and from thence to Skenesborough."

§ "The retreat of our army from Canada," he wrote Congress, July fifth, has "created great consternation" in the New Hampshire Grants. "May I not venture to suggest," he adds, "the expediency of raising a battalion of troops, in the pay of the Continent, upon those Grants."

miliar history—from the ravages of the small pox, want of harmony, and from insubordination. Of this Governor Trumbull was kept accurately informed, and at no time, therefore, were his services more useful, or bestowed with more anxiety. His son—Colonel John Trumbull—then adjutant to General Gates at the North—often wrote him minutely about the condition of the army. "My first duty," he told his father—as he repeats in his "Reminiscences of his own time"—"after my arrival at Crown Point, was to procure an accurate return of the number and condition of the troops. I found them dispersed, some few in tents, some in sheds, and some under the shelter of miserable brush huts, so totally disorganized by the death or sickness of officers, that the distinction of regiments and corps was in a great degree lost; so that I was driven to the necessity of great personal examination, and I can truly say that I did not look into a tent or hut in which I did not find either a dead or dying man. I can scarcely imagine any more disastrous scene, except the retreat of Bonaparte from Moscow."*

Of all this—and of the state of the Northern Army in every particular—Trumbull informed Congress—in a letter bearing date July twenty-sixth.† But Congress could not at the moment furnish the necessary succor. Neither could General Washington. It is a state of things, wrote the latter to the Governor, "calling aloud for the most vigorous exertions"—but "we," at New-York, he added, "can afford no relief." Upon Trumbull, therefore, mainly, devolved this task of relief. He consequently counselled with General Schuyler about the construction of hospitals for the sick, and sent on to the North stores of clothing, and provisions, and medicines. He sent also Major John Ely—an eminent physician and surgeon—to do all in his power to contribute to the health of the army—and with Doctor Ely he sent

* "May Heaven grant," wrote Schuyler also to Trumbull about this time—"that when our posterity relate to each other the pain of the struggle, they may feel and reflect on the blessings of the event!"

† This letter was addressed to his son-in-law, William Williams—then a Member of the Continental Congress—and was read to this Body for their own particular information and action in the premises.

Peter Granger—a French neutral and an excellent nurse—to take care of those sick with the small pox.*

Nor did Trumbull forget to do all in his power to promote that subordination and harmony among the Northern troops, about the want of which so much and just complaint was made at this time. He had been particularly requested by Schuyler and others to use his influence upon this matter, and "aid in eradicating colonial distinctions in the army"—and he complied fully with the request. He appealed to the troops from Connecticut on the subject, "with all the earnestness the nature and importance of the subject required."† He appealed to Gates‡—and he addressed his two sons, then connected with the army, and others of influence.

"I am sorry to find so many supersedeases, jealousies, and uneasinesses," he wrote, for example, to his son Jonathan, July eighteenth—"but at a time when our all is at stake, 'tis best to bear and forbear—to settle points of honors and rewards at a more convenient season. If we fail through neglects occasioned by rank and pay, it will be too late to retrieve the dishonor, and we shall then have to lament the bitter fruits of pride and covetousness. If we succeed, we may at leisure settle merits, honors, and rewards.§ *Humanum est errare*—Will not the mag-

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* "This disease," he wrote to Congress, "is a more terrible enemy than the British troops, and strikes a greater dread into our men who have never had it." And, consulting how best to counterbalance this great impediment to the recruiting service in Connecticut, he inquired of this Body if some of the New-York or Jersey battalions, which had, generally, passed through with that distemper, might not take the place of some of the Connecticut troops. "This," he added, would "greatly facilitate the filling up of our regiments."

† "I have," he says, writing Schuyler, July thirty-first—"agreable to your request, recommended to the troops of this government to cultivate harmony and a good understanding with the troops from other States, as well as among themselves, and have pressed it upon them with all the earnestness the nature and importance of the subject requires. I shall be very happy to find anything I have done, or can do, may contribute towards eradicating the evil."

‡ "Why is it not best," he wrote Gates—repeating the suggestions he had already made to the General Congress—"and even just, that each command the same body of men as expected, without respect to the place where—Gen. Gates above, and Gen. Schuyler below? The good of the general service is the great object. I wish to cast in my mite toward that end."

§ Trumbull's opinion on the subject of army promotions, is worth quoting here—because he places them, not on the basis of mere seniority in commission, but on the substantial basis of merit. Writing to his son Joseph, he says: "Promotions made in exact succession, which some challenge, would soon ruin our army. Honor in that way would soon be lost, and Quixotism supply its place. Others, not ourselves, ought to judge of our merit, bravery, and fitness.

nanimity and generosity of the northern generals prevent altercations between them? Congress can find them honorable employment.—Is it best for you to fall through the back door?—Is it not best to catch before the fall?"*

Thus, one way and another—in quarters of highest influence—did Trumbull exert himself to restore harmony in the Northern Department—and at a time too when this harmony was of most vital importance. For now—in August—the enemy, with incredible exertion, had prepared a large naval armament to seize possession of the lakes—and, it was reported, had a force of eight thousand men, with which to descend—drive the Americans before them—and occupy, as they advanced, the whole country to the south. The control of the lakes was, of course, indispensable to their plan. Every nerve, therefore, was strained by our army to form an ample lake squadron for itself, by which to prevent this result—and in this effort, as usual, Trumbull participated.

Schuyler sent to him for five captains to command the armed vessels on Lake Champlain. Trumbull immediately procured them. He raised also some crews of seamen,† and sent these on—and with these, additional land troops also—and with all, fresh clothing, tents, camp kettles, axes, medicines, and various other important articles.‡ Of these proceedings he gave due notice, from time to time, to General Gates—much to the joy and encouragement of the latter—to whom he often, with pious zeal, expressed the hope that "the Great Ruler of all would grant that the event might

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A person may be fit for the post given him, and altogether unfit for the next."

* "Is there no Achan among us?"—he wrote to his son Joseph—"is not our failure in Canada owing to the political manœuvres of secret enemies—internal—hypocritical, crafty malignants—who subtilely have occasioned procrastination. Some speak very freely of ——. I fear the resentments of an injured people. I wish the best. Purgations are sometimes very healthy to the human body, altho' they occasion some gripings."

† General Arnold, July 30th, with the approbation of Gates, applied to him for three hundred.

‡ Upon this occasion, Trumbull—without waiting directions from Congress—ordered all the clothing which had been purchased, *under its authority*, in Connecticut, to be immediately forwarded—and besides—to purchase more, and tents also—issued an order, in favor of J. Fitch of Newhaven, for three hundred pounds.

correspond with the justice of our cause"—and to whom also, with a noble humanity, he often spoke of the sick—those particularly in the hospital of St. George—asking that both the invalids for whom there was a prospect of recovery, and those who probably never would regain their health, should all be sent home. "I flatter myself," he wrote—that some lives may be saved, and at the same time the zeal and strength of the army not be diminished."—"I am happy to hear," he added—"that the army begins to emerge from the state of distress and dejection that succeeded their retreat from Canada."*

"His Excellency"—wrote Gates to Washington of Trumbull at this time—"has, from the beginning of the misfortunes of this Army, done everything in his power, to reestablish it in health and power.—*Too much cannot be said in his praise.*"—"I am obliged," responded Trumbull to Gates, with characteristic modesty—"for the kind mention you are pleased to make of my exertions—which shall not be wanting—and I shall esteem myself happy if any endeavors of mine can serve the just and glorious cause in which we are engaged."

Everything now—in September—at Ticonderoga and vicinity—looked promising. The whole summit was crowned with redoubts and batteries—all manned, on both sides the lake. The fleet, under Generals Arnold and Waterbury—consisting of a brig, several gallies and gunboats, mounting altogether more than one hundred guns—proceeded down the lake to look for the enemy. The hopes of Governor Trumbull, and of all Americans, were high and flattering as to the result.

But these hopes were destined to disappointment. On the eleventh of October the two fleets met—engaged—and Arnold was defeated with great loss. Most of his vessels were

* To his son Joseph, Aug. 24th, he writes as follows: "The army at the northward is strengthening fast. Carpenters, sea captains, rigging, and duck, with £2200 value in various kinds of clothing, and 1000 felling-axes, are forwarded to them. The men begin to appear in good spirits. The armed force on the lake is become formidable. I trust they will command the lake this season. May the Lord of Hosts, the God of our armies, be in the midst of both—that at New York, and the Northward—and give success and victory!"

either taken or destroyed, and with the exception of a few who got on shore, or in a few gunboats struggled back to Ticonderoga—after quite a smart action on the twelfth—their crews, with General Waterbury, remained prisoners of war. It is remarkable that in this engagement the only galley saved was the *Trumbull*, commanded by Captain Wigglesworth.

The news was at once transmitted to the Governor by General Schuyler—and Trumbull in turn communicated it to the Governors of adjacent States—still, in spite of defeat, with words of encouragement and hope—and he proceeded himself, with his accustomed activity, to replenish the army.

"Please let me know," he wrote Gates, but four days after the disaster—"let me know by the return of this post the situation you are in, and whatever is needful, in our power to supply, that we may forward the same." And on went again, tents, clothing, provisions, medicines, shingle nails, two hundred iron spades and shovels, and some new companies of militia—together with a particular request from Trumbull for the names of such officers in the old as were willing to serve in the new Northern Army—then to be organized—and were fit for service. "The first of the militia have just arrived," wrote Schuyler to him from Saratoga, October twenty-first. "Give them double bounty," said Trumbull in reply. "The sufferings of the army last year in the northern department, render this necessary. To prevent as far as possible every occasion of complaints of a similar nature this year, seems as well to be dictated by sound policy as by justice to the soldiers."—"Your attentions to supply the army," answered Schuyler—"merit the warmest acknowledgments of every friend of his country. You have mine most unfeignedly."

Though winter was approaching, with its expected abatement of sickness in the army, and the Northern Campaign must of necessity soon close—still solid preparations for another were, in the view of Trumbull, then to be made. He was full of hope. "I am glad," he said, again addressing Gates—"that there is so near a prospect of our troops being relieved, by the approaching season, from the predom-

inant plague of the Lake, which it seems is inevitable, and must be endured—with this only gleam of comfort, that *our enemy's end of the ship will sink first.*"

That enemy—it must be conceded—was as much to be dreaded through the humanity and policy of its commander—Sir Guy Carlton—as through the force of its arms. So kind was this officer's treatment of the prisoners who fell into his hands, after the engagement on the lake, that he laid them all under the deepest obligations of gratitude. It fell to the lot of Governor Trumbull's son John, adjutant to Gates, to receive them from Captain Craig.

"The usual civilities," writes the son upon this subject—"passed between Sir James and me, and I received the prisoners. All were warm in their acknowledgments of the kindness with which they had been treated, and which appeared to me to have made a very dangerous impression. I therefore placed the boats containing the prisoners under the guns of a battery, and gave orders that no one should be permitted to land, and no intercourse take place with the troops on shore, until orders should be received from Gen. Gates. I hurried to make my report to him, and suggested the danger of permitting those men to have any intercourse with our troops;—accordingly they were ordered to proceed to Skenesborough, on their way home, and they went forward that night, without being permitted to land."

Conspicuous among the prisoners that fell into the hands of Carleton—as we have noted—was General Waterbury, of Connecticut—between whom and the former an incident occurred of much interest as involving, in the view of an enemy, Governor Trumbull's authority in his public acts. Carleton particularly invited Waterbury on board his own ship—the Royal Charlotte—and down into the cabin—where he asked the latter to show him his commission. Waterbury handed it to him—and Carleton, observing that it was signed by Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, at once held out his hand, and said he—"General Waterbury, I am happy to take you by the hand, now that I see you are not serving under a commission and orders of the rebel Congress, but of Governor Trumbull. You are acting under a legitimate and acknowledged authority. He is responsible for the abuse he has made of that authority. That which is a high crime in

him, is but an error in you; it was your duty to obey him, your legitimate superior."

Soon after the defeat of Arnold on the lake, the Campaign of 1776, at the North, was closed. But though closed, Governor Trumbull still continued, from time to time, to furnish supplies for that quarter, when needed. It seems that in this respect his patience was exhaustless—his zeal at all times unwearied—and his success remarkable. Well, therefore, might General Gates renew to him, as he did, his thanks. "I have a thousand obligations to you for your attention and care of the army in this department," he said. "The Congress have in some instances forgot us; but they are excusable in the vast demand that has been made upon them nearer home. Medicines, which with clothing you are forwarding to us, are articles in the utmost request. How much we are obliged to you for your regard of us, I think my masters will tell you also—they acknowledge that. You make me happy in acquainting me that camp equipage is coming for your regiments. All things conspire to make me believe that America will be free!"

Ere, in connection with Trumbull, we quite drop the curtain for the year 1776 upon the Northern Campaign, one thing important remains to be mentioned. It is the circumstance that he was often applied to in behalf of numerous officers at the North, both to recommend them, in the way of appointments and rewards, to the attention of others—particularly to Washington and the Continental Congress—and to sympathize and counsel with them in what they deemed their grievances—a duty which he always discharged with ready kindness, and exemplary regard to what he thought the justice of the case. Among such applicants for his interest with Congress, were, particularly, General Waterbury, and Captain Noah Phelps—the last, one of the heroes at the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen—both of whom he warmly recommended as "worthy of the kind notice and regard of the country." And conspicuous among those with whose discontent he was made specially acquainted, was General Philip Schuyler himself. His case deserves particular mention.

The feelings of this officer had been wounded by what he deemed a supersedeas of himself—a senior in command—through the appointment, by Congress, of General Gates to the head of the Northern Army. He had other causes too of discontent. Unpleasant rumors in regard to his capacity and conduct had been circulated—and to Trumbull, therefore, early in August, he poured out his complaints.

"Your assiduous attention," responded Trumbull—"to the great concerns of the public at this important period, is, in the minds of the considerate, a most undissembled declaration of your hearty attachment to the United States of America. Whatever reports may have been spread by the disaffected, or opinions held by the mistaken or ill-informed, I hope neither your character nor the cause of our country will eventually suffer thereby. Your painful industry and substantial services to the public, cannot fail to remove all jealousy from the well-affected. As to Tories, no very good offices to one in your place can be expected from them. I flatter myself that no misrepresentations of theirs will have credit enough in this State greatly to wound your character, or prevent your usefulness. It requires the wisdom of a Solomon and the patience of a Job to endure traduction, or regard a slander with the contempt it deserves. I heartily wish the injury may not give too much anxiety to a mind possessed of a conscious rectitude of intention."

Whatever effect this letter may have had in soothing the feelings of Schuyler, "the line of conduct which Congress held with him," he wrote to Trumbull—"would put it out of his power to continue in any office where the appointment must come immediately from them." So he determined to resign his command—did so—and informed Trumbull of the fact, and that he should publish a narrative in defence of his conduct.

"That you have sent Congress a resignation of your command," responded Trumbull—who, from his long and close association with Schuyler, entertained an idea of his ability and patriotism, which was not in harmony with that at the time entertained in Connecticut, or in New England generally—"that you are obliged to vindicate your character by publishing a narrative of your conduct—are matters I cannot hear of but with deep concern. I make no doubt of your ability to justify yourself, yet fear the consequences of such an appeal, at this time especially. I wish to see your character stand as fair with the world as it does with me, but cannot wish that Congress should accept your resignation—that your

ability and zeal should be lost to the country when she most needs them, or that matters of so much delicacy and importance as those which have passed through your hands, and have been under your direction, should be laid open to the world, when our enemies may derive such advantages from the discovery, and our friends be discouraged and disheartened. May I prevail with you to suspend your publication a little while? Perhaps your character may be vindicated from the aspersions you consider it to labor under, from another quarter, and in a manner more honorable to you, and less unhappy to the country. Your resolution to continue to love and serve your country to the utmost of your power in a private station, does you much honor, and corresponds with the idea I have entertained of your patriotism; but I flatter myself I shall yet continue to see you fill and adorn a sphere of greater extent and usefulness."

Thus with words of kindness—with prudent counsel—with his country on his heart—as upon every occasion, to all, where his advice was sought—did Trumbull soothe his co-patriot and friend, General Schuyler.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1776.

An alarm from Rhode Island. The enemy seize Newport. The Connecticut measures for defence, and the Governor's cares and duties. The prisoners of this year. The Mayor of Albany, the Mayor of New York, Governor Brown of New Providence, and Governor Franklin of New Jersey, conspicuous among them. Trumbull charged specially with their custody. Case of Franklin particularly described. Other prisoners—where from—where confined. Connecticut is overburthened with them. Trumbull writes the New York Congress on the subject. His letter. The care taken of them in Connecticut Trumbull's treatment of them illustrated. He was eminently humane His duties and conduct in promoting their exchange.

We have followed Governor Trumbull now in his connections with the Revolutionary Struggle, north near Canada—and upon the west and south, on the seashore and the Sound, near Connecticut—almost all around, and close upon the boundaries of the State at whose helm he stood. And we have reach the closing month of 1776. But we have not yet reached the close of Trumbull's labors during this eventful year. For as this year drew to its end—dark with the disappointment of American hopes—gloomy as if the winter of Liberty was coming with the winter of the seasons—fresh alarm broke out from a new direction, also adjoining Connecticut—from the east—from the hitherto untouched and comparatively secure quarter of Rhode Island.

December ninth, the Governor and Council heard that a large British fleet was pushing up Narragansett Bay, towards Newport and Providence. It was the same which had been seen, December sixth—their "design unknown"—at anchor off New London harbor. It was that which General Howe—hoping to keep the forces of New England occupied at home, and so to prevent their rendering any aid to Washington in New Jersey and Pennsylvania—had sent, bearing about four thousand troops under Sir Henry Clinton, to make a diversion to the eastward. Governor Trumbull at once ordered the eastern regiments of Connecticut to march to Rhode

Island for its defence. But the enemy soon landed—at Newport—on a Sabbath Day—meeting with little or no resistance—and from this point Clinton, defended and aided by the strong fleet under Sir Peter Parker, threatened the invasion of all the adjoining States.

It was a crisis of imminent peril. The General Assembly was informed of it, and four members from the Governor's Council—Eliphalet Dyer, Richard Law, Nathaniel Wales, Junior, and Titus Hosmer—were sent to Providence, to consult—December twenty-third—with Committees from the other New England States, and report measures for "mutual and immediate defence and safety."* These gentlemen reported ten hundred and ninety-two men as the quota of troops to be raised by Connecticut for the emergency—and the Governor and Council were empowered to raise them—particularly from Colonel Ely's battalion—and send them to the scene of danger in the "most speedy way." And the Governor besides, was directed to state to the Continental Congress the "reasons and necessity" of the meeting of the New England Committees at Providence, and transmit a copy of their proceedings—which he did.

His Proclamation for raising the men assigned, was at once issued. They were to join the army under General Spencer at Providence. So he directed. He sent for the captains who were to serve—commissioned them—and pressed them to proceed with their enlistments. He instructed Commissaries to provide and transport to Rhode Island, pork, flour, and other supplies. He ordered Major Ebenezer Backus, with troops of Lighthorse, to march to the exposed quarter. He employed couriers for this quarter, and affixed their stages. He did everything, in short, which the occasion demanded, with promptness—and though—for reasons which will fall under our observation the next year—the expedition proved in the end a failure, so far as the expulsion of the

* Dec. 21, 1776. "Col. Dyer, Messrs. Law, Wales, and Hosmer are setting out as Commissioners to meet with such as may be appointed in the N. E. States at Providence, the beginning of the week, to consult on raising an army for their defence till they can receive instructions and directions from Congress.—The enemy possess Rhode Island—lie still there for the present."—*Governor's letter to his son Joseph.*

enemy from Newport is concerned—yet Connecticut, in the emergency, under the guidance of her Chief Magistrate, did all that could be expected from her patriotism and her resources.

This—for the east—was the fifth large draught of men, for actual service in different quarters, which had been made upon this State during the present year. That first one, from the western section of the State, which was marched for the defence of New York—that second, for the defence of New London and Long Island—that third, from the eastern section of the State, for Westchester County—that fourth, from the extreme western section, again for the defence of the western border—and now this fifth and last, in the last month of the year, for Rhode Island—kept the hands of Governor Trumbull, so far as relates to troops merely, to their organization and supply alone, pressingly full of business.

Through the exertions of these, and the troops of other States, upon the land—through the effective vigilance of Revolutionary Committees, and bands of the Sons of Liberty—and through the bravery of Americans upon the water—many prisoners were taken during the year with which we are concerned. Indeed they multiplied exceedingly on the hands of the State—so much so that it early became necessary to appoint a Commissary,* and a special Committee, to aid in their charge. These appointments, however, did not relieve the Governor from various duties respecting them. For as Chief Magistrate he superintended them all—received applications both from themselves, and from those who, in a subordinate capacity, overlooked them—and was himself, in many instances, specially charged with their custody.

Conspicuous among those thus entrusted to his special keeping, were *a Mayor of Albany*, whose name we do not find given—*David Matthews*, *Mayor* of the City of New York—*Montford Brown*, *Governor* of New Providence—and *Governor Franklin* of New Jersey, a natural son of the illustrious Benjamin Franklin.

Matthews, was taken first to Litchfield jail,† and thence to

* Epaphras Bull, of Hartford, was first appointed.

† While at Litchfield, he was under the care of Capt. Moses Seymour.

Hartford, where he was closely watched. *Brown*—who, with many others, as has been heretofore narrated, had been captured by Admiral Hopkins—was brought to Windham County jail—where Governor Trumbull gave him his parole, and treated him with great kindness, until, in September, he delivered him up—at the same time with the turbulent Governor Skene—to General Washington—to be exchanged, the one for Lord Stirling, and the other for a Mr. Lovell.* *Franklin*—as remarkable for his rank toryism as was his father for his distinguished patriotism—was by far the most prominent of the four prisoners to whom we have now alluded, and his case deserves particular notice.

On the Fourth of July 1776—the very day of the Declaration of Independence—he was brought into Connecticut—escorted by a guard of which Thomas Kenny was Chief Officer—having been seized by a Convention of his own Province as a virulent enemy of the Colonies, and by this Convention consigned to Governor Trumbull, who was desired to take his parole, and if he refused to give it, then to treat him according to the Resolutions of Congress respecting prisoners.

A parole was accordingly prepared. Franklin urged the Governor to alter it, so that he might have liberty to return to New-Jersey. This was refused. He then asked that he might go to Stratford. This also was refused. He then sent word to the Governor that he might do with him as he pleased—and signing his parole, he was removed to Wallingford—from which place, however, after about two weeks, he was permitted—still on parole—to go to Middletown. After remaining at this last place several months, he wrote, again asking to return to his family in New-Jersey—a privilege, he said, which had been allowed to other gentlemen who had been sent to Connecticut as tories—and he remonstrated, "in terms more sharp than decent," against Trumbull's neglect in not answering a former letter which he had written him. But this re-application was refused.

Subsequently, an order reached Trumbull from Congress,

* Sep. 27, 1776. "Gov. Brown is to be exchanged for Ld. Stirling, and Gov. Skene for Mr. Lovell, and the two Governors are to set out from Middletown next Tuesday noon."—*Governor's letter to his son Joseph.*

directing his confinement without pen, ink, or paper. "He has"—said the Resolutions of Congress respecting him—"sedulously employed himself," since his removal to Connecticut, "in dispersing among the inhabitants the protections of Lord Howe and Gen. Howe—styled King's Commissioners for granting pardons, &c.,—and otherwise aided and abetted the enemies of the U. States." And the Governor was requested not only to confine him in the manner stated, but to allow no person or persons to have access to him, save such as he himself should properly license for that purpose. Trumbull, therefore, had him forthwith conveyed, by the Sheriff of Hartford County, to Litchfield jail—where, in the keeping of Lynd Lord, and under a special guard—at an expense, for a little over a year, of above one hundred pounds—he was closely watched—not, however, without his securing, now and then, a chance to hold treasonable intercourse.*

When taken from New Jersey, he had possessed himself of a chest containing important State records. Governor Livingston of New Jersey, therefore, wrote Trumbull, wishing the State authorities of Connecticut to interpose, and cause Franklin—and his servant Thomas, who was suspected of being privy to the concealment—to be examined on oath respecting it. This was done, through Matthew Talcott, appointed by the General Assembly for the purpose—with what result, however, we do not ascertain.

Such was one notorious offender, with whose custody the Governor of Connecticut was charged the present year—one whom the Journals of the day heralded as "exceedingly busy in perplexing the cause of liberty," and whose principles, connections, abilities, and address, rendered him a most dangerous enemy.

But besides the prisoners now mentioned, very many others, as already suggested, were sent this year to the charge of Trumbull. Washington, while encamped in the City of New-York and vicinity, consigned them in great numbers. Trumbull confined these chiefly at Litchfield and

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* As once with a Capt. Camp—against whom Newhaven complained to the General Assembly for holding such intercourse.

Norwich. Once, a party of twenty-two—taken at one time, in July, on board a barge of the British fleet, as they were sounding a channel below New-York—were sent. Trumbull confined these at Farmington. The Albany Committee also sent large numbers—in August, particularly, very many—disaffected persons chiefly—some of whom were confined in the jail at New-London, and some were placed at East Haddam, under their parole of honor to continue there, and not to do or say anything in prejudice of the United States, or their acts or resolves, on penalty of close confinement.* Many prisoners also were sent from Massachusetts—some from Rhode Island—many from Long Island—and quite a number from the Northern Army. They were distributed—besides in the towns already mentioned—also in Hartford, Simsbury, Salisbury, Durham, Middletown, Glastenbury, Saybrook, New-London, Preston, Windham, Colchester, and elsewhere. The jails and secure places in Connecticut were in fact—as Governor Trumbull said—even by August, so "filled" that it was "difficult" to find room for more—and they so tasked his care, and that of the State, that we find him at this time addressing the New-York Provincial Congress in the following terms:—

"Enclosed," he writes, August tenth—"is a copy of a letter from a Committee at Albany, by Ensign John Fiske, who escorted under guard from Albany twenty-three prisoners represented to be inimical to the rights of these States, to be secured and taken care of. The jails here are so filled that it is difficult to find a proper place of security for this additional number. For the present they are ordered to the jail at New-London, and I shall expect soon a resolve from your Convention in what manner you will have them treated, and how, or by what means supported.

"The *Mayor of Albany*, and five others sent with him by the Committee of that city some time ago, are at Hartford. Those sent by your body under the care of Mr. De Peyster, are imprisoned at Hartford, Norwich, and Litchfield.

"The present necessity, attention to the service of the U. States, and real affection for our sister State of New-York, under the present calamities of a siege and invasion, induce us to receive such troublesome and

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* The Albany prisoners were afterwards sent to Preston—where some of them were allowed to labor for their own support, under the inspection of a Committee—and others, as being "particularly dangerous," were strictly confined.

inimical men into our care and custody. We wish to have them removed, and to be released from the trouble they occasion, as early as is convenient."

The prisoners sent to Connecticut—be it written to the credit of this State, of Trumbull, and of his agents in the matter—received the best treatment consistent with their situation. The Governor was eminently humane in all that he did concerning them. He received their applications with attention, and whenever he could—consistently with security to the great cause with which he was identified—granted their prayer.

Did John Rapalji, for example, who was confined at Norwich, and destitute of clothing, ask to return to Long Island to procure it? Upon giving his parole to be back again within two weeks, and to do naught against the States, the Governor not only allowed him to go, and bring back necessaries for himself, but also for such other of his fellow-prisoners as he could.

Did Alexander Campbell, William Pemberton, and eight others, again, ask a similar permission for the same purpose? Under the care of a Committee to attend them, and under their parole faithfully to return, they had leave to go.

Did Duncan Stewart, the English Collector for the port of New-London—where, with no other restraint than that of being forbidden to leave town without permission from the Governor, he resided—ask to visit New-York? Leave was freely given—to stay three months—and soon to depart again, with a passport from the Governor's own hands, to take all his family and effects, and sail for England.*

Thus kind was Trumbull in numerous other cases. And

* "The populace took umbrage at the courtesies extended to the English Collector. At one time, when some English goods were brought from New-York for the use of his family, the mob at first would not permit them to be landed, and afterwards seized and made a bonfire of them. The ringleaders in this outrage were arrested and lodged in jail; the jail doors were broken down, and they were released, nor were the authorities in sufficient force to attempt a recommitment. It was indeed a stirring season, and the restraints of law and order were weak as flax. It is however gratifying to know that Mr. Stewart was allowed to leave the place with his family, without any demonstration of personal disrespect. He departed in July, 1777."—*Miss Caulkins' History of N. London*, p. 511–12.

the State Commissary and Committee for prisoners, were from time to time enjoined by him to make suitable provision for them all. They were directed to send to him—certified under oath—true accounts of their numbers, of their manner of treatment, of the resources for their support, and of the conduct of the captives—in order that he might himself see that they were used with justice and humanity—or if otherwise, might rectify any error or abuse, or report the same to his Council, or to the General Assembly, for their correction or reproof. Conduct this how strikingly in contrast with that of the enemy towards American prisoners—who were left—alas, almost habitually—in hunger, in cold, in nakedness—without medicines, without care—alone in dungeons, or crowded into heaps—to die like beasts! And all this humanity, on the part of Trumbull, was ever exercised in consistency with the proper security of captives—for wherever particular vigilance was required, there he was sure to employ it.*

He had much also to do, in relation to prisoners, in promoting their exchange—now in person, and now by giving directions to various agents and Committees appointed by the Legislature in the matter—particularly to Shaw, the Naval Agent at New-London.† His correspondence with Washington, with Congress, with New-York and Massachusetts, was extensive on this subject. Cartels for the redemption of prisoners, bearing his communications and his messengers, frequently passed in and out from the harbors of Connecticut—particularly between New-London and New-York, and New-London and Newport—and the sad condition of many of the returned American captives frequently called for an application both of his commiseration and his

* As once at Hartford, for example, when—upon information that the prisoners there had intercourse with tories from without the jail—he ordered additional guards, and a yard, with pickets or plank, to be erected around the jail in the best and most prudent manner—and as once again, upon a similar occasion, when he doubled the guards around Newgate Prison.

† Exchanges were particularly numerous in the marine department—as the batch of prisoners taken from on board the ships *John*, *Clarendon*, and *Sally*, by American cruisers, and, in December, exchanged at New-London, under the direction of Trumbull, illustrates.

bounty. Ethan Allen, incarcerated with eighteen others—taken near Montreal—in the common jail at Halifax—for whose release Trumbull wrote pressing letters to Washington, to Congress, and to the "Commanding Officer at Boston," praying their "seasonable and friendly interposition" for the speedy exchange of this distinguished captive and his companions—never forgot the compassionate attention. His brother Levi, who was sent on by Connecticut to visit him in jail—with one hundred and twenty pounds in his pocket, from the Treasury of the State, for the relief of these prisoners—told Ethan of the Governor's heedfulness, and it rejoiced his heart.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1777.

TRUMBULL opens the year with a Proclamation for a Fast. He devotes himself to recruiting the Continental Army. The system of additional bounty in this connection, and a letter from him on the subject. Pressing requisitions from Washington for more troops. Trumbull responds—and how. Menaced devastation from the enemy. Trumbull prepares. Danbury laid in ashes. Measures taken by him in consequence. His Proclamation against home depredators. He guards against similar attacks, and for the present successfully. Gallant expedition of Col. Meigs to Sag Harbor, and report of the same to the Governor. He perseveres in his plans for home defence. Sends a Company of Rangers to the seashore. His labors in the department of supplies. Connecticut the PROVISION STATE.

IN harmony with his own deep sense of dependence on an all-wise Ruler of the Universe—in accordance with his view of national calamity as the result of "ill-deserts," of an undue general forgetfulness of God and all his mercies—and from a hope that through a public acknowledgment of transgression, by penitence and by prayer, the People might propitiate anew the favor of Heaven—Governor Trumbull opened to Connecticut the eventful year of 1777, by a Proclamation for a Public Fast. It was his desire and direction—as in the document he proceeds to promulgate—that the Great Father of all should be supplicated "to animate the whole body" of his fellow-citizens "to rise in the cause of their oppressed, bleeding country, to a zeal and exertions proportioned to its vast magnitude and importance."*

* The Proclamation bears date January eleventh, 1777. "Fervent and united supplications," he proceeds to say, should be offered up "for the United States of America—for their Representatives in General Congress assembled, that he would bless and honor them as Instruments, under his own divine direction and counsel, of guiding and conducting the People through all the struggles and convulsions which attend the great controversy in which they are engaged, and bringing them into a settled and confirmed state of government, peace, and safety; that he would abundantly bless the people and rulers of each particular State, and increase, strengthen, and perfect the general union of the whole; that the Commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States may be the care of divine Providence, and under divine direction; that all our officers and soldiers

The year at whose threshold we now stand, so far as leading military events are concerned, was marked by skirmishes in the Jerseys—by expeditions of the enemy up the North River, and into Connecticut—by the expedition of Colonel Meigs to Sag Harbor—by the continued presence of the foe in Rhode Island—by the movement of the British fleet up the Chesapeake—the Battle of Brandywine—the occupation by the enemy of Philadelphia—the attacks upon Fort Mifflin and Red Bank—by the Battle of Saratoga—and by the British capture of Forts Montgomery and Clinton on the North River—events with all of which Trumbull was more or less connected—but particularly with those which occurred at the North.

The winter and spring of this year, as is well known—although in the plan of Washington intended as a period of active effort to break up and disperse the enemy—was yet spent mainly in making preparations for the campaign that followed—particularly in recruiting the Continental Army, which at the close of 1776—from the expiration of enlistments, a general aversion to service induced by the misfortunes of the year which had passed, and the seemingly overwhelming force of the enemy—was thinned down to almost a shadow. Trumbull's attention, therefore, at this time, was specially bestowed on the recruiting service—and on this subject he was soon engaged in correspondence with Congress, with General Washington, and with General Heath, General Greene, and others.

One of his letters upon this matter deserves to be quoted here in full—because, especially, it vindicates the step taken at this time by Connecticut, and by the New England States generally, of granting an additional bounty to their quotas of the Continental Army—vindicates it against an objection,

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may be blessed with the presence and fear of the Lord of Hosts and the God of armies, and all our enterprises by sea and land, in defence and for the protection of our country, be greatly succeeded; and that God in infinite wisdom and goodness, would bring great and lasting good to his people out of the evils and troubles of the present day, and in his own due time, restore peace, and cause truth, righteousness and charity to prevail in this whole land; break every yoke of the oppressor, and let the oppressed go free; bless all the nations of the earth with light and liberty, and fill the world with the knowledge and glory of his great name."

quite extensively indulged—and made both by Washington and by Congress—that it would produce discontent and disorder in the army. The letter—bearing date February twenty-first—was addressed to the Commander-in-chief, and proceeds as follows:—

"We have now granted to our proportion of the sixteen battalions the additional bounty of thirty-three dollars and one-third, estimating that proportion at one thousand men. In making this estimate, we are governed by the proportion which the quota assigned by Congress to this State bears to the whole number to be raised, namely, as eight is to eighty-eight. This I trust will put the officers you have appointed in this State upon an equal footing with those of the eight regiments allowed to us before, and remove every impediment in the way of raising these men.

"I am not insensible that the step taken by the New England States, of granting an additional bounty to their quotas of the Continental army, is objected to, as tending to produce discontent and disorder in the army. You will, therefore, permit me to state the reasons which have prevailed to induce the giving it, and the manner in which this State hath been drawn into it.

"The length and severity of our winters in this climate are such, that a soldier can neither clothe or support himself, or a family, so cheaply as he can at any time in a southern climate. Many, indeed most of our soldiers, have small families at home dependent, in a good measure, upon the savings they can make out of their wages for subsistence, which must always be the case while most of our youth marry at the age of twenty-one, or thereabouts. The almost total interruption of commerce, and the scarcity of materials for manufacturers, have and must still greatly increase the prices of clothing and other articles, while the demand for all kinds of provisions for the army has likewise rendered every necessary article of subsistence much dearer than at the commencement of hostilities. At that time the wages given to a common laborer were about forty shillings per month; now ten dollars are rather less than a medium, and all articles of produce are risen in proportion. Add that the seaman is offered twenty dollars per month, and tradesmen and artificers in proportion. Neither is this chargeable to any ill principle, but the necessary consequence of drawing off so many of our men into the service. When these facts are considered, it was thought to be very apparent, that a New England soldier cannot, and in justice ought not to serve upon the same pay and allowances that were given in 1775, or that one from the Southern States, where his expense for clothing and subsistence for himself and family is so much less, now can. Our people in general are so fully persuaded of this difference, it is alleged that it would be fruitless, as well as unjust, to attempt to engage them upon it, and vain to expect success in the attempt.

"These considerations induced the Massachusetts Assembly, in October, to offer an additional monthly pay. The Assembly of this State who had before rejected the measure when proposed by some of their own members, followed their lead, and offered the same additional pay; but when they were advised of the disapprobation of Congress, and had your Excellency's objections laid before them, they cheerfully retracted, and determined to trust to the bounties and pay of Congress, with some encouragement in furnishing them with necessaries at prime cost, to induce them to enlist. In the meantime, all the other New England States offered large additional bounties; Massachusetts and New Hampshire, sixty-six dollars and two-thirds; Rhode Island, twenty dollars. It was soon evident that these bounties would entice a great part of our men into the service of the States contiguous to us on the east and north, which, beside the obstruction which would thence arise to the filling up our own battalions, would be highly prejudicial to the agriculture of this State, and, in effect, to the general service, as the army must still depend, for a considerable part of its subsistence, on this State.

"In this situation the matter rested until the enemy took possession of Newport. It then became necessary to provide for the immediate defence of the New England States, and Commissioners met at Providence to concert proper measures for that purpose. They immediately agreed to raise an army of six thousand men for a temporary defence, until the Continental army might be raised.

"Sensible that an attempt to raise a separate army for their own defence, must effectually obstruct the raising a Continental army, and otherwise be liable to great objections, they considered raising the Continental battalions speedily, as the only sure means of defence against the enemy, should they fall upon any of these States; and proceeded to deliberate upon proper measures for this purpose.

"The rapid increase of the prices for the necessaries of life operates strongly to discourage soldiers from enlisting. These they attempt to limit by recommending prices to be affixed by law, beyond which they might not rise, by recommending that a stop be put to emitting further bills of credit, and measures be taken to reduce the quantity now circulating.

"The number of men employed on board privateers and merchant vessels, formed another obstacle to raising an army. They recommended an embargo upon all privateers and merchant vessels, except those sent after necessaries by permit, until the army was raised.

"The bounties offered by other States were alleged as an impediment to raising the quota for the army in this State and Rhode Island. The Commissioners from this State strongly urged, that the additional bounties should be withdrawn, and encouragement, by supplying necessaries at a certain price, be substituted in their place. In this they were overruled; and then, sensible of the mischief that might arise from the great bounties given by the other States, they consented, in case Massachu-

setts and New Hampshire would reduce their bounty to thirty-three dollars and one-third, to recommend to the State to give the same bounty to our soldiers, which was agreed to, and recommended accordingly.

"Our Assembly, with reluctance, for the sake of uniformity, and to avoid what they considered as a greater evil, acceded to the recommendation, and offered the proposed bounty.

"I must leave the other New England States to give their reasons for the measures they have adopted, and only add, that it is my wish and desire that all jealousies and occasions of disunion, and animosity of the several States, may be avoided and laid aside. It is not wonderful, that diversity of sentiment happens at a time that government is so far convulsed and unhinged. It is necessary, as far as possible, to become all things to all men, and not suffer our enemies to avail themselves of any discord or disunion among these States. I am, Sir, with great truth and respect, your obedient, humble servant,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

As concerns the Main Army now, under Washington—to which first, in connection with Trumbull, we direct the Reader's attention—it is to be noted that it was the policy of the Commander-in-chief, just at this time, to divert the forces of the enemy from Philadelphia. In January, therefore, he requested the Governor of Connecticut to place the quota of troops to be then raised in his State, eastward of New York—a request with which the latter readily complied. He proceeded to collect one thousand men for the purpose—which was the proportion for Connecticut in sixteen regiments that were to be levied in the United States.

Early in March again—when great apprehension existed that the enemy would move up the North River—a pressing requisition from Washington for two thousand more men—to be marched to Peekskill—reached Trumbull. "I am persuaded," said Washington upon this occasion—"from the readiness with which you have ever complied with all my demands, that you will exert yourself in forwarding the above-mentioned number of men, upon my bare request.—The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers and situation, or they would never suffer us to remain unmolested; and I almost tax myself with imprudence in committing the secret to paper; not that I distrust you, of whose inviolable attachment I have had so many proofs, but for fear the letter

should by any accident fall into other hands than those for which it is intended."

Trumbull immediately applied himself to fulfil this last request from Washington. He issued a Proclamation for the purpose—directing proportionate detachments of men from ten Connecticut regiments. He sent special letters of instruction to the field-officers concerned—and at the same time, with his Council, took active measures for filling up the regular quotas from the State for the Continental Army. Committees of aid were raised in each town—and by order of his Council, the Governor himself stimulated their exertion, to the utmost—earnestly recommending "the virtuous sons" of Connecticut—all, "without delay—to offer themselves for the service of God and their country, in the righteous cause, and to prevent the disagreeable necessity of the frequent rotation of men from the militia," whereby, he affirmed, "the husbandry and manufactures were so much injured."*

Nor did the exertions of Trumbull at this time in the recruiting service stop here. The calls for fresh troops becoming incessant, and little progress, for reasons already assigned, being made in filling up the Continental battalions—the Governor and Council, April twelfth—for the purpose of hastening the completion of an army—issued a joint Proclamation. It is a long, and in parts, an eloquent document—evidently written by the Governor himself—in which it is urged, that the time swiftly approaches, nay has almost arrived, when, without more vigorous and successful efforts, *all will be lost*—

* "Not unmindful," as says the Record of his own, and of the proceedings of his Council at the time—"not unmindful of the difficulties which might be occasioned by calling away so many men at that busy season of the year, yet they [the Governor and Council,] considered the unspeakable importance of the cause; that the burthen lay equally on all the States; that the contest in all probability would be short, if the people would be true to themselves; that the war would have been closed even before that time, if our exertions had been equal to the strength which God had given the country for defence; that the blessings contended for were what the Almighty had bestowed upon us, with full confidence that we would continue our faithful endeavors; that future generations would be established in the best and highest civil and religious liberty, or bound by the most galling yoke of wretched slavery, according to our conduct and exertions for liberty for a very short time longer; and that in the highest probability, had the army been once filled, the country would have had no farther occasion to have called for the militia, but could have made an effectual stand against all the efforts of the enemy, with a fair prospect of a speedy termination of the war."

and that the great laws of reason, virtue, and self-preservation, call aloud for universal attention to the matter of enlistments—which, it is added, cannot longer be neglected "without a dismal certain prospect, if constant rotations of the militia and husbandmen must be called off, of being *devoured by famine!*"

Well might the Proclamation thus appear—for at this time the enemy were making active preparations for their burning and plundering expeditions up the North River to Peekskill—up the Sound, for Danbury, and wherever else along the Connecticut coast they might find magazines of military stores, or property of any description, to seize or destroy. The whole western frontier of the State was reported by General Silliman to the Governor, as being in consternation on account of expected hostile attacks.

Raise your own brigade for defence then, in that quarter, wrote back Trumbull—watch the enemy most vigilantly—give me the earliest intelligence of every alarming appearance in your department. And he proceeded himself to renew his own orders to the guards all along the coast to be on the alert. He sent new cannon, and powder, and shot, for Stamford. He raised a new company of artillery for Fairfield. He ordered Colonel Latimer, with a fresh troop of two hundred men, to take post at New London. He mounted six new field pieces at this point, and in Groton—and with his Council, personally inspected the fortifications at both these places. In short, as in previous years, the Governor made all possible preparation to ward off the depredations that were threatened.

But spite of every precaution, an incursion came—and, for the first time, the foot of a foreign invader pressed the soil of old Connecticut. On the morning of April the twenty-fifth, the pestilent Tryon of New York—who had now added to his other titles that of a Major General in the British service—attracted by the fact that Danbury had become a large depot for military stores—and thirsting to avenge himself on a State which more than any other—through its militia especially under Wooster, and its dashing volunteers under Captain Sears—had vexed the repose of his administra-

tion—disembarked, from an imposing naval armament of twenty-six sail, two thousand men on Cedar Point, the eastern jaw of the river of Saugatuc. The time he had chosen for his enterprise was, for him, most opportune. Large numbers of the male population of Fairfield County were away defending the soil of other States. And without serious opposition, therefore, at first—signalizing his march by scattering alarm among defenceless women and children, and by battering a church at Reading on the Ridge with volleys of canister and grape—on Saturday, at about three o'clock in the afternoon—with a proud array of infantry, cavalry, and artillery—he entered the fair town which his vengeance had doomed to destruction.

The excesses which "characterize an unmerciful and exasperated enemy," soon followed. Night fell upon his soldiers in the fumes of a debauch—drunken, most of them, on the stores they had found of "rebel rum"—lurching as they walked, or clinging to fences or trees, or lying imbruted and sprawling in streets and door-ways.

> Early in the morning—morning too of the hallowed day—"while it was yet dark, the signal is given, and on a sudden, a livid and unnatural glare chases night from the sky. The torch is carried from house to house, and from store to store. From the sacred recesses of home, from the roofs that guard the hard-earned savings of a frugal people, the fire breaks upon the surrounding darkness, and joins in the general havoc of the element. The aspiring tongues of flame climb and curl around the spire of the Congregational Church, until it totters and falls into the burning mass. The sun, as it rises, looks only upon the flickering embers of a once smiling village, save where, here and there, a solitary house stood unscathed, but branded with the indelible stigma,* of harboring only traitors to freedom. By the cold light of early dawn, is seen, not the stealthy savage, but the disciplined army of a Christian king, stealing away from the desolation they had caused, and from the avenger on their heels, while the aged and the young, the sick, the helpless, and the infirm, gather round the smouldering ashes, for that warmth, which is all that is left of the comforts of home."†

Nineteen dwelling houses, the Congregational Church, twenty-two stores and barns, with all their contents, sixteen

* *A white cross*, conspicuously painted on every tory's dwelling, and outbuildings, and on the Episcopal Church.

† Hon. H. C. Deming's Oration on Gen. David Wooster.

hundred tents, more than one thousand barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of grain, several hundred barrels of beef, and more than three thousand barrels of pork, fell a prey to the devouring element. And the glutted foe—vainly, though bravely opposed, on their return march, by seven hundred undisciplined militia, under the intrepid, but death-doomed Wooster, and under Silliman and Arnold—superior numbers, and their own resistless showers of grape and small shot, protecting their way—gained in safety the refuge of their ships.

It was on the evening of the very day on which Danbury was thus set on fire by the British troops that Trumbull, by express, received news of the startling event. There he was at the time—at Lebanon—sitting with his Council on the Lord's Day—as frequently, during the war, he was obliged to do. All the day before, he had been exceedingly busy. He had been preparing and sending letters on to Boston and New Hampshire, pressing the authorities there to hasten their troops forward to General Gates at the North. He had been arranging for a guard of "four men, each night, two at a time," for the important foundry at Salisbury. He had been writing instructions to the naval agent of Connecticut at Boston, Mr. Elliot, in regard to Connecticut prizes—three valuable ones, which one of his own commissioned naval officers—Captain Smedley of the brig Defence—had then recently taken, and carried into ports at the east. The day following, he doubtless thought, while thus engaged—was to bring him relief from labors like these, and the grateful repose of pious devotion. But War knows no Sabbaths. The evening of Saturday found a panting post-rider at his door with the report that Tryon had just landed at Cedar Point, and that other ships of the enemy were making their predatory way up the North River. And now, Sunday evening—Danbury, he heard, was in ashes.*

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* "Amidst this scene of fear and sympathy, of hurry and flight, a Mrs. Clark, wife of Capt. James Clark, a woman of singular fortitude, remained after the inhabitants had retired, to dispose of her family and secure her goods, and was in fact the last whig female that left the town upon the entrance of the enemy." (From "Remarks upon the British Expedition to Danbury," by Elisha D. Whittlesey, in the New York Historical Society's Collections, 2d Series, Vol. II., Part I., p. 230.)

To the new and perilous crisis, therefore, he turned at once, and met it with anxious consultation, and ready expedients. He ordered General Huntington on to the scene of danger. He armed him with power to collect the militia in the western quarter of the State, and to hurry up the Continental troops. Apprehending that the enemy might suddenly change their point of attack from the western to the eastern parts of the State, he instructed the Colonels of four eastern regiments to hold their companies in readiness "to act on the most sudden alarm"—and at the same time ordered stores, for every emergency, to be provided in all the towns of the State.

The measures thus taken fortunately warded off any immediate renewal of aggressions upon Connecticut. Tryon, dreading the alarm his expedition had created—after lying for awhile at his anchorage in the harbor of Huntington, Long Island—returned to New York—and Governor Trumbull, from rendering military support to those who had suffered by the wanton incursion of the British General, turned to aid them in a new form.

Many tories at Danbury, and even certain parties among the American troops there—low, unprincipled militia-men and others—taking advantage of the general confusion and alarm, plundered the distressed inhabitants of such goods and effects as chance, or the neglect of the enemy had left them—and to such an extent as to call loudly for the interference of the power of the State. This power was promptly applied—and in the shape of a public Proclamation from Trumbull himself—who—after reciting the outrage, and launching against it his loudest rebuke—commanded every offender, and every person who had either found or taken any effects of the sufferers, straightway to make restitution—under penalty, for neglect or disobedience, of suffering the full pains of the laws against theft and larceny. And he empowered the Civil Authority and Selectmen of towns, and Grand Juries, to take the most vigilant measures for carrying this his command into effect. They were to call before them all suspected persons whomsoever—and examine them—and the same report to the Governor—in order that—as his Proc-

lamation concludes—"justice may be done against such high-handed offenders—that all may be made to know that the persons and properties of all the inhabitants of this State, whatever their character or denominations may be, all shall be protected against such daring violations thereof."

The interval which succeeded the Danbury Alarm—down to the time when Washington marched with his main army southward towards Philadelphia—both so far as regards the defence of the western frontiers of Connecticut, and of its sea-coast—was occupied by Trumbull in a manner quite similar to that which we have already described.

So far as troops are concerned, he had to raise two new battalions, of seven hundred and twenty-eight men each—one new company of Rangers, consisting of ninety men, which the General Assembly placed under his own particular direction—and one new company of Artillery-men. All of these he had, of course, to supply—to distribute at various points, or keep in readiness every moment for action.

As a renewed attack upon Connecticut, or its neighborhood—or up the North River—was a matter of daily expectation, he ordered General Silliman's brigade, and one-fourth of General Ward's, to be prepared for an instantaneous march to the western border. He directed Colonel Ely to gather the residue of his regiment at New London—Colonel Enos to gather his own soon as possible at Newhaven—and Colonel Douglas to be ready with the companies of *his* brigade to march to any place attacked. He sent one-quarter of seven regiments of militia and of the Alarm List, to man the forts of New London and Groton. He detained four hundred Continental troops under General Parsons to defend Greenwich and the adjacent country. He provided additional cannon, round shot, grape shot, powder—of which he made large collections—ammunition-carts, draught horses, tools, utensils, and provisions, for the fortifications, soldiers, and guards along the whole sea-line and western line of the State. He gave orders continually to artificers, paymasters, muster-masters, and commissaries in every direction. He

sent instructions constantly to the chief commanding officers throughout the State.*

And well was Trumbull rewarded for this his extraordinary activity of preparation—for during the whole interval with which we are now concerned, he kept the enemy at bay. They had no opportunity to penetrate Connecticut. On the other hand, they found themselves, on one brilliant occasion, attacked and overpowered by some of the forces that Trumbull had raised. We refer to the gallant expedition of Colonel Meigs from Sachem's Head to Sag Harbor. How must the Governor's heart have thrilled with satisfaction, when—in the beginning of June—he read the following letter—dated Newhaven, May thirtieth—from General Parsons!

"I sincerely congratulate your Honor," proceeds the General—"on the success of our arms on Long Island. Col. Meigs left Sachem's Head on Friday, at 1 o'clock, P. M., with a detachment of 160 men, officers included, and landed within three miles of Sag Harbor, about one at night; and having made the proper arrangement for attacking the enemy in five different places, proceeded in the greatest order and silence within twenty rods of the enemy, when they rushed on with fixed bayonets, upon the different barracks, guards, and quarters of the enemy; while Capt. Troop, with a party under his command, at the same time, took possession of the wharves and vessels lying there. The alarm soon became general, and an incessant fire of grape and round shot was kept up from an armed schooner of twelve guns, which lay within 150 yards of the wharves, for near an hour; notwithstanding which, the party

* Here is a specimen of his instructions in one instance to a commanding officer. We give it but as one out of hundreds of similar communications.

"You will take care," he wrote Colonel Ely at New London, July eighteenth—"that the men are kept clean, and to duty. * * You will take care and prevent all kinds of embezzlements and abuses of arms, ordnance stores, tools, and utensils owned by the public. * * You will take care that the military officers and the matrosses attend, and do faithfully their duty, and from time to time give information and all needful intelligence to this Board. You will attend to the services to be performed by every part of your regiment; to see them duly ordered and performed, and direct advice to be given you in case of the appearance of an enemy, or an attack; you will put all in proper posture of defence, and on every necessary occasion forward intelligence to me, and make needful alarms. You will give the necessary orders for preventing the landing of the enemy. You will, as soon as may be, send me a return of your regiment, in due form. And you will attend and obey all orders you may receive from me, or other your superior officers. You are also to take care, and make all proper enquiry of all such vessels, boats, &c., as pass the fort, and attend to the law and the orders which may be further given for your direction."

burnt all the vessels at the wharf, killed and captured all the men who belonged to them, destroyed about one hundred tons of hay, large quantities of grain, ten hogsheads of rum, and other West India goods, and secured all the soldiers who were stationed there; the prisoners are about ninety, among whom are Mr. Chew and Mr. Bell. I have the satisfaction of being informed that the officers and men, without exception, behaved with the greatest order and bravery, and not a man on our side either killed or wounded.

"Eleven vessels, great and small, were destroyed in the above affair, and the prisoners taken were about one-third seamen—the others generally American recruits, and sent to Hartford."*

The residue of the year 1777—so far as the Home Defence which we have now under consideration, is concerned, was spent by Trumbull in services such in the main as those that have now been described. Save in his addition, in September, to the troops on the seashore, of the new company of Rangers ordered in May—under Peter Griffing, whom he commissioned as commander—and save also exertions which he made, during the fall, to fill up the two battalions, of seven hundred and twenty-eight men each, that had been specially ordered for the defence of the State—nothing occurred in this department to vary his former routine of duties.

As regards supplies—during the whole of the year 1777—notwithstanding the removal of the Main Army under Washington from Connecticut and vicinity to a new region around Philadelphia, whence it might have been expected to have drawn its support—Trumbull seems to have been equally laborious as in the two preceding years. Embargoes and permits, for the purpose of securing provisions of various sorts, were quite as numerous this year as before—the latter, even more so. He gave them for the transportation of West India goods to the army in New York, and of sugar, rum, tea, and coffee, to the army in New Jersey. He gave them

*As a mark of their approbation of the conduct of Colonel Meigs upon this occasion, "Congress," says Chief Justice Marshall, "directed a sword to be presented to him, and passed a resolution expressive of the high sense entertained of his merit, and of the prudence, activity, and valor, displayed by himself and his party, in this expedition."—He moved in it "with such uncommon celerity, as to have transported his men, by land and water, ninety miles in twenty-five hours."

for flax to be carried into Massachusetts, and made into clothes for the American troops. He gave them for vessels to go out with produce to the West Indies, and return loaded with salt and munitions of war.* It was his policy to keep the State stocked with the various articles necessary for subsistence—and he succeeded—so that he was not only able to provide, to a great extent, for the American army, but also for some of the inhabitants of other States, when they were in want—as he did, upon several occasions, for some in the State of New York, and for the inhabitants also of Nantucket. Connecticut, under his wise administration of its resources, became known throughout the War of the Revolution, as emphatically "the PROVISION STATE!"

* He gave them for numerous transport wagons, that with grain, butter, cheese, pork, and beef, were destined for various points in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and even distant Pennsylvania. Once, on account of a deficiency in flour, he sent the Spy, Capt. Niles, to Virginia to procure it—and once to Bedford for goods.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1777.

Trumbull hears that the British fleet has sailed southward, but may speedily return. His preparations in consequence. Himself and Rhode Island military affairs. Military affairs at the North. Trumbull continues to strengthen the army there. An interview between him and a deputation of Oneida warriors—whom he conciliates with a "talk," and with presents. Burgoyne's unchecked progress southwards. Defeat of General St. Clair. The shock to the American people in consequence. Trumbull expresses his own bitter disappointment in letters to his son in law Williams. These letters. Notwithstanding defeat, he is still active to reenforce the army. The tide turns Battle of Saratoga, and triumph of the American arms. Joy of Trumbull. He participates in a solemn Thanksgiving in the Church at Hartford.

When the British fleet, in August, had sailed southward, and it was apprehended that its movement was only a decoy—that, taking advantage of Washington's march with the Main Army towards Philadelphia, it would return, and attack the posts in the Highlands, on the North River, and perhaps Connecticut again—Trumbull was informed of the exigency, and called upon for more troops, by an Express which reached him at Lebanon.*

At this time a Convention of New England Committees happened to be sitting at Springfield—and availing himself, therefore, of so large and authoritative an Assembly, Trumbull at once informed its members of the communication he had received, and asked their advice and cooperation. He asked also for ammunition. And when informed—

* "You may think it not necessary to keep a party at the White Plains, but, unless we do, the inhabitants will be ruined; their grass, grain, and cattle will all be taken off by the enemy. There are seven hundred militia at the forts and different posts, whose time is out to-day, and must be discharged. I have advised with General Clinton in respect to calling in the militia, and concluded that one thousand should be called for immediately, five hundred from Connecticut, and five hundred from this State; and an express was immediately sent off to Governor Trumbull, requesting them to be sent without delay."—*Gen. Putnam to Washington, July* 31, 1777.

as he was, immediately, by General Silliman, and General Oliver Wolcott—that, upon his intelligence, they had ordered detachments of men to Peekskill, he wrote them letters highly approving of their conduct, and sent a whole wagon-load of flints on after the troops to Woodbury.

At the same time he ordered General Erastus Wolcott to draft four hundred additional men from his own brigade, and send them to the same point on horseback—and to the same point, in September, he ordered three hundred more from the same General's brigade, and three hundred from General Ward's command. In November again—collecting two hundred additional men from each of the brigades of Generals Silliman, Oliver Wolcott, and Ward—and augmenting this force with the entire regiment of Colonel Ely—and providing them all with tents, and with six hundred new camp kettles from the furnace at Salisbury—he sent the whole body on to Peekskill—to cooperate with the troops already there under General Putnam, for the defence of Connecticut and "these United States."

His consultations with his Council, just at this juncture, were very constant. Dispatches flew from his Office at Lebanon to Putnam, to Washington, and to Congress—and from the same point also to Providence and Boston—with each particular of important news, as from time to time, from the westward, it reached his own door.* Up nearly to September—ere the destination of Howe's army was certainly known—it was a period indeed of intense anxiety to all New England—and to no man in this region probably as much so, considering the peculiar exertion he was called upon to make, as to Trumbull. It must, therefore, to his mind in particular have been a moment of great relief, when, August twenty-second, Washington wrote—"the enemy's fleet have entered Chesapeake. There is not the least danger of Howe's going to New England. Forward this account to Gov. Trumbull, to be by him sent on to the eastward."

* "Spent the day in preparing letters, and sending expresses"—is a frequent entry upon the Records of the Council of Safety, at this period.

And the Eastward, at this time, was also again a point of anxiety and labor for the Governor of Connecticut. The enemy still lay at Newport. The plan was to dislodge them, and to this plan Trumbull applied his usual energies. In the beginning of the year he consulted with his Council about it. He commissioned Captains of companies for the purpose. General Spencer came once and again to visit him in person at Lebanon, seeking further aid of men and means—and was authorized, in case he could procure cooperation from Massachusetts, to call upon a number of officers in the eastern part of Connecticut, for additional troops.

In the spring, Governor Trumbull sent him five companies of militia, and one thousand pounds.

As the autumn approached, he sent him, first, fifty-three men more—then a lieutenant and twenty-four privates, with wrought iron field pieces, and suitable horses and harnesses, from Norwich—and next, in October, renewed the order for Colonel Ely's regiment to join him, and sent teams to transport the baggage of the regiment, and continental stores.

And when—near the close of 1777—the Governor and Council of War of Rhode Island informed him of the great danger to Providence from the hostile ships of war then at Newport, and of the daily expectation of an attack upon this town—Trumbull, upon the emergency, crowned his labors for the year for Rhode Island, by ordering five hundred additional men, from the first and fifth brigades of Connecticut, to be marched, without delay, to the point of danger.

But the expedition proved a failure. There was not force enough in Rhode Island to dislodge the enemy. General Spencer, it is true, proposed to assail the foe at Newport, by a landing at Howland's ferry—on a point of land which projects from the island—and he erected a battery upon high grounds on the opposite shore. Do not make the attempt without the strongest probability of success, was, however, his direction from General Washington—"it is right not to risk a miscarriage." So the attempt, under the circumstances, with an inferior force, and one composed too, chiefly, of

raw militia—was abandoned, as too hazardous. It was a disappointment to Trumbull. The gentlemen,* however, whom, in November, at the request of General Spencer, he commissioned—with others from Massachusetts and Rhode Island—to inquire into the reasons of the failure of the expedition, reported extenuating causes, and Trumbull acquiesced.

Better success awaited his hopes and labors in another quarter—the Department of the North—to which now we again turn the Reader's attention—a department where, it will be remembered, Trumbull took at all times the intensest interest, and which, therefore, we shall look at somewhat closely.

The termination of the Campaign of 1776 in this quarter, saw the American army, by the expiration of enlistments, almost dissolved. Hardly troops enough were left there to keep up an appearance even of garrisons in the forts. They were so weak that serious apprehensions were entertained that the enemy, in case Lake Champlain should be frozen over, would cross the ice, and carry Ticonderoga by a *coup de main.* Schuyler, to be sure—who had now, on the resignation of Gates, accepted the chief command—was busy during the winter in making arrangements for the defence of Lake George, and in preparing generally for the ensuing campaign. But the business of recruiting went on very slowly. Spring had far advanced, and still but a very small force had been collected—a small fraction only of the fifteen thousand men, whom, in his plan for the campaign, he required.

The British, on the other hand, were exceedingly active. Burgoyne had passed the winter in England—where a plan for penetrating to the Hudson from Canada by way of the Lakes—one portion of the enemy by this route, and another, to cooperate and ultimately join it, by way of Oswego and the Mohawk River—was completely arranged by himself

* These Commissioners were, Gen. Jabez Huntington, Brigadier Gen. E. Wolcott, and Nathaniel Wales, Jr., who repaired to Providence for the investigation. Trumbull subsequently transmitted the doings of this Court of Inquiry, with an accompanying letter, to Congress, and this Body referred the whole matter over to a Committee.

and the British Ministry. In pursuance of this plan, troops embarked from England in the spring soon as it was practicable to sail up the St. Lawrence. Colonel St. Leger, with a party composed of new-raised Canadians, American tories, a few Europeans, and a powerful body of Indians, marched for Oswego. And General Burgoyne in person—in full force in May on the river Boquet, on the western bank of Lake Champlain—soon advanced on both sides this lake, until, July first, his van appeared within three miles of Ticonderoga, and threw up works of defence—the van of a formidable army indeed, which—furnished abundantly with every military equipment, and commanded by officers of the first reputation, and with a train of artillery the most powerful ever annexed to such an army—prepared for an immediate attack upon the Fort.

But about three thousand men at this time garrisoned the Fort—and these, through the industry of Schuyler, had been supplied with necessary stores, without calling much for aid except in the adjoining country of New-York, New-Hampshire, and Massachusetts.

Governor Trumbull, therefore, had not, as in the two preceding years, been overburdened with duty for the Northern Department. Still both in the winter and spring of 1777, he had done something for it—for it was never out of his mind. Early as February, he had received a letter from Schuyler, which expressed very strong expectation of a speedy attack on Ticonderoga, and pressed for men and supplies. In April he received another, to the same effect, from General Gates, with a request that he would communicate the information to Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire, and urge on their preparations. In June he received other letters of similar purport, from Colonel Burrall, General Poor, and General Fellows. To all these communications he paid attention, and sent on men, more or less, to reenforce the army—at one time drafting one-half of Colonel Burrall's regiment for the purpose, and equipping them fully to march, all or a part, as the exigency of the case might require.

Nor, prior to the appearance of Burgoyne's army before Ticonderoga, did he forget to aid the service at the North by continuing to exert a favorable influence upon the Indians of the Six Nations—particularly the Oneidas—in detaching them from the British, and allying them to American interests. He was familiar with all their conferences and treaties hitherto, with Schuyler, and with others—and now, in March of the present year, himself and his Council were visited by a deputation of their warriors from Oneida, accompanied by Mr. Kirtland—and "they held a long talk" together—just as in January the Governor had done with fifteen of the Chagnawaga Chiefs.*

These warriors were travelling through the States for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the war, and of reporting to the Six Nations. Governor Trumbull received them with great hospitality. He repeatedly met them before his Council. He listened to their speeches, and made appropriate replies—and after thoroughly conciliating their friendship and good wishes in behalf of the American cause, dismissed them, with handsome presents—among other things, with a finished gun, gun-lock, belt, and strings†—to pursue their journey. Kayendalongueva—Williamko, head warrior—Thaghnegtotis, pine splinter—Hendrake, second warrior—Shaleslago, blazing spear—Quedd, alias Peter—Yeghleytitzi, alias Joseph—Thaghlaghquisene, alias William—and Yolonghyagewea, clear sky—left Lebanon highly delighted, and carried back to their Indian allies most favorable reports both of the "Chief" of Connecticut, and of New-England generally.

June 30. "Advice was received from Gen. Schuyler," say the Proceedings of the Council of Safety at this date—"that the British fleet and army had advanced as far as Crown Point, and that a strong party

* "On the 15th instant there came 15 of the Chagnawaga chiefs or great men, to see my father, and are now on their way to camp"—says David Trumbull in a letter from Lebanon, Jan. 14, 1777, to his brother Joseph.

† The gun, which was a beautiful article, costing twenty-three dollars, was procured by Colonel Elderkin—and the Governor's son-in-law, Col. Huntington, furnished the lock, which was of very curious and elaborate construction. They were both manufactured in Connecticut, and were presented avowedly *as specimens of American manufacture.*

had gone by way of the Creek, for the purpose of falling in between Ticonderoga and Skenesborough—and that another detachment had marched on the west side of Lake George, in order, if possible, to cut off Lake George, &c., and requested that the militia might be ordered to march soon as possible to their assistance, and rendezvous either at Fort Edward or Fort Ann."

Here commenced with the Governor again active duties for the Northern Department. He immediately made General Wolcott aware of the impending danger, and instructed him to hold his whole brigade in readiness for service—to draft by rotation one-half of it—and upon such information as he should receive, to march for the assistance of the Northern army, or for the relief of any place attacked, either on the North River, or at the Northward. And at the same time he sent to Wolcott a team loaded with powder, lead, and flints, and directed him to procure from Salisbury a load of cannon shot.

But the reenforcements from Connecticut, as well as those from other States, came all too late for General St. Clair. On the fifth of July, in the night, with all his troops, his invalids, and stores—believing that he could not withstand the superior force of the enemy—he evacuated Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence. And, taking his way—a portion of his troops through Castleton by land, and a portion by water to Skenesborough—amid disaster after disaster, at Castleton—at Skenesborough—at Fort Ann—and in every direction in the neighborhood of these places—with total loss of his military stores—without baggage—badly armed, and thoroughly dispirited by defeat—he at last joined General Schuyler at Fort Edward.

This was a terrible shock to the whole American people. The necessity for evacuating Ticonderoga could not be understood, and the act was almost universally, in the first impulses of disappointment and passion, condemned as one of cowardice, or treachery, or of both. There was the fort there—with a garrison reported by Schuyler as consisting of no less than five thousand men—a force not inferior, it was supposed, to that of the invading army—with a supply of provisions and military stores understood to be most ample—

with fortifications, the key to the whole western country, upon which a vast quantity of money and labor had been expended—with a train of artillery consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight pieces—there was this fort, thus complete and deemed invulnerable, abandoned without a siege—with all its stores fallen into the hands of the enemy—and its flying army attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by an ostentatious, galling, and triumphant foe! Astonishment seized the minds of all men—but upon no one did the blow fall with more stunning effect than upon the energetic Governor of Connecticut, who had so long, with warmest anticipations of success, nursed the defence of the North. With Washington, and as Washington expressed himself at the time, he felt it to be "an event of chagrin and surprise not appertaining nor within the compass of his reasoning." And in a letter, July fourteenth, to his son-in-law Williams, he gave vent to his feelings in language of patriotic regret and remonstrance.

"There must be some very material circumstances," he wrote—"in addition to what I now know, before I can conceive the necessity, that a garrison, well filled with provisions, ammunition, and military stores, with above one hundred cannon &c., and between three and four thousand men—I believe more, for Col. Robinson, with six or seven hundred men, went in with militia just before this evacuation—should be abandoned—at the appearance of an enemy. I say the appearance only, because I don't learn that a gun had been fired, save by some scouting parties &c. But Heaven hath so decreed—it must be so. God will save us in the way that seems good to him. The future kind interposition of Providence is my support. * * Hath not some internal enemy had a hand in this? Will not their mischief and spite recoil on their guilty heads?"

Trumbull, it will be observed, more than hints his apprehension that some treachery had been at work in causing the evacuation of Ticonderoga. But hear him again on the same subject, and after Burgoyne, having forced our troops from Ticonderoga, had driven them also from Skenesborough and Fort Ann—had charged their rear guard under Colonel Warner, and dispersed it with a loss to the latter of three hundred men—and was advancing in triumph upon a foe, which, now but the shadow of an army, fled before him leaving the

whole country open to his approach. In a letter at this time, July twenty-sixth, also to Williams—in a strain of almost fiery rebuke—under the information which he then possessed, he denounces the whole proceeding on the part of the Americans as a most unjustifiable disappointment of the hopes of the country, and pointedly lays the blame where he thinks it belongs.

"The deplorable situation of our affairs at the North," he proceeds—"loudly calls for immediate attention, and most spirited measures. Should there be any delay of a public enquiry, the consequences may be very serious.

"The idea of treachery seems to be more generally adopted. Some indeed assign political reasons for permitting the enemy to come down upon the Grants—none attempt an excuse for evacuating the Northern Posts. All reprobate the measure. I believe but very few will undertake to account for it even upon principles of cowardice, and indeed the whole conduct seems to carry with it the evident marks of deliberate intention.

"'Tis said the Council of War [in Ticonderoga] were unanimous in opinion. If the Posts were not tenable, why was not this discovered before an appearance of the enemy? Why all the cannon, ordnance, stores, tents, clothing, provisions, &c., &c., hurried up into this place? Why that drove of cattle suffered to come and remain there after the Council had determined on flight, and before an actual evacuation? Why was no part of the provision, stores, &c., sent away or destroyed, but all preserved, and left for the enemy's use? To what purpose is the Adjutant General's account of numbers but about half so high as the Quarter Master's Return? Why is the flight performed with such disorder and confusion as to prevent every proper precaution being taken, and the rear guard left at so great a distance from the main body in the rapid retreat, and all the feeble in the army left to fall back upon the rear guard, as if on purpose to retard their march, and no succor afforded them when actually attacked by the enemy?

"The officers of lower rank and soldiers were all in high spirits, and impatient for battle—why then were they hurried off in such seeming premeditated disorder at only the distant approach of the enemy, when succors were known to be coming to their relief? What makes the different accounts between the General and Commissary in the quantity of provisions? Why should the reasons of all this mysterious conduct be concealed from public view, at a time when it is most important for them to be known—and some feeble excuses attempted to be thrown out before there was time for an external accusation? Nothing short of the most spirited and vigorous measures upon this occasion can maintain and pre-

serve the complete and full confidence of the people. Some are disposed to say, as Joab did to David, 'tis not probable our men will submit to be commanded by these officers—nothing short of a recall of them, and an immediate examination into the matter, to be made public, will give satisfaction. Such officers must be immediately placed in that Department as the people have entire confidence in."

Notwithstanding the severe disappointment which Trumbull thus strongly expresses, he yet set himself immediately to work—during the months of August and September—to aid, so far as it was in his power, in repairing the damages at the North, and placing the army there in a situation to compete with the enemy.

Ten thousand men were wanted for this purpose. Towards completing this number—besides some Connecticut troops which he forwarded from the Continental Army at Peekskill—Trumbull sent on to Gates between three and four hundred of the militia of General Wolcott's brigade, including twenty-five Light Horsemen, and a few of the thirteenth regiment of Volunteers. He detached also one-half of the troops of Lighthorse in the State, not then in service elsewhere, and superintended the raising of other troops. In the whole, two entire regiments—to be held in service two months from the time of joining the army, and consisting, all told, of about two thousand men—were raised and marched by him to repulse the progress of the enemy at the North.

They were fully armed and equipped—his son David superintending the repair of old fire arms brought from Albany, in part for their service, and James Bull collecting for them cattle and other stock. Everything in the way of pay, bounty, allowances, and refreshments, was completely arranged—the Governor holding frequent consultations with his Council on this matter, and upon the situation of affairs generally at the north—corresponding often with the officers there—transmitting intelligence from them to the States at the East, and stimulating exertions in that direction—and in all respects meeting the wishes of General Washington that he should "put forth new exertions proportioned to the exigency of the times," and "by a spirited opposition check the

progress of Burgoyne's arms." So that now—the preparations completed—with the Father of his Country—from "a dark and gloomy aspect" in the past, he looked forward "to a fortunate and happy change."

This change soon came. That remediless accumulation of dangers and difficulties upon the head of Burgoyne, by which at last he was rendered utterly unable to retreat save by crossing the Hudson in the face of a most formidable foe, that was posted all along the opposite shore—his consequent abandonment of such a purpose as impracticable, and his desperate determination to make one more trial of strength with his adversary—that eventful trial, the Battle of Saratoga—the successful attack on the British right—the equally successful one on the British left—and that general assault, under a tremendous fire of grape shot and musketry, upon all the British works in front, which finally compelled the foe to give way—to retreat, to sadden, despair, capitulate, to ground their arms—and surrender—about seven thousand men, their entire army—as prisoners of war—with seven thousand stand of arms—with clothing for seven thousand recruits—with an immense train of artillery, and a large and valuable amount of military stores of every description—all these stirring facts are familiar to the reader of history. They lifted the long past of American struggle at the North out from the pit, and up to the mountain top. They crowned it with interminable glory. The wand of British invincibility was broken. America looked like a giant, that snapping, as withes, each cord of constraint with which British tyranny had attempted to bind its stalwart limbs, was prepared to stalk out upon the platform of colossal life, and take its place—free, prosperous, and happy—proudly and forever—among the Independent Nations of the earth.

Upon the heart of no man did the news of the splendid victory at Saratoga fall with more thrilling effect, than upon that of Governor Trumbull of Connecticut. No Chief Magistrate of any State received a memorializing share of Burgoyne's captured artillery with fonder exultation.* Few

* "Half a mile this side of Litchfield [Conn.] I remarked on the right a barrack surrounded by palisades, which appeared to me like a guard house. I ap-

men did the event so profoundly penetrate with sentiments of pious thankfulness, and gratitude to God. He was prepared somewhat for the event—for his confidence was high.

"This Aurora Borealis," he wrote to Washington, soon as he heard of the Battle of Stillwater, and the retirement of the enemy back towards Saratoga from this place—"this Aurora Borealis, I hope, may not only dispel the gloom, and establish our affairs in that quarter, but be the forerunner of success and victory in every other department." His first intelligence that the light he saw was no delusion—no meteor to flash and then expire—was verbal. It came to him, but reliably, as it passed everywhere, current upon every tongue.

"How interesting—how important the victory!"—he exclaimed, writing to his son at the North. "Give to General Gates my hearty compliments and congratulations on his success. Very conspicuous is the hand of the Lord in bringing it about. To him be all the glory and praise ascribed. Let us trust and wait on him for his salvation and success in other departments!"

"May we praise"—he wrote to William Williams—after announcing to him the triumph, and his momentary expectation of receiving, by express, all the particulars concerning it—"may we praise the name of the Lord that has caused us to know his hand and might, that his name is the Lord—it is marvellous in our eyes! May we rejoice with thanksgiving for this success and salvation. May we likewise rejoice in hope that he will give us success and victory over our enemies in their other enterprises against us. The Assembly have desired the ministers of this town [Hartford] to meet at the House of worship to celebrate the praises of the Lord of Hosts."

Thus with patriotic fervor, and deep religious sensibility, did Governor Trumbull rejoice over an event the most momentous of all which had yet signalized the American arms. And no doubt—when with the General Assembly of Connecticut, and the ministers and people in the Capital City of

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proached it, and saw in this small enclosure ten pieces of brass cannon, a mortar, and a swivel. This I heard was *a part of Burgoyne's artillery*, which fell to the share of the State of Connecticut."—*Marquis de Chastellux.*

the State, he met, as was proposed, at the House of God—no doubt his prayers upon this occasion went up to the great Benefactor of his country loaded more deeply with thanksgiving, and more beautified with hope, and confidence for the future, than those of any other worshiper, who—within the walls of the Centre Church at Hartford—gave ear to the Reverend Mr. Williams,* as in an appropriate discourse this worthy Divine memorialized the exceeding victory, and uttered to the Fountain of Mercy, and Father of Light, the language of souls o'erfraught with gratitude, and feeding on substantial bliss.

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* Of East Hartford, Connecticut.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1777.

Trumbull in the naval sphere. The Sound, as usual, infested with hostile ships. His powers, duties, and labors as Chief Naval Officer of the State. Prizes this year—their number and value. Trumbull in this connection. Maritime losses this year small—maritime gains large. Prisoners this year—numerous as usual—some specified. Trumbull in this connection again. Their exchange exacts much labor. Sad state of many Americans whom he released. His remonstrances in behalf of such. Tories and malignants in Connecticut. Their detection and treatment by Trumbull. His care for sick soldiers. His care for the farming interests of the soldier. He rotates agricultural with military labor.

Another sphere of duty remains to be described ere we close the account of Trumbull's labors, in the department of defence, for the year on which we now dwell. We allude to the naval sphere.

Long Island Sound was, as usual, this year crowded with vessels of the enemy. They had their places of rendezvous, as in previous times, upon the Long Island coast—at Sag Harbor particularly—at Oyster Bay—Gardiner's Bay—and at Huntington Bay, distant not more than eight or nine miles from the islands of Norwalk—and from these nesting points they came out frequently to annoy, distress, and plunder the inhabitants of the Connecticut Main. They came both by day and night, to seize property, take prisoners, abuse women and children, fire houses—chiefly those that were solitary and defenceless—and to create general consternation. The newspapers of the day are filled with notices of their hostile appearance, the present year, upon and off the Connecticut coast.*

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* Thus in January, first nine British ships, then ten and two brigs, and next twenty-one sail of the enemy's ships, passed New London harbor up and down the Sound. In February, the Niger—a ship-of-war of thirty-six guns—lay at the west end of Fisher's Island. In March, first a British frigate, and two or three tenders, appeared in New Haven harbor—next eleven sail of men-of-war and transports appeared at the west end of Fisher's Island—came to anchor—landed troops, and carried off much valuable stock—and next twenty ships, ready for

Governor Trumbull, therefore, very often assembled his Council to consult upon matters relating to the enemy's ships and cruisers—urged naval preparations for the State at large—gave constant orders to the Connecticut Marine, and commissioned privateers. He had much to do also, as in former years, in fitting out the various armed vessels of the State—and besides this, in the course of the year he was called upon to overlook the construction of two frigates for the United States—one of thirty-six, and the other of twenty-eight guns.*

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plunder, lay at anchor in Gardiner's Bay. Besides, two were seen coming through Plumb-Gut, and one passed New London to the Eastward. In April, about thirty sail, British men-of-war and transports, passed New London, and one large ship went down, and another went up the Sound. In May, first a considerable number of ships and other vessels, with some flat-bottomed boats, appeared off Stamford—next about twenty hostile ships, soon again one brig, two schooners, and four sloops belonging to the enemy, went up the Sound past New London. In June, first two ships and a sloop passed New London—and next a party of men from three British ships landed at Sachem's Head, in Guilford, burned a large dwelling house, owned by Mr. Leete, and two barns, and carried off several cattle, calves, and sheep. In July, in the night, a number of the British landed four miles west of Norwalk, and took off over forty head of cattle, and the next night attempted, but unsuccessfully, to land east of this town—and on one Sabbath Day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, twenty-three sail of British ships appeared off New London harbor, and so excited the fears of the inhabitants of New London, that alarm guns were fired, and the troops got under arms. In August, seven sail of British ships passed New London—next three appeared in the Sound several days—and next, one Monday morning, the British Swan, and three tenders, came to off Milford Farms, landed about forty men, attempted to seize cattle, broke the windows and doors of Mr. Merwin's house, and destroyed his beds and furniture—but upon the assembling of the people, they retired with great precipitation. In September, first eight sail of shipping went down the Sound—then near thirty sail were seen under Long Island shore, taking in wood—and next a fleet of twenty-one sail came out of Gardiner's Bay, and went down the Sound. In October, a fleet of twenty sail went up the Sound—and in November, a frigate and three other vessels went down the Sound.

* Early in February, by Resolution of Congress, himself and his Council were empowered to determine at what places in Connecticut two frigates should be built—one of thirty-six, and the other of twenty-eight guns—and to appoint proper persons to execute and superintend the business of their construction. The superintendents thus appointed—one upon the river Thames, and one at Chatham, where the vessels were to be built—had frequent occasion to apply to Trumbull for advice in executing their contracts, and for the money and provisions needed for their purposes—and they were heard and answered. The Governor also often corresponded with the Marine Committee at Philadelphia respecting these vessels—and received and disbursed the payments from Congress for their construction—as, for instance, July twelfth, $20,000, in part payment for the frigate then building on the Thames—and at the same time examined and settled the accounts of the builders.

His powers and duties in the Naval Department may be estimated somewhat, from the new Naval Code which was established by Connecticut this year. By this, he was to take from the captain of a ship, before she sailed on a cruise, a complete list of the officers and men, with the time and terms of their enlistment—and after the return of such ship, another complete list of the same, together with an account of the necessary articles delivered out to each man. He was fully empowered to appoint a Court Martial for the trial of all capital crimes, and for many not capital, committed at sea on board any of the vessels of war belonging to the State. And it was made the duty of the President of any Court Martial to transmit to the Governor every sentence which should be given, with a summary of the evidence and proceedings—no sentence being to be put in execution until it was laid before him—and he being armed with power to confirm it, or respite the offender to the next session of the General Assembly. Here are functions which, in the activity of the Connecticut Marine this year, were frequently called into exercise—save in the matter of naval Court Martials—where, to the great credit of those seamen of the State who manned her vessels of war—and as appears abundantly from many records—the interposition of the Governor was but little required.

Another of Trumbull's duties this year—as in past times—and one quite onerous, related to prizes. Very many of these—both by armed ships of the State, and by privateers which he commissioned—were brought into the ports of Connecticut, and some to the ports of Massachusetts. The prize brig Anna and her cargo, worth—not to cite shillings and pence—twenty-six hundred and sixty-three pounds—the brig Medway, worth thirty-five hundred pounds—the snow Swift, worth five thousand nine hundred and three pounds—the barque Lydia, worth six thousand six hundred and seventy-six pounds—the sloop Dolphin, worth ten hundred and six pounds—the brigantine Honor, worth ten thousand six hundred and ninety-two pounds—a prize sloop brought in by Captain Conklin in his privateer, with seven thousand barrels of rum on board—a large prize ship, with four hund-

red and thirty-nine hogsheads of sugar, brought into New London by Captain Champlin—a prize ship from Scotland, laden, among other things, with seven thousand pounds worth of linens, brought in by Captain Chew—and a prize ship taken into Boston by the Oliver Cromwell, with quite a quantity of dollars and of wrought plate on board—these are among the important captures which the little Navy of Connecticut made during the year now under consideration.* The entire value of all the vessels and cargoes thus taken, amounted to not less, it may reasonably be calculated, than two hundred thousand pounds, or about six hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars.†

All these prizes now, were reported to Trumbull—the Chief Naval Officer, as well as Chief Magistrate of Connecticut—and he was, of course, much employed at times in giving orders respecting them—now receiving and examining with care the invoices of cargoes—now looking to a distribution and delivery of these cargoes, part to the State, and part to the captors—a policy which gave great stimulus to efforts‡—now purchasing portions for the army or navy of

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* Take other examples. In January, the privateer *American Revenue*, Capt. Champlin of New London, took a brig from Quebec, laden with fish, and sent her into Bedford. In February, the same privateer took a large schooner from Ireland, laden with flour, bread, butter, &c., and linen. In April, the same privateer, and the Defence, brought in four valuable prizes, and Capt. Wattles, in a small sloop letter of marque, owned in Norwich, took a brig from Europe with a valuable cargo, and Capt. Smedley took a large barque from Liverpool bound to Pensacola. In June, the privateer *Fanny*, of Groton, carried a prize ship into Bedford, Mass. In July, the sloop *Trumbull* sent a prize brig, with five or six thousand pounds of coffee, &c., into N. London, and sent another prize brig, with ninety-eight hogsheads of rum, into Marblehead. In August, Capt. Champlin sent into Boston a brig laden with rum, and also two schooners, one of which had on board, among other things, two hundred and twenty hogsheads of rum. And Capt. Jason Chester, in a small armed boat from Middletown, in one week took five sail of coasting vessels, and sent them into Connecticut River—and a prize brig, laden with beef, pork, butter, flour, &c., was brought in by the Oliver Cromwell, &c., &c.

† The year before—1776—the value of prizes made by all the armed vessels of New England—amounted, it is conceded by English authors, to no less than one million of pounds sterling. Americans, with more of probability, claimed that it was not less than two millions of pounds—an amount which was nearly equalled in 1777. The share, therefore, of Connecticut, was at least that stated in the text—and in all probability was greater.

‡ Under the Naval Code of Connecticut at this time, all captures, prizes, and shares, belonged, one-half to the State, and one-half to the use of the captors—

Connecticut—and now sending to Samuel Elliot, Junior—naval agent for the State at Boston—schedules of such articles as he wished reserved for particular use, and directing the disposition of the remainder.

Spite of the fact that, during the year 1777, the Sound was crowded with hostile vessels—and spite of their activity—the maritime losses of Connecticut were not large—and the Governor, his marine agents, and the people at large, had good reason to congratulate themselves upon the general result. Save, in January, the loss of two little sloops from New-London—in March, the loss of a sloop from Newhaven, Captain Bonticue, and of the schooner Olive from New-London, Bulkley master, and of the sloop Polly from Killingworth, Griffin master—in July, of four small sloops, under the command respectively of Captains Rogers, Bigelow, Palmer, and Stillman—in October, of the sloop Two Brothers, a privateer from New London—and in December, of the sloop Schuyler, which ran on shore on a spit of sand near Long Island, and was taken by a British frigate—save these losses, and a few other inconsiderable ones in the way of small coasters and fishing craft, Connecticut suffered but little in her marine.

And these losses were infinitely overbalanced by the gains which the State made through her own naval captures. Brave privateersmen, commissioned by Trumbull in great numbers—"ever ready, ever serviceable, alert in discovering

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the necessary charges of condemnation being first deducted. The captain of an armed vessel had for his share of the moiety of any prize, two-twentieth parts. The lieutenant of the ship and of the marines, the surgeons, chaplains, pursers, boatswains, gunners, carpenters, masters and mates, had three-twentieth parts equally divided among them. The midshipmen, clerk, surgeon's mate, steward, sailmaker, cooper, armorer, boatswain's mate, cook, cockswain, and serjeants of marines, had three-twentieth parts equally divided among them. The remaining twelve-twentieth parts of the moiety, were divided among the rest of the ship's company, share and share alike. The first discoverer of a ship or vessel which should be made a prize, was entitled to a double share of such prize—and he who should first board any ship or other vessel making resistance, was made entitled to a triple share of such prize.

The Governor of the State also, it would seem, was entitled to a share. In a letter to his son, dated Nov. 6th, 1777, Trumbull says: "I hear the Weymouth packet is adjudged to the captors. They will not dispute the Commander-in-chief's *one-twentieth of the whole.* I have made a power of attorney for you to act for me in that matter."

smugglers, in intercepting unlawful communications, in taking prizes, and in giving notice of the movements of the enemy"—shot out from almost every one of her ports—but particularly from New London, where a band of sea captains—"prompt, valiant, experienced, and danger-loving"—some natives of the town, and others from Groton, Norwich, Middletown, and Saybrook—had their rendezvous—and from whence prizes, if pursuit was feared, might be hurried with facility, out of sight, and in security, up the Thames to Norwich. The naval history of Connecticut, this year—thanks to Governor Trumbull, to the agents he employed, to the officers he commissioned, and to the seamen whom he caused to be enlisted—is one in which she may justly take a pride.

The War, of course, throughout the year 1777, continued to bring its prisoners into Connecticut—to be placed under the general, and often the special custody of Trumbull. And they were about as numerous this year as usual. In January, for example, he received twenty British officers and soldiers who arrived at Hartford from the westward—and thirty tories and soldiers, taken at Hackensack by a detachment from General Parsons' brigade, who arrived at Middletown—and at the same time a party of one hundred and sixty more, part of three hundred taken at Princeton, were on their way to Hartford. In September, Captain Harding sent him the entire crews of the prize ship Weymouth, and the brigantine Honor, taken by the Oliver Cromwell. In October, another party of thirty, and still another of twenty, were sent from New York. And again in the same month, fifteen more arrived, who had been taken in an assault upon an armed schooner in the North River—and one hundred and twenty British soldiers, together with five Hessian officers, who had been taken at the northward previous to the capitulation of General Burgoyne. So numerous in fact were prisoners in Connecticut in 1777, that it became necessary to devise new places for their security.*

*As barracks and a yard, for instance, on land of Isaac Kibbe at Enfield, and shops, stores, and other buildings at other places, and a ship—all of which were either hired or impressed for their confinement.

Though ably aided by Ezekiel Williams—now Commissary of prisoners in the place of Epaphras Bull—and by various Committees—the Governor still, as heretofore, had much to do concerning the captives, and in all that he did manifested his usual discretion, and a praiseworthy humanity. Wages where justly due to them, as to some from New York in April, were carefully settled. When sick from their crowded state in jail, as once in Hartford, such lodgings or barracks were provided as would prevent their sufferings. Some, the least obnoxious, were permitted to go at large in the State—on their parole. Many—on their parole to return, and not to give any intelligence, or prejudice the United States—were allowed, as in previous years, to go to their homes, and bring away their effects and necessaries. Some, on their parole, were even allowed to go to their homes without as well as within the State, and to remain there. Mistakes with regard to any of them—as when, for instance, they were found to have been forced into the British service against their will—were speedily rectified.

The Governor's hands were full too, this year, with the business of exchanging prisoners*—and the awful state in which he found very many Americans whom he had released, gave him intense anxiety and pain. There were those, for example, who in August were brought from Newport, emaciated almost to death—their "meagre countenances confirm-

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* Jan. 17th, for example, the captain, and thirteen others of the Gaspee sloop, were to be exchanged. In this same month, the marine agent at N. London went to New York, and exchanged forty prisoners, on the Governor's order. In March, Trumbull ordered all the prisoners at Windham, who wished it, that were taken by Commodore Hopkins, to be exchanged. He frequently sent instructions to Shaw at New-London, to proceed to New York with prisoners. Upon one occasion he redeemed Benjamin Ross, of Baltimore, from captivity, and paid his expenses homeward out of his own pocket. He frequently gave orders to Ezekiel Williams, Commissary of Prisoners, to the same effect—of which the following is an example:—

July 16. "State of Connecticut, by the Governor: To Ezekiel Williams, Esq., commissary of prisoners:—You are hereby directed to deliver to Captain Samuel Lyon, of Rye, in the State of New-York, Henry Hallock, a seaman, and one other seaman, prisoners to this State, such as you may judge convenient (never an inhabitant in this State,) to be exchanged for a son of said Capt. Samuel Lyon, and one other person, a friend of his, who are prisoners with our enemies, taking Capt. Lyon's receipt to return said Hallock and other prisoner, if not exchanged, keeping an account of your doings and what is done thereon, and making return to the Governor and Council."

ing the scanty pittance which had reduced them"—their entire clothing not worth one farthing—covered with vermin—carious with scurvy and putrid fever—with but just life enough left, in fact, to answer an exchange. And there was a second party in the same month, from the same place, many of whom died soon after they landed, and the rest of whom crawled languidly and painfully to their homes. Upon cases like these the Governor remonstrated to Congress, to General Washington, and to the hostile agents and commanders, earnestly—and in terms of just severity. But interposition in behalf of mercy and humanity was so unheeded by the enemy, that his own mind subsequently, as we shall see, came to the conclusion that a severe retaliatory policy ought to be pursued.

Among prisoners this year who fell under his general oversight and direction, besides those taken from the enemy, there were some who were taken from the midst of the people whom he governed—a few tories and malignants—some who had received and signed the protections from General Howe—some who had been busy in circulating these protections—and some who were strongly suspected of being engaged in hatching secret plots against the country.*

Against all persons of this character, the law levelled its bolts, and Trumbull's was the hand to guide them. He kept the police of the whole State active for the detection of traitors—caused the chief roads and passes to be strictly watched—had all suspicious wanderers stopped and examined, and, if unable to account satisfactorily for themselves, imprisoned or put under guard†—and once had the good fortune to intercept an important letter from Governor Wentworth, which he sent to Congress‡—as he did subsequently

* Respecting which, in one instance, he communicated specially with Congress, asking its own particular service in procuring "all evidence" from one Colonel Dewer, or from "any other quarter."

† "It is of the utmost importance," is his own language, in a letter to his son Joseph, April 13, 1776—"to secure the malignants in every Colony, to prevent our enemy gaining any footing on the Continent, or receiving supplies, assistance, or intelligence. Let us show a determination to enjoy liberty and freedom while we live, and not suffer hypocritical friends, who seek our ruin, to wheedle and cajole us."

‡ It was referred by Congress, together with an accompanying letter from Trumbull, to the Marine Committee, for special consideration.

another important letter which he obtained, that was addressed by General Pigot to General Burgoyne. He did all in his power at the same time to conciliate such persons, as, though disaffected to the American cause, had not yet by any overt and highly offensive acts, taken ground against it—issuing at one time a Proclamation for this purpose—in which, on certain conditions, he assured them of pardon for their treasonable course, and adoption into the sympathy and protection of the State.

While thus active and humane, as we have seen, in his treatment of captives from the British army, and kind towards those of his own countrymen whose mistaken views of loyalty caused them to swerve from duty—Trumbull never forgot that soldier of Connecticut—or indeed of any other State—who happened to be within his reach—whose sick or necessitous condition required attention. Send the sick—those who by reason of malady are incapable of further service—send them home, that they may be cured—was often the burden of his communications to officers commanding the Connecticut troops—as well this year as in 1776, to Schuyler at the North, and to Washington at New York—and he provided, as usual, medicines, hospital stores, and physicians, for the tent, the barrack, or the chamber of sickness. And for the families too in Connecticut of indigent soldiers, he not only looked to the enforcement of all the laws providing for their support by towns—but himself often personally superintended their relief. Applications for aid were frequently before him—and before himself and Council—as well as before the General Assembly—and his ear was ever open to them all, "gently to hear, kindly to judge."*

It is another feature of his care for soldiers, that he was ever particular that such portion of them from Connecticut—in the militia—as consisted of husbandmen—should in the seasons of tillage be returned, if possible, to their homes, to

* The case of Mary Vose, for example—that remarkable woman in Colchester, wife of Henry Vose, a soldier, and mother of three children at a birth—named John Hancock, George Washington, and Charles Lee—whose necessities, upon her application, Trumbull at once relieved by an order on the Selectmen of the town in which she resided—is a good illustration of his prompt benevolence in this regard.

sow and reap their crops—that so neither their own interests should suffer by their absence in service—or the State be prevented from accumulating the stores necessary not only for the supply of its own inhabitants, but for the armies also of the American Union.* It was excellent management on the part of Trumbull, thus to rotate labor on the field of agriculture and on the field of war—necessary, because the one provided for the other—prudent, because otherwise he would have been compelled to send the shipping of the State abroad in search for provisions, and exposed, in consequence, to the imminent peril of capture by the enemy—and wise, because the soldier-husbandmen of the militia—feeling that their home interests were not to suffer—were encouraged thereby to quicken their own exertions, and to render them cheerfully, when called temporarily to the field of war.

* "I shall wish our militia to continue in actual service as long as it is absolutely necessary"—was, to illustrate, his language to Gen. Oliver Wolcott at New York, in August, 1776—"but as the circumstances of the country, and of the men in service, require as speedy a return as possible, you will represent the same to the General, and procure their release in whole or in part as soon as may be. If a part only should be dismissed, it will be prudent to select such as are farmers, whose country business most suffers by their absence."—"I trust that the militia from this State," was his language again in August to his son Joseph—"may be soon dismissed. They are of our substantial farmers, who will suffer at home during their absence."

CHAPTER XXX.

1777.

TRUMBULL and finance. Large sums of money pass through his hands. The depreciation of the Continental currency. His course on this subject. His views remarkably sound. "Pay as we go," his financial aphorism. His opinion of a foreign loan to sink the bills in circulation The correspondence and friendship between himself and John Derk, Baron Van der Capellan, of Holland. Sketch of this patriotic nobleman. Trumbull addresses him a long and able letter. He closes the year by proclaiming a Day of Public Thanksgiving. Other Proclamations in this connection. The title of "HIS EXCELLENCY" for the first time conferred this year upon the Governor.

WE have looked at Trumbull now in all his strictly military connections with the Revolutionary War, for the year 1777—north, south, east, and west, both within and without Connecticut—upon the land, and on the sea. We have yet, however, ere we close our review of his life and services for the year, to look at him in some other departments of effort.

And first, briefly, in that of finance—in his relations to that sinew of war—money. Here, as in previous years, he had much duty to perform. Large sums passed through his hands in payments for the public service, both from the Treasury of Connecticut, and from Congress.*

But the matter in this department which gave him the most anxiety, was the depreciation of the Continental currency—a depreciation, which, commencing in 1776—with the fresh issue by Congress of ten millions of paper money, in addition to nine millions the previous year—and aided materially, in New England, by the large influx of cash produced by the sale of prizes—went on increasing to such an extent, as that, in July 1777, a Convention of the New England States, together with New York, became necessary on the subject, and was held at Springfield—Roger Sherman,

* As from Congress, in one instance, over thirty thousand dollars for the Light-horse of Connecticut—and again twenty thousand dollars for naval agent Shaw—and so on in numerous other cases.

Samuel Huntington, and Titus Hosmer, from Connecticut, being commissioned by the Governor for the purpose—to attend, and take the currency into consideration, and contrive for its amelioration. But no action by this Body seems to have been of any avail in checking the downward course of the public Bills of Credit.

Connecticut, with the assent of the Governor, tried the remedy of excluding from its own trade and commerce all paper money save that emitted by itself, or by the United States—but this did not avail. Governor Trumbull also, by direction of the General Assembly, specially instructed the Connecticut Delegates in Congress, to move that Body for a recommendation to each State to draw in and sink all its own outstanding bills, save those for sums less than one dollar, and to tax its inhabitants in amounts—to be proportioned by Congress—that should be sufficient to pay the current annual expenses of the war, and sink a portion of the Continental Bills. But Congress was unable to enforce any such recommendation. And so, spite of all the patriotic emblems, escutcheons, and mottoes, on the paper money of the nation—spite of all laws which attempted by constraint, to fix a value upon it—to put "the stamp of reality on a fiction," and compel the people "to receive as substance a mere shadow"—spite of all—the depreciation of this money rapidly increased with each new emission, until, as is well known, in a few years—million following million in quick succession—its exchangeable rate lessened soon to forty for one of specie—and last to the agio of five hundred, and then one thousand, for one—when it ceased to circulate.

Trumbull looked upon all this with feelings of regret and mortification, and did everything within his power to counteract a result so deplorable. His views on the subject of a currency were remarkably sound. He understood it as a practical question, and wished it to be supported by a substantial, underlying basis of value, as we shall have occasion to notice more fully hereafter. He was anxious that the public credit should be in every particular fully sustained, and to sustain it, he desired—as his instructions, this year, to the Connecticut Delegates in Congress, import—that outstanding

bills should be sunk, and new war expenses liquidated by new taxes.

"*Pay as we go*"—was with him a financial aphorism. Each emission of bills by the State he governed, was—upon his own instigation, as well as from the inclination of its Legislature—provided for by anticipatory funds. It is a fact that—had his own wishes and advice, as regards the public expenses, been followed—the people of his day—though they would have been obliged to bear indeed a heavy burden—would yet have been freed from a wretched medium of exchange, and from iniquitous tender laws that operated upon them with the harshness of despotism. They would have been spared the hard necessity of carrying on the whole machinery of government, for two entire years, with but only a wheelbarrow full of specie*—would have been spared the mortification of seeing "a whole wagon-load of money"—as a Member of Congress expressed it in debate at the time—"paid for with a quire of paper"—and worse still, of seeing at last barbers' shops papered, in jest, with their worthless bills, and sailors, who received them in pay, fabricating out of them suits of clothes, and "with characteristic light-heartedness, parading the streets in that decayed finery, which, in its better days, had cost thousands of dollars."

There was at last, in the year on which we dwell, in Trumbull's view, but one course left to be pursued for remedying the public grievances from a depreciation of the currency. This was by a foreign loan—to be applied—not in any way to sustain that system of tender laws which so enabled unprincipled debtors to pay their debts at enormous discounts, and so operated to the ruin of confiding patriots, as that even Congress itself, after having once recommended their passage, earnestly besought the States for their repeal—nor to be applied by way of interest to a tribe of speculating money-lenders, who were intriguing to procure it for their own pockets—but to be sacredly used for reducing the quantity of bills in circulation.

* The years 1778 and 1779. The aggregate of gold and silver received into the Treasury for the year 1778, was $78,666—that for the year 1779, was $73,000—in all $151,666—an amount which, in gold, would weigh seven hundred pounds, and might, as stated in the text, be put into a wheelbarrow.

On this point we have his views as expressed by himself—and in language that cannot be mistaken. A foreign loan of two millions sterling was proposed—and upon this, September twenty-first, he wrote the Connecticut Delegates in Congress, in terms of approbation, and counselled its direct application towards sinking the Continental Bills. But at the same time he warmly interposed his influence against any application of it towards making good an interest in specie to the lenders of bills—because, he wrote, "some of these lenders have principally contributed to sink the credit of these Bills, and with the tribe of speculators, your future lenders are yet exerting themselves in the same laudable purpose. In the name of common sense, where can be the justice of pledging the property of the people at large to make them good an interest of 20 per cent., as a reward for doing us the greatest injury in their power, and where the policy is that of sacrificing the honest, undesigning, and industrious, to the crafty, designing, and dishonest, to leeches who are preying on our vitals, and, with their eyes open, are destroying their country for a little solid gain to themselves!"

Another circumstance to be specially noted in the life of Trumbull at this time, is his correspondence with John Derk, Baron Van der Capellan, a nobleman of Zwoll, in the province of Overysell in Holland—whose services rendered to the cause of American Liberty, during the entire struggle for Independence, deserve to be warmly remembered. As the friendship between himself and Trumbull was intimate, the correspondence between them active, and such as we shall have occasion from time to time to quote—a few words here introducing him to the Reader will not be out of place.

He was a man conspicuous for his abilities, sound judgment, and unswerving love of liberty. His uprightness—according to the testimony of cotemporary writers who refer to him—his benevolence and piety, and the purity and simplicity of his manners, through a long life, "approached the primitive patterns of a sublime religion." Though himself by birth one of the nobles of his Province, he soon distinguished himself at home by his advocacy of the rights of the people.

Upon one occasion he went so far in their support—in an attempt to abolish what was styled "the servitude or dredging days" of the farmers of his neighborhood—that certain other persons of his own rank in the Province—who eagerly sought to have those old feudal burdens confirmed which he wished to remove—becoming indignant at his course, thrust him out from his seat in the Assembly of Overysell, by a decree which censured him for sedition and slander, and demanded from him an humble apology. This he refused to make—and he remained, therefore, excluded from his seat for four years—"until the popular voice demanded his restoration in a manner it was not deemed safe to neglect. His triumph then was complete—and it took place at the same time with that of the United States over the resistance of Great Britain." A medal was struck upon the occasion, in honor of the event, and distributed among his friends—one of which was presented to John Adams*—then in Europe—with whom Capellan was on terms of intimacy, and all of whose efforts for the recognition in Holland of American Independence, he warmly aided.

Soon as the struggle began in the American Colonies, Capellan eagerly espoused their cause, and frequent reference is made to his active services in their behalf, in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution. When, in 1775, the King of England—in a letter written by his own hand—demanded from the States-General of Holland some Scotch battalions which they had in their pay, that he might employ them in the campaign against America—Capellan gave his opinion in the Assembly of Overysell pointedly against the proposition. In a speech, filled with patriotic indignation, he said—in conclusion:—

"In what an odious light must this unnatural civil war appear to all Europe; a war in which even savages, if credit can be given to newspaper information, refuse to engage: more odious still would it appear for a people to take a part therein, who were themselves once slaves, bore that hateful name, but at last had spirit to fight themselves free. But above all it must appear superlatively detestable to me, who think the Ameri-

* It is now in the possession of one of his grandsons.

cans worthy of every man's esteem, and look on them as a brave people, defending in a becoming, manly, and religious manner those rights which as men they derive from God, not from the legislature of Great Britain. Their mode of proceeding will, I hope, serve as an example to every nation deprived by any means of its privileges, yet fortunate enough in being able to make similar efforts towards retaining or regaining them."

These admirable sentiments were acted out by Baron Capellan in all his subsequent relations with America. "The sedateness of his mind," as has been justly remarked, "qualified him for the patriot, and the friend of a young and growing country, whose manufactures had been checked, her commerce cramped, and liberties curtailed; and in no instance did he ever deviate from the principles of the Revolution." He predisposed many of his countrymen to unite cordially with the Americans. He urged that treaties of amity and commerce should be entered into with them, previous to the arrival of an American Minister at the Hague to negotiate on the subject—and when the negotiations commenced, sustained them with all the weight of his ability and influence. The partialities of the Stadtholder, and his family, and the Court connections, were altogether British. Capellan took sides with the merchants, and burgomasters, and pensioners of Holland, decidedly against them, and had the satisfaction at last of seeing his own views prevail.

Nor did he confine himself to words alone in behalf of America. He displayed a noble activity in procuring loans in Holland for her service—going around in person to urge subscriptions, and subscribing himself—in one instance, twenty thousand livres. He caught up and answered all reports disparaging to America. He sent over frequently to this country for accounts of its resources, abilities, and progress in the cause of freedom. He communicated with Congress, and with several leading patriots—but more than all with Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, for whose judgment he entertained a profound respect.*

* Well does Mrs. Warren, in her History, remark, that "a more competent, and judicious correspondent he could not have selected" than Trumbull—"whose merits as a man, a patriot, and a Christian," she adds, "cannot be too highly appreciated."

Such was the man to whom, June twenty-seventh 1777, Trumbull addressed a long and able letter—the first of his communications in this quarter with which it has been our fortune to meet. In it he renders thanks to Capellan for his generous sympathy with the American cause—reviews for his information the origin and progress of the War—and eloquently defends his country from the charge, then current in Europe, of *wantonly* aiming to shake off its subjection to the British crown.*

"It was with the greatest pleasure," he says at the outset, "we were informed that the States of Holland refused to send their troops to Great Britain to be used in extending the dominion of tyranny over these States, and effacing almost the only traces of liberty which remain in our quarter of the globe, and we cannot sufficiently express the gratitude we feel for the generous part you, Sir, was pleased to take in that matter, worthy of a senator from a free State, and a candid and impartial friend of Liberty and humanity."

After glancing now at the War, and tracing its progress down to the date of his letter, Trumbull thus concludes:—

"I am not insensible that we have been from time to time charged with aiming from the first to shake off our subjection to the British Crown, and to establish our independency. Let those who impute this design to us show how it could promote our interest, our liberty being safe and invaluable, to exchange the happiness of free subjects of free States for a hazardous contest in arms with one of the most formidable powers of Europe. Let them show if they can that we have taken any one step indicating such design before they wantonly attacked us, either by engaging foreign assistance and support, or by any military preparation at home. Let them render it probable that thirteen unconnected Colonies, without generals, soldiers, arms, military stores, ships-of-war, or even an armed vessel, with a sea-coast of fifteen hundred miles extent, or even any measures taken to supply these defects, should meditate a War with the first maritime Power of Europe. Till this can be shown, we trust we have a right to have credit given to our solemn declaration that we never wished to withdraw ourselves from our just and constitutional subjection to the Crown of Great Britain, and that no

* Mr. Erkelaus, a foreigner, appeared at times before the Governor and Council to consult with them upon the matter of addressing Capellan. He was doubtless employed by the Governor both as a translator, and as an amanuensis to write in the Dutch language occasionally, as we find several letters in his handwriting among the Papers in the Connecticut Historical Society.

small infraction of our rights, nothing but extreme necessity could have compelled us to have renounced our connection with Great Britain, under which we and our Fathers have so long been contented and happy.

"From our brethren in Great Britain we have not experienced their boasted candor, and impartiality, and clemency. We appeal from their injustice to the Supreme Governor and Judge, and to the candid censure of the impartial world. In you, Sir, and in your wise and generous sentiments, we find the justice, the sincerity and rectitude of our measures entitled us to hope for. We may justly flatter ourselves that no free State will so far forget what is due to its own glory and interest as to lend their aid to exterminate liberty from the wilds of America. Might they not rather be expected to assist in preserving what liberty remains upon earth from falling a sacrifice to the encroachments and avidity of tyrants, lest liberty itself should be banished or forced from among men, and universal tyranny, with its attendant calamities and miseries, overwhelm the whole human race. But I desist. It is not my intention to send you a history. I would only thank you for your favorable sentiments of us, and request a continuance of your good offices as far as we shall appear to you to deserve them."

The year 1777 was opened by the Governor, as we have seen, by a Proclamation for a Fast. It was closed by his Proclamation, in accordance with Resolutions of Congress, for a day of Public Thanksgiving—that the People—it having pleased Almighty God, "in his abundant mercy," not only to continue to them "the innumerable bounties of his common Providence," but also "to crown their arms with signal success"—might "with one heart, and one voice, express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to their Divine Benefactor."

Between these two Proclamations—in October—he issued another, earnestly exhorting persons of all ranks, to abstain from injustice, oppression, and every vice, and apply themselves to industry, economy, and every moral and social virtue—enjoining them to perform the duties of brotherly kindness and charity—to alleviate each other's burdens, and relieve the distresses of the poor—to discountenance "as totally unworthy of any public office, and even as the vilest pests of society," all persons who, practicing "the detestable vices" of monopoly and extortion, withheld the conveniences of life, or demanded exorbitant prices for the same—and to yield a willing and cheerful obedience to all the laws

of the State—laws whose due and just administration he at the same time called upon all Executive Courts, Ministers of Justice, and Informing Officers, to "use their utmost influence" to promote.

Thus, with public prayer and humiliation to begin the year—with public exhortation to the practice of virtue, religion, justice, charity, and economy, to continue it—and with public prayer again, and thanksgiving, to close the year—thus did the devout, pure-minded, faithful Governor of Connecticut, mingle in with man's duties to himself, man's duty also to his Maker. Thus earnestly did "HIS EXCELLENCY"* prompt his people to seek pardon from on high for the errors and failures of their lives—by penitence and purity to stay the bolts of an angry heaven—by industry and frugality to nurse the means of self-defence—and by solemn gratitude and worship to conciliate celestial favor and blessing—that so, over a land which was heaving with the convulsions of war, God might pour the oil of peace, and make its joy and happiness triumphant.

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* "*His Excellency*." So, in May of this year, for the first time, by Act of the General Assembly, the Governor of Connecticut was to be styled and entitled.

It is a singular fact that Trumbull objected to this title—strongly—soon after it was bestowed—and even made it the subject of a special message to the Legislature. "An Act of this Assembly made and passed this time twelve month," he says in this document—"ordered the stile of *His Excellency* to be given the Governor of this State. This savouring too much of High Titles, and not beneficial, may it not honorably be repealed? It passed without any previous knowledge, expectation, or desire [on my part.] Asking pardon from you and from my successors, I do sincerely request its repeal. It is Honor and Happiness enough to meet the approbation of Heaven, of my own Conscience, and of my Brethren."

"High sounding Titles," he says elsewhere in the same Message—"intoxicate the mind, *ingenerate* envy, and breed disorders in a commonwealth, and ought therefore to be avoided." "The true grandeur and solid glory" of the Constitution of Connecticut, he insists—"do not consist in high Titles, splendour, pomp, and magnificence, nor in reverence and exterior honor paid to their Governors and Rulers, but in the *real and solid* advantages derived therefrom." The Governor, it is almost needless to add, failed to secure the repeal he desired—and the title remains to this day.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1778.

Starving condition of the American Army at Valley Forge. Washington appeals to Trumbull for aid. It is rendered. Many droves of cattle sent on. Gen. Champion particularly active in the matter. The vital relief they afforded The policy of Connecticut in regard to the supply of beef for the army. Some of its legislation on this subject. Its policy and laws in regard to the supply of clothing. The pains taken by Trumbull to procure materials for this purpose, and the patriotic industry of Connecticut women in fabricating them into garments.

The opening of the year 1778 found the grand American Army starving and fainting in their winter quarters at Valley Forge. About three thousand of them, according to a field return, were unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked. Many others, for the same reason, were detained in hospitals, or crowded into farm-houses—"our sick naked—our well naked—our unfortunate men in captivity naked"—as Washington described it at the time. Warm blankets were so rare as to be deemed a luxury. Vegetables were scarcely known in camp. Many of the troops were utterly destitute of meat. The dead in unusual numbers were borne to their graves. Horses too were dying for want of forage. The department of the Commissary was wretchedly defective, and that of the Quarter Master without a head. "Our difficulties and distresses," said the Commander-in-chief again—"are such as wound the feelings of humanity." Such, and so universal and violent, are the complaints for want of provisions, represented all the commanding officers—that famine, in all probability, will break up the camp, and dissolve the army!

More fear was felt that there would be a continued failure in the article of flesh than in any other, as all the cattle and sheep around the Delaware and Schuylkill were exhausted. At one time the Commissary reported that there was not a single hoof in camp for slaughter. So to the great beef country—to New England—and to *Connecticut* particularly,

Washington, in this emergency, turned his eyes. Besides strongly representing to the Assistant Commissary in this State the extremity to which the army was verging—"as a stimulus to greater exertion," says Chief Justice Marshall—"and to assure himself of all the aid which could be derived from the State authorities, he addressed himself at the same time to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, whose ardent cooperation in the public service he had so often experienced, and to whom, after stating the past and present dangerous condition of the army, he added" as follows:—

> "What is still more distressing, I am assured by Colonel Blaine, deputy purchasing commissary for the middle district, comprehending the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, that they are nearly exhausted, and the most vigorous and active exertions on his part will not procure more than sufficient to supply the army during this month, if so long. This being the case, and as any relief that can be obtained from the more southern States will be but partial, trifling, and of a day, we must turn our eyes to the eastward, and lay our account of support from thence. Without it, we cannot but disband. I must, therefore, Sir, entreat you in the most earnest terms, and by that zeal which has eminently distinguished your character in the present arduous struggle, to give every countenance to the person or persons employed in the purchasing line in your State, and to urge them to the most vigorous efforts to forward supplies of cattle from time to time, and thereby prevent such a melancholy and alarming catastrophe."

Governor Trumbull at once assembled his Council, and laid before them the communication from General Washington. The picture of destitution at Valley Forge which it presented—its agonizing account of disease, of famine, and of woe, among those who were banded to fight the American battle for freedom, and upon whom the whole hope and expectation of the country solely rested—this, together with the earnest, almost rending appeal which the Commander-in-chief made for help—help, without which, he said, all is lost, the army "*must disband*"—"*drew tears*," reports Gordon the historian, "*from the eyes of those who heard the letter read.*" Laudable sensibility! Tears indeed of true and fervent patriotism!

And out upon those tears glided at once resolution and

dispatch. The Council sent immediately for Colonel Henry Champion of Colchester—a gentleman who, but a few days before—in anticipation that the quantity of salted provisions laid up in Connecticut for the Continental service would be inadequate to the probable demands and necessities of the army—had been specially appointed by them "to procure all the live fat cattle" in the State "for said use"—he being, as their Records say, "of great judgment, capacity, and experience in said business, of most unexceptionable honesty and integrity, and of universal acquaintance and ability to promote the fattening of cattle, and skill in purchasing." He was a gentleman too whose appointment to this end, but a few days only after it was made, had been particularly sanctioned by the American Congress—a Body which at the same time expressed its own high approbation "of the conduct of the Governor and Council of Safety of Connecticut" in making it, its approbation also "of the other measures for providing public stores and provisions" which these State Authorities had taken, and its own dependence upon said Authorities thereafter for "their constant attention to this important subject."

Colonel Champion repaired to Lebanon. He met the Governor. He met the Council. He talked with each and all. Consultation was brief. Their request was in harmony with the promptings of his own spirit. He returned to his mansion in the Westchester Society of Colchester—there where, upon many hills and beautiful slopes, he had fat cattle and numerous finely cultivated acres of his own. He took from his own herd all that he could possibly spare. They were the first contribution to the drove destined for Valley Forge. Others came in from his neighbors, and from adjoining towns. The stirring missives of Governor Trumbull, urging contributions, flew in every direction. And so, most speedily, out from the gateway of Commissary Champion—in the piercing cold of winter—his drove was started—on, three hundred miles and more, for the far-distant camp of Washington—to be augmented, it was hoped, each mile almost of its progress through the already far-famed "*Provision State*" of old Connecticut.

Nor was this hope without its fulfillment. The drove had no sooner reached Hartford—a town at this time noted for the many cattle that, from spring to the late fall, grazed upon the luxuriant herbage of its extensive meadows, and in winter fed from the barns and sheds of adjoining wealthy proprietors, or from warm shelters around their large, cone-shaped stacks of hay*—than it was swelled to the number of three hundred. Thus replenished, it started for the North River—new stock, at intervals, being woven into its long procession, as amid the cheering on of drivers, over hill and valley it wound along—until, having crossed the Hudson, probably at King's Ferry—and passed through Upper Jersey, and over the Delaware—the lowings of the bullocks and fatted steer were heard at last reverberating through the forest, there where, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, the despairing hearts of more than ten thousand famished American soldiers—hutted in the wild inclement woods, and in the very face almost of a most formidable, well-fed, well-clad, and ever-menacing foe—started and rejoiced at the welcome sounds--and poured themselves forth in most fervent thanksgivings to that Great Benefactor whose are "the cattle upon a thousand hills."†

The vital service thus rendered by Governor Trumbull and Commissary Champion to the American Army, in its perilous extremity, was followed up by them, most assiduously, until the crisis was past. One warrant from the President of Congress for two hundred thousand dollars—drawn in favor of the Governor and Council, for the purchase of provisions—and then a second for one hundred thousand dollars—"to be transmitted," as it was expressed, "to Henry

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* De Warville, in his Travels in the United States, speaks of the "vast meadows" at Hartford, that still, in 1788, were "covered with cattle of an enormous size," which, he remarks, "furnish the market of New York, and even of Philadelphia."

† Hon. Henry C. Deming, of Hartford, Conn., a great-grandson of the Commissary, informs us that Col. Champion, and his son Colonel Epaphroditus, accompanied the cattle quite on to Valley Forge—and that in passing the North River, the Commissary himself plunged into the water on horseback, and trolled the drove across. Col. Epaphroditus Champion said, that five days after the arrival of the cattle—so closely had they been devoured by the famished soldiers—that "*you might have made a knife out of every bone!*"

Champion, Esq., for the purpose of purchasing cattle in Connecticut"—facilitated their labor. And so drove after drove of fat cattle, besides that just mentioned, were sent on to Washington at Valley Forge. It is the testimony of Marshall, that at this time the army was "furnished abundantly" from the State in question.

Fortunately these droves—spite of extreme exposure in the vicinity of Philadelphia to capture by the enemy—all reached their destination in safety, save one. This one, as it happened—consisting of an hundred and thirty head—when within only twelve miles of the American encampment, was met by a disaffected inhabitant of that region, who—passing himself off on its conductors, it is said, as an American Commissary—persuaded them to billet the drove at a neighboring farm, whose owner was also a tory, and then gave immediate notice of the fact to Lord Howe. The information was at once turned to account. A party of British Lighthorse galloped to the farm, seized the cattle, and drove them into Philadelphia, where they served to feed the British General and his troops. But the loss was not particularly felt by the American Army, for at this time, early in March, their supplies—thanks to the activity of Trumbull and Champion—and of Clinton and Livingston also, the patriotic Governors of New York and New Jersey—were quite abundant. Famine had withdrawn her ghastly visage. Plenty reigned—and reigned, we think it will be conceded, more in consequence of the exertions of Governor Trumbull and Connecticut at this time, than of any other Governor or State in the Union—for the region nearest the seat of war was just then, as has been already remarked, quite exhausted of supplies.

Pennsylvania and Delaware had no cattle to spare, or at least that could be reached—Maryland none—New Jersey hardly any—New York but few. Connecticut *had*—and by a remarkable act of her General Assembly—which Trumbull was active to see steadily enforced—she rendered her own supply of beeves greater than otherwise it would have been. For early in the year—in February—she ordained, that inasmuch as the transportation, from place to place, of the pri-

vate property of individuals, had then "greatly increased, and gave employment to so large a number of oxen as was likely to lessen the business of agriculture, particularly the raising of grain and provisions, and *shorten the supply of beef for the use of the army*"—therefore, save in a few excepted instances, which the Act specifies, no more than "one pair of oxen" should be employed in such transportation. The penalty for employing more was to be the forfeiture of all oxen beyond one pair, and of all the property thus transported. And every Grand Juror, Constable, and Freeholder in the State was specially empowered to carry this law into effect. What an example this of the subordination of important private interests to the public good! It was in keeping with the generous self-sacrifice of Connecticut from the beginning to the end of the War.

And about the same time that this law to promote the abundant supply of meat for the Revolutionary Troops was enacted by the Connecticut Legislature, it passed another act to promote the abundant supply of clothing, as it had done in previous years of the war. With the enforcement of this Act—one which had at first originated from a statement and recommendation made by the Governor himself, and by his Council—with its enforcement not only in reference to the existing emergency at Valley Forge, but in reference also to the comfort of the troops during the entire year, his Excellency had much to do. It made each town in the State—through the agency either of its Selectmen, or of a Committee to be appointed for the purpose—responsible for the procurement, for each officer and soldier of the quota of each town, of one hunting shirt or frock, two linen shirts, two pair of linen overalls, one pair of stockings, and two pairs of good shoes, besides a certain number of blankets. All of this clothing, if not provided in the manner required, was to be taken by impressments—warrants for which, if necessary, the Committees of the towns were empowered to grant.

Here now was a law, which, carried fully into effect, would have furnished all, and even more than all, in the way of clothing, that could have been required from Connecticut. It may, perhaps, have had this result. But neither Trum-

bull or his Council were content to depend upon it solely. So from time to time, as opportunity offered, the Governor would procure cloth from other quarters, and cause it to be made up into garments.

A French ship, for instance—the Lyon, Captain Michel—came into the port of New London, in March, laden with a valuable assortment of goods. Buy woolen cloths—spend three thousand pounds for the purpose, if you judge it best—buy linen also, suitable for officers' shirts, and have it made up, and send on the clothing to the officers—were his directions to Major John Bigelow, whom he had specially appointed at this time to superintend the fabrication of garments. Send on cloths and trimmings to Connecticut, was his request in March to Otis and Andrews, deputy clothiers in Boston for the Continental Army, and we will have them made up here.

The cloth and the trimmings came. Materials also came from the Lyon, and from other quarters. And—just as for many a livelong day in other years—they kept hundreds of the daughters of Connecticut busy with the needle—maidens and matrons too, whose thoughts, as they plied their work, doubtless often turned, with deepest solicitude, to the tented camp, or bristling fortress—perhaps to battalions "burning with high hope," and bounding with victory—but more likely, in view of the gloomy outset and intense anxieties of the year on which we dwell, to the stinted fare, or famine, or sickness, or cold, and nakedness of the suffering soldier—or to his death-doom, perchance, upon the blood-stained battle field.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1778.

The Campaign of 1778—its plans and achievements. Trumbull as connected with them. The troops to be raised. Difficulties in the way of enlistment. He sends two thousand troops to Peekskill. Upon a call from Congress, he aids in perfecting the defences of the North River. Upon the arrival of the French fleet under D'Estaign, bringing aid to America, he prepares diligently for cooperation. He issues stirring Proclamations for raising troops to support Gen. Sullivan in Rhode Island. The soldiers and supplies he sent. Failure of the attempt to expel the British from Newport. His son, Col. John Trumbull, in the battles there. He sends his father an account of them, and a map of the battle grounds. A graphic description by the son of his own experience at the time. The movements of the enemy become mysterious American movements in consequence, and the participation Trumbull had in them. Gen. Gates, with a large force, encamps at Hartford. A public dinner is given him by the Governor and General Assembly. The Governor present. Description of the entertainment. The problem of the British plan solved, and the American troops go into winter quarters.

From the view taken in our last Chapter of the labors of Trumbull in the department of supplies for the present year—to which we have been led, almost as a matter of course, by the crisis of danger, originating in the want of food and clothing, with which the year opened—we turn now to look at him under other and the more strictly military aspects of the period. What were the war plans—what the war achievements of the year 1778? What had he to do with them? What were the public wants in regard to troops, and his services respecting them? What, generally, his labors both for the defence of the country at large, and for his own State? Let us see!

The Campaign of 1778—from causes which neither the American Commander-in-chief, nor the leading patriots of the day, could control—was tardy, inefficient, and unproductive to the American cause. Save in plans—one towards the beginning, and one towards the close of the year, for invading Canada, which were both soon abandoned—there

was no prosecution of any great military enterprise in the Northern Department—Congress having, early as March, determined that the fortifications at Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence should be demolished. So far as military affairs elsewhere are concerned, the campaign was marked by skirmishes between the two hostile armies around Philadelphia—by the subsequent evacuation of this city by the British, and the march through the Jerseys—by the severe but indecisive battle of Monmouth—and by the enlargement, on the part of the American force of its defences upon the North River. It was farther marked by the arrival of a French fleet, under Count D'Estaign, to aid the United States—by an intended cooperation with this fleet, and the unavailing siege of Newport under General Sullivan—by a general apprehension in New England that the enemy meditated an attack on Boston and the French fleet there, on New London, on the Connecticut coast elsewhere, in fact on the East generally, and by consequent extensive preparations for resistance. It was also marked by the Wyoming and Cherry Valley massacres—by the expedition of the British against Bedford, Fairhaven, Martha's Vineyard, and Great Egg Harbor—by the surprise and defeat of Pulaski and his infantry, and of Colonel Baylor and his regiment, in New Jersey—by extreme uncertainty, towards the close of the year, as to the destination of large masses of the enemy in New-York—and by the departure, finally, of five thousand British troops for the West Indies, and of three thousand for Florida, in preparation for an attack on that region.

With all these matters and events Trumbull was more or less connected throughout the year,* and in forms quite similar to those which attached him to the public interests in previous years of the Revolutionary Struggle. In the first place, besides supplies for the army—that ever-acting pressure upon his attention, of which, for the present period, we have already spoken—he had, as usual, so far as the chief

* He had at this time, to aid him in his labors, a clerk—*John Porter* by name—"a young man," says the Record of the Council of Safety, "of liberal education, and proper accomplishments." He was allowed fifteen pounds a month as salary.

direction is concerned, new troops to gather, and station, both for home defence, and for that of the country at large.

Of those employed at home, and of those also who were engaged in the Rhode Island Expedition under Sullivan, we shall speak by themselves, in connection with their particular destinations. Independently of these, and of those also proposed in January for filling up the Continental Battalions that had been raised by Connecticut for the service of the previous year—and independent of those too which were to have been embraced in a plan proposed by Congress, in March, for establishing a troop of light cavalry from among the "young gentlemen of property and spirit" in the State—the Governor had, besides, two brigades to raise, by voluntary enlistment, that were ordered by the General Assembly in February—of which six battalions were to be held in constant readiness to march on the shortest notice upon any tour of duty, wherever the militia were liable to be called.

It was more of a task, the whole country through, this year than at any other time during the war, to enlist men for the Continental service. The distresses at Valley Forge had not only caused great numbers of the soldiers there encamped, to quit the army in disgust, but made multitudes who were not in the army dread joining it, as they dreaded poverty and the pestilence.

The alarming depreciation too in the paper money of the nation which then existed, and which rendered all payments in Continental Money for Continental services comparatively worthless, had forced hundreds and hundreds of the best and bravest officers of the army—from sheer poverty—in order to hide their nakedness, and secure their families, in many cases, from absolute starvation with themselves—to throw up their commissions, and return to some employment or other in private life that might at least yield them bread, and a decent garb of homespun.

A strange, unaccountable apathy also had suddenly, like a leaden mist, crept over the spirit of American patriotism, and dulled, nay almost obliterated, with some, the blessed vision of freedom. There was, besides, a strong apprehension in the minds of many, that the war would not ever

terminate triumphantly for America—because, contrary to universal expectation, it had been already so long protracted, and because of the continued presence in our land—and almost upon whatever point, in its huge floating armaments, it chose to go—of a numerous, well-appointed, and most formidable British army—that had not yet, after three years of most earnest opposition, been forced from but a single one of its strongholds upon our coast, and seemingly never could be. All these causes combined, which more or less affected every American State at the period now under consideration, rendered enlistment, more than ever, a matter of difficulty, doubt, and even for awhile of despair.

So far as Connecticut is concerned, these causes were not without their influence, but their operation was by no means so extensive as in some other sections of our country—was comparatively limited. And Trumbull faced them in his task of raising new recruits, with his customary energy.

Though his recruiting officers encountered for awhile, at first, some obstacles to their success, yet we cannot learn that at any time they were forced to resort—as the law allowed them to do, in case volunteers enough could not be found—to the system of compulsory detachment. Though a large number of the troops of Connecticut were still in the field when the year opened, with Putnam on the banks of the Hudson, and with Washington at Valley Forge, and remained there the winter through—though no great military enterprises, calling for an immediate draft of men and money, were in contemplation during the winter, and the regular campaign, it was presumed, would not, of course, open till about the middle of spring—still the Connecticut battalions were filled up as rapidly as under all the circumstances could have been expected.

True the eight battalions called for by Congress, in February, were not prepared. But these were apportioned on Connecticut as its quota, only in case a general plan for raising, from all the States in the Union, an army of forty thousand men, was carried out—a plan which, in fact, was never executed in a single State, and hardly even attempted. True that troop of cavalry—to be composed of "young gentlemen

of property and spirit," and "of a cultivated understanding"—which Congress proposed, to serve at their own expense—was not formed in Connecticut—though Trumbull sent the scheme to all the Majors of Lighthorse in the State. Neither was it formed in any State in the Union, save one solitary troop in Virginia—and this was speedily abandoned, the whole plan being given up by Congress.

But in the spring, early in March—in proof of the good progress made in the State, under Trumbull, in the recruiting service—the moment General Washington made his first important requisition of two thousand troops for Peekskill, those troops were marched to the point required. And again, in May—before Congress had settled the army establishment for the year, and before even it had agreed upon any general plan of operations for the campaign—the six battalions of Connecticut which had been ordered by the General Assembly in February—together with three troops of Lighthorse—in fair condition, as to numbers, arms, and equipments, considering the embarrassments to enlistment at the time—were sent by the Governor to join General Gates upon the North River.*

This was a point to which Governor Trumbull, as well from his own foresight, as by special request from Congress, paid close attention. Once occupied and controlled by the enemy, as is familiar to all, it would have been a quarter whence they might have poured destruction on the American cause. For it would have opened an easy connecting passage between their forces in New York and any that, as in past years, they might have sent to join them from Canada. It would have cut off all connection between New England and the rest of the country. The States might then have been beaten in detail. America would have returned again under

* "On the pressing requisition of Major General Gates, we have thought it our duty to order the Six Battalions raised by Act of Assembly, the last winter, to join them on Hudson River, and to detach, in addition to them, three Troops of Lighthorse; and, as there seems to be a greater probability that the enemy will bend their Main Force there or immediately on this State, than anywhere else, have been obliged to order a Peremptory Detachment of two more entire Regiments for the Defence of our very exposed and extensive Sea-Coasts, and to act as occasion shall require."—*Trumbull to Gen. Sullivan, June 5th*, 1778.

British sway. And there, close by this important quarter—constantly menacing it—improving every opportunity to attack it—bound, at almost every hazard, upon securing it—was the foe. About the last of winter its defences were weak, extremely so—and some of its important passes scarce defended at all. Could the enemy but have known this! To command the Hudson—its entire length—what a prize to them! It was vital then that the American troops there should be reenforced. And therefore it was that Washington called upon Trumbull for the two thousand men to be marched to Peekskill.

But the defences themselves upon the Hudson River needed repairs, and enlargement. It was necessary also that many new ones should be constructed. Putnam had been busy effecting this during the winter. General McDougall, his successor in the command in this quarter, was busy at it. So was Gates, who succeeded McDougall—and Kosciusko was there to plan.

Upon whom now did the American Congress call at the juncture, and for the purposes now described? Upon the Chief Magistrate of New York, and the Chief Magistrate of Connecticut. "Resolved, that Gov. Clinton and Gov. Trumbull be requested to give every assistance in their power to Gen. McDougall for perfecting the defence of the North River"—was their vote of March the twenty-first. And in April, by another Resolution of Congress, the same request, for the same end, was made again to the same gentlemen, and to the States also, upon this occasion, of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Troops, artificers, materials—all the necessaries requisite "for fortifying and obstructing the North River, and securing the communication with the Eastern States," were earnestly desired. And, so far as Trumbull was concerned, the request was complied with, to the extent of his power—not even "six receivers, for the Hon. James Duane of the State of New York," and "twelve refining-pots, with doors or covers, for refining sulphur," being forgotten amid his provision of necessaries for the defence of the great river-artery of New York.

It was while engaged as we have now described, that, July eighth, Count D'Estaign—with twelve massive ships of

the line, six frigates, and a body of land forces—arrived from Toulon off the mouth of the Delaware—bringing aid to America in her struggle for freedom. It was the first fruits of our Treaty of Alliance with France—a Treaty whose inception and progress Trumbull had watched with the deepest solicitude—and which one son of Connecticut, a Commissioner at the Court of Versailles—his friend Silas Deane—had assisted in framing—and which another son of Connecticut, Simeon Deane, had first brought over to the country, to gladden, with a joy that was unbounded, the heart of Congress, and of a whole nation.

Washington himself gave notice of the arrival of this fleet to Governor Trumbull. "Every thing we can do to aid and cooperate with it," he wrote—"is of the utmost importance." It is "off the Hook."

And he proceeded to inform him that by accounts from New York, a Cork fleet was momently expected at that city, for the safety of which the enemy were extremely alarmed—that to avoid the French fleet it would probably take its course through the Sound—that if it should, it might answer most valuable purposes for the Eastern States to collect beforehand all their frigates and armed vessels, to intercept its passage that way—and that if the whole, or any considerable part of it could be taken, loaded as it was with provisions, the blow would prove a fatal one to the British army. And he desired Trumbull, if the project appeared to him eligible, to make it known to the neighboring States.

But circumstances quickly put an end to this design. D'Estaign was unable to invade New York. He was frustrated by physical impossibilities. His ships were too heavy to pass the bar—and after eleven days' detention off the harbor, he sailed for Newport—the point next after New York to be attacked, in the plan of operations for the combined French and American armies.

Prepare—wrote Washington immediately to Major General Sullivan, who was then in command at Rhode Island. Apply in the most urgent manner, in my name, to the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, to augment your force to five thousand men or more. Establish your

magazines of provisions. Make a collection of boats, proper for a descent on Newport. Engage pilots for the fleet. Arrange your signals. Fix a chain of expresses, from some commanding view on the coast to your own quarters. Master the number and position of the enemy by land, and their strength by sea!

At this point—with Washington's first directions to General Sullivan—commenced Trumbull's connection with the Rhode Island Expedition of the year 1778—a connection which, like that of previous years in the same direction, was pervaded with his anxiety and energy. No success—as none in previous years—so far as the enemy is concerned—was destined to reward his exertions, but they were none the less unremitting—as we shall see.

Sullivan, in conformity with instructions from Washington, wrote Trumbull for more troops. Connecticut had already under him her quota of seven hundred and twenty-eight men, as settled by the Springfield Convention of 1777, and as desired by Congress in January and July of the present year. But now, upon Sullivan's request, the Governor convened his Council, and ordered on to Rhode Island seven companies more—on the very day, as it happened, when D'Estaign with his fleet cast anchor five miles from Newport, just without Burton's ledge. These were not enough. Sullivan sent for more. Washington wrote for more. The Governor and Deputy Governor of Rhode Island wrote for more. Immediate measures were taken by Trumbull to procure them.

"Whereas," says a Proclamation, which, July twenty-eighth, he issued for the purpose, to the two Connecticut regiments under Brigadier General Tyler and Brigadier General Douglas respectively—"whereas I have received authentic intelligence from his Excellency Gen. Washington, that the fleet of our magnanimous and faithful Ally, his most Christian Majesty, sailed from the Hook eastward, before the 22d instant, to cooperate with the forces of the United States at Providence to dislodge our inveterate enemies from their hold at Newport, or other places at the eastward—And whereas an expedition of the utmost consequence is formed against the enemy to the eastward, and a requisition is made by Gen. Washington to the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, for five thousand men from the militia—considering [also] the

importance of the object, the opportune season, and many auspicious circumstances which conspire to promote success—I do therefore," &c.

And the Governor proceeds to order the commanding officers to raise volunteers from the two regiments expeditiously as possible, and march them to Providence—promising himself to see to the transportation of their baggage, and to provisions for their march.

He is sensible, he says, "of the business of the season, and of the difficulties which attend leaving home"—but yet—regarding the present opportunity "as a favorable intervention of Providence," he "cannot but think it would be criminal to neglect the advantage" which the kind Disposer of events has "so evidently" put into the hands of the people for expelling from their coasts "the enemy that has so long distressed them."

"Were it possible," he concludes, "that any should want incitement to exert themselves in this great and glorious struggle, let them reflect on the wonders God has wrought for our forefathers, and for us—on the cruel ravages committed by the enemy on our defenceless towns, and helpless women and children—spreading desolation and ruin wherever they extend their conquests—a specimen of their future designs towards us—[and let them reflect also] on the amazing quantities of blood and treasure already expended, and on the happiness, dignity, and glory that will result to us, and be transmitted to posterity, by exerting ourselves mightily for the vindication of our just Rights, Liberties, and Independence."

On the same day that Trumbull issued this Proclamation—in addition to the seven companies that had already been sent to Providence, he ordered on another from New London. And only four days after—August first—fearing lest the volunteers whom he had solicited from the two regiments of Tyler and Douglass might not respond in sufficient numbers, or with sufficient alertness—"on discourse and consideration" with his Council, he issued another Order and Proclamation—this time calling on the Commanders of the two regiments already mentioned, and on the General also of the first regiment, to raise, peremptorily, five hundred men—who should be entitled, he promised, to continental pay,

rations, and encouragements, besides forty shillings bounty, and who were to be marched forthwith, he commanded, to the theatre of war around Providence.

"Whereas," he eloquently recites in this Proclamation—which notices also the calls made upon the State at this time for its services, and what had already been done—"whereas his most Christian Majesty, the renowned and illustrious King of France, has first among all the powers of Europe acknowledged and recognized the United States of America, while struggling under the weight of British tyranny and oppression, and has entered into and ratified a Treaty of Alliance with them, founded on principles truly noble, and becoming a wise, great, and gracious Prince, without taking advantage of the difficulties to which we were reduced by being suddenly and unpreparedly pushed into this extensive war for the defence of all that could be dear to a free people—and whereas the said King, of his great magnanimity and goodness, has sent over a large fleet of capital Ships, under the command of the Admiral Count D'Estaign, superior to all the British navy in these seas, together with a considerable Body of Land Forces, to aid and assist these States against the invasion of our enemies, and in subduing, or extirpating, or driving them from this good Land—I do hereby renew [the Summons for volunteers of July twenty-eighth,] and earnestly call upon all who are within the limits of this Proclamation, cheerfully and forthwith to offer themselves in the service of God (it may be truly said,) and of their country, against the enemies of the rights of mankind, and our cruel invaders and murderers."

And he goes on to assure all who will engage in the service that their "tour of duty" will be "very short"—that "the prospect of success, in a humble trust on Divine Providence," is fairer than ever before—and that "the advantages of so powerful a support both by sea and land," as those afforded by "the new friends and allies" of the Americans—the French—are "exceedingly great, and must strike terror and dismay" into the hearts of the enemies of our land.

These appeals from Trumbull were effective. All the soldiers required from Connecticut rallied on the occasion—and, as the Governor had promised, they were amply provided. Teams, loaded down with salted beef, and pork—upon one occasion, in July, with no less than one hundred barrels—lined the roads from Connecticut to Providence, by his

order—and vessels, loaded with water for the use of D'Estaign's fleet, shot out from the harbor of New London.* Preparations on all sides were abundant. Washington was deeply interested in the event. He sent the Marquis La Fayette, with additional forces from the camp at White Plains, to unite with the army under Sullivan—and General Greene—and he sent Baron Steuben. He sent also his own Aid de Camp—the chivalric Laurens—to join the French Admiral. The hopes of the country ran high. Could the British now but be expelled from Newport—that vital hold on the American coast which they had so long maintained—how easy it would be to crush them elsewhere! It must be done—it can be, was the general thought—for they are but six, and the Americans are more than ten thousand strong. And with the patriot forces are the choicest of officers—the bravest of volunteers—all panting for glory—and a magnificent and most powerful French naval armament. What can withstand such a force? It must triumph! So reasoned, and so concluded the over-sanguine expectation of the country.

But a cloud soon came upon that expectation. D'Estaign sailed off to fight Lord Howe upon the sea. He was gone many days—days of intense anxiety to the force which was left behind around Newport. It was doubted whether he would return, and the American ranks began to grow thin by desertion. One by one, soldiers dropped away. Prospects grew darker—yet not to the eyes of Trumbull, or of his patriotic Council. "*Sustinet qui transtulit*"—he remembered it—the motto of his State. "Every branch in the true vine that beareth not fruit, our Heavenly Father taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth, that it may bring forth more fruit." So he wrote to President Laurens in June.†

August fourteenth—in order, as the Records of the Council say, that "the important enterprise may not fail for want

* "I have written to Governor Trumbull of the State of Connecticut, requesting his endeavors to collect vessels and load them with water at New London for the use of your fleet."—*Washington to D'Estaign, Aug. 8th.*

† June 29th, 1778.

of a little support, to the great disappointment and injury of the country"—the Governor made a peremptory draft of six companies more of soldiers, each consisting of eighty men, and ordered them on from Connecticut to Rhode Island. To these he added a troop of forty-eight horsemen from the regiment of Major Ebenezer Backus—and at the same time sent on from Norwich to Governor Greene one hundred barrels of powder.*

But his efforts, alas, were all in vain. A storm disabled D'Estaign. He forsook Newport, and repaired to Boston to refit. More than five thousand of the American Army then forsook too. Company by company, regiment by regiment, they fell away.

"Our expectations," wrote Trumbull at this time to Roger Sherman, Titus Hosmer, and Andrew Adams, the Connecticut Delegates in Congress—"our expectations from the expedition against Rhode Island are again like to be blasted. The French fleet, which has suffered considerably from the late very unusual gale of wind, has taken a resolution to go for Boston, to refit and repair their damages. This event will put our Army on too precarious a footing to remain long upon an *Island*. Unless some sudden and desperate attempt is made, (which I would wish them to avoid,) I think their operations against the Enemy must cease, and their whole attention be turned to getting themselves safe landed on the Continent. I wish this may be effected without loss. I was in hopes the Fleet would have run themselves into New London—where I think their Damages might be repaired with safety to them, and at the same time their lying in an Harbour so contiguous to Rhode Island might have proved a Security to the operations of the Army. But they are gone, and with them are fled our fond hopes of success from this Enterprise. This event will put a new aspect on our affairs. The Lord reigneth—is our hope—let it be our trust and confidence."

The course for the American Army which suggested itself to the mind of Trumbull, was adopted. Sullivan was compelled to raise the siege of Newport, and retreat to the north shore of the Island, pursued hotly, but not defeated, by the foe. He maintained himself gallantly in his entrenchments

* "Major Joshua Huntington, Norwich. Lebanon, 26th Aug., 1778. Please to forward to Governor Greene at Providence, with all possible dispatch, one hundred barrels of powder belonging to the United States, in your custody—taking care the barrels are well secured.

"JONTH. TRUMBULL, GOVR."

there—only for a brief time, however. He cannonaded the enemy. He had a few sharp contests with them, around Quaker Hill, upon his right flank, and around a redoubt—but he was altogether too feeble to advance far upon them, or to secure any important advantages. Clinton too was rapidly hastening to reenforce them with four thousand men. There was no longer any hope from D'Estaign—nor of any further addition to his strength from the Main. All was ominous of ill. In the silence of the night, therefore, and from his masterly management unannoyed by the enemy, he crossed with his army back to Tiverton—retreated. The Expedition to expel the enemy from Newport was now at an end. The Island still remained in the embrace of the British arms—and the whole country mourned. How heavily the blow must have fallen on the heart of Trumbull!

And he had anxieties too in another direction at this particular juncture—for his son Colonel John, the painter, was in the thickest of the fight on the memorable twenty-ninth of August. He had been retired from the army for about a year previous, pursuing diligently his avocations with the pencil at Boston. But when the Rhode Island enterprise was started—feeling his "slumbering love of military life" revive, as he says—he offered his services to General Sullivan as a volunteer Aid de Camp, and attended him on the field.

Soon as all was over—"after we had left the Island"—he writes in his *Reminiscences of his own times*—"I took leave of my General, and sent my servant back to Lebanon, with a *descriptive letter* to my father, a drawing of the field, and the sword which I had taken from its own owner, a German officer, my trophy of action."

The descriptive letter to which the Colonel here refers, is repeated, in substance, in his autobiography—from whence, filled as it is with graphic details, we extract it. Through the postern of time then, let the Reader pass, and sit down now for a few moments with that "Father" to whom the epistle was first addressed. There, in his own old "War Office" at Lebanon—where, probably, the Governor himself read the communication, and doubtless re-read it, as stirring,

latest news from the seat of war, to his own attentive Council—let the Reader sit too—and, identifying himself with the occasion—thinking of that mortal strife, which, on the twenty-ninth of August, eighty-one years ago, for the first and last time dyed the sands of Rhode Island with blood, and agitated with unusual apprehension the heart of the patriot whom we commemorate—let him peruse what follows:—

"The French fleet" proceeds the Colonel, "which had passed Newport, and lay at anchor above the town, were drawn off from their well-selected station by a very clever manœuvre of Lord Howe, the very day after the American army was landed on the island. The two fleets came to a partial action off the capes of the Chesapeake, in which they were separated by a severe gale of wind; the French, more damaged by the tempest than by the enemy, put into Boston to refit, and General Sullivan was left to pursue the enterprise with the army alone. The enemy shut themselves up in Newport, while he advanced to the town in admirable order, and the place was invested in form.

"It soon became evident that the attempt was vain, so long as the enemy could receive supplies and reenforcements by water, unmolested; so soon as it was ascertained that the French fleet would not resume its station, the enterprise was abandoned—on the night between the 28th and 29th of August, the army was withdrawn, and reoccupied their former position on Butt's Hill, near Howland's Ferry, at the north end of the island.

"Soon after daybreak the next morning, the rear-guard, commanded by that excellent officer, Col. Wigglesworth, was attacked on Quaker, otherwise called Windmill Hill; and General Sullivan, wishing to avoid a serious action on that ground, sent me with orders to the commanding officer to withdraw the guard. In performing this duty, I had to mount the hill by a broad, smooth road, more than a mile in length from the foot to the summit, where was the scene of conflict, which, though an easy ascent, was yet too steep for a trot or a gallop. It was necessary to ride at a leisurely pace, for I saw before me a hard day's work for my horse, and was unwilling to fatigue him.

"Nothing can be more trying to the nerves, than to advance deliberately and alone into danger. At first I saw a round shot or two drop near me, and pass bounding on. I met poor Col. Tousard, who had just lost one arm, blown off by the discharge of a field-piece, for the possession of which there was an ardent struggle. He was led off by a small party.* Soon after, I saw Capt. Walker, of H. Jackson's regiment, who

* "Tousard was a French officer, attached to the family of the Marquis La Fayette. In the action on Rhode Island he rushed forward very courageously in advance of the troops, when an attempt was made to take a cannon, and

had received a musket ball through his body, mounted behind a person on horseback. He bid me a melancholy farewell, and died before night. Next, grape shot began to sprinkle around me, and soon after musket balls fell in my path like hailstones. This was not to be borne.—I spurred on my horse to the summit of the hill, and found myself in the midst of the melée. "Don't say a word, Trumbull," cried the gallant commander, "I know your errand, but don't speak; we will beat them in a moment."—"Col. Wigglesworth, do you see those troops crossing obliquely from the west road towards your rear!"—"Yes, they are Americans, coming to our support."—"No, Sir, those are Germans; mark, their dress is blue and *yellow*, not buff; they are moving to fall into your rear, and intercept your retreat. Retire instantly—don't lose a moment, or you will be cut off." The gallant man obeyed, reluctantly, and withdrew the guard in fine style, slowly, but safely.

"As I rode back to the main body on Butt's Hill, I fell in with a party of soldiers bearing a wounded officer on a litter, whom I found to be my friend H. Sherburne, brother of Mrs. John Langdon, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a fellow volunteer. They were carrying him to the surgeons in the rear, to have his leg amputated. He had just been wounded by a random ball, while sitting at breakfast. This was a source of lasting mortification, as he told me afterwards—"If this had happened to me in the field, in active duty, the loss of a leg might be borne, but to be condemned through all future life to say I lost my leg under the breakfast table, is too bad." Mr. Rufus King was acting that day as a volunteer aid de camp to General Glover, whose quarters were in a house to the foot and east of Quaker Hill, distant from the contested position of the rear guard a long mile. The general and the officers who composed his family were seated at breakfast, their horses standing saddled at the door. The firing on the heighth of the hill became heavy and incessant, when the General directed Mr. King to mount, and see what and where the firing was. He quitted the table, Sherburne took his chair, and was hardly seated, when a spent cannon ball from the scene of action bounded in at the open window, fell upon the floor, rolled to its destination, the ancle of Sherburne, and crushed all the bones of his foot. Surely there is a providence which controls the events of human life, and which withdrew Mr. King from this misfortune.

"Soon after this, as I was carrying an important order, the wind, which had risen with the sun, blew off my hat. It was not a time to dismount for a hat. I therefore tied a white handkerchief round my head, and as I did not recover my hat until evening, I formed, the rest of the day, the most conspicuous mark that was ever seen on the field—mounted on

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found himself surrounded by the enemy. His horse was killed under him, and he lost his right arm, but escaped from capture. As a reward for his brave act, Congress granted him the rank of lieutenant-colonel by brevet, and a provision of thirty dollars a month for life."—*Sparks & Journals of Congress*, *Oct.* 27.

a superb bay horse, in a summer dress of nankeen—with this head dress, duty led me to every point where danger was to be found, and I escaped without the slightest injury. It becomes me to say with the Psalmist, "I thank thee O thou Most High, for thou hast covered my head in the day of battle." For never was aid de camp exposed to more danger than I was during that entire day, from daylight to dusk.*

"The day was past in skirmishing, and towards evening a body of the enemy, (Germans,) had pushed our right wing, and advanced so far as to endanger themselves. I was ordered to take Gen. Lovell's brigade of Massachusetts militia, and aid in repulsing them; this brigade was very much weakened by the withdrawal of many officers and men, in consequence of the army having been left by the French fleet. For this reason I drew up the brigade in line, and disregarding their original distinction of regiments and companies, told them off into ten divisions; assigned their officers among them, wheeled them off into column, and advanced towards the scene of action, intending to pass beyond the enemy's flank, and to attack his rear. As we advanced, the noise of the conflict seemed to retire, until we approached a small wood skirting the open fields, which lay in the direction of our march. This wood was occupied by a party of the enemy, whom it concealed from our view, while the fire which they opened upon us as we advanced, marked their position. As was common, they fired too high, and their shot passed over our heads, doing no harm. In front of the wood, at the distance of thirty or forty yards, ran a strong stone fence, such as are common in Rhode Island. Generally, on such an occasion, this fence would have been made use of as a breastwork to protect us from the enemy's fire; but as my men had hitherto kept their order perfectly, and seemed to be in no degree disconcerted by the sound of the balls, which whistled over their heads, (perhaps they did not understand it,) I became elated with the hope of doing something uncommon, and therefore determined not to make use of this wall for defence, but to attack. For this purpose it was necessary to remove such an obstacle, for in attempting to climb over it all order would infallibly be lost. I therefore moved on until the front division of the column was within ten yards of the wall, and then gave the word of command as if on parade—"Column, halt—leading division, ground your arms—step forwards, comrades, and level this fence—it stands in our way—quick, quick!" The order was obeyed with precision; the fence was levelled in an instant, and we resumed our forward march without having a man hurt. From that moment the firing from the wood ceased, and we could find no enemy; they had already been engaged

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* "As soon as the enemy discovered you, and probably suspecting your object, they opened a fire upon you from six or seven pieces of their cannon; and I, and others around me, were every instant looking to see you fall, as it seemed impossible that you should escape. On your return from this most adventurous exploit, General Sullivan said, "your escape has been most wonderful."—*Gen. Mattoon, who was present at the battle, to Col. J. Trumbull.*

with, and overmatched by other troops, before we approached, and when they saw our cool manœuvre, they probably mistook us for veterans coming to the rescue, and prudently withdrew.*

"Still I hoped to be able to strike an important blow, and requested General Lovell to incline his march to the right (by which means his movement would be screened from the view of the enemy by the form of the ground,) to move slowly and carefully; and to keep the men together in their actual order. I rode forward to reconnoitre and ascertain the position of the enemy. As I rose the crest of the hill, I saw the German troops, who had just been repulsed, in evident disorder, endeavoring to re-form their line, but fatigued, disconcerted, and vacillating. I thought it a glorious moment, and hurried back to my brave column, with the intention of heading it (under cover of the ground,) into the rear of the enemy's flank. Judge of my vexation, when I found my men, not in slow motion and good order, as I had directed, but halted behind another strong fence, dispersed, without the shadow of order, their arms grounded, or leaning against the fence, exulting in their good conduct and success in having made the enemy run. I was cruelly disappointed; but as the success of the blow which I had meditated depended entirely upon rapidity of movement, and much time would be wasted before we could recover our original order, and be prepared to move, I gave up my projected attack, and returned to make my report to my general.

"The next day the army kept their ground on Butt's Hill, collected our wounded, buried the dead, and while we made a show of intending to maintain our position, were really busy in preparing for a retreat, which was effected during the following night, across Howland's Ferry to Tiverton, without the loss of a man, or of the smallest article of stores.

"The entire conduct of this expedition, and of this retreat, (as well as of that from Canada,) was in the highest degree honorable to General Sullivan."

The retreat from Rhode Island which Colonel Trumbull thus describes, did not at once relieve the Governor of Connecticut, or his Council, or the State at large, from the necessity of military labor and watchfulness. The enemy began immediately to burn and depredate along the coast of New England. They menaced every part of it. Particu-

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*Seeing the order and rapidity of this movement, Gen. Sullivan exclaimed, "that movement would do honor to the ablest regiment of the army." "The enemy engaged with Col. Greene, perceiving this bold and successful adventure, instantly retreated, and thus escaped a capture. Your preservation in each of these most daring enterprises, [he refers to Trumbull's bearing orders to Quaker Hill also,] I have ever considered little short of a miracle, and a most remarkable interposition of Providence for your safety."—*Gen. Mattoon to Col. J. Trumbull.*

larly, they threatened Boston, and the French fleet in the harbor there. They indicated also, occasionally, a purpose of sailing to Nova Scotia and Canada, in order to renew descents upon the United States from the North—while at the same time they made demonstrations against the posts in the Highlands, and preparations, apparently, for hostile expeditions against the South. All was mystery—deep mystery in their proceedings. They were decidedly now superior at sea, and might strike anywhere—but at New England again first, and at D'Estaign especially, it was thought most generally their blows would be levelled.

Washington, therefore, adapted his army to this new state of things. He threw it into several divisions—one of which he left posted in the vicinity of the North River. Another he stationed at Danbury. Others he pushed on by different stages towards Connecticut River—his object being to have them all within supporting distance of each other, so that they might either form a junction, if necessary, for their own immediate defence—or cooperate in defending the posts in the Highlands, or in resisting any attack on D'Estaign and Boston, or upon any other part of the New England coast. In prosecution of this plan, early in September, he sent General Gates with three brigades to Danbury, where the latter was soon joined by General McDougall with two more—and then, in October, on to Hartford—where Gates soon arrived, and encamped on the broad and beautiful plat of the North Meadow.

In carrying the arrangements now stated into effect, Trumbull was consulted by Washington and Gates at almost every step, and gave them freely every advice and assistance in his power. All the roads leading from Danbury towards Boston were, by order of the Commander-in-chief, to be put in repair for the march of the American columns. Trumbull gave his attention to this matter. Good halting places for the army, at proper stages, were to be secured in advance. He lent his aid for this purpose to the Quarter-Master whom Washington sent forward to provide them—so that when the American troops advanced, everything was ready for them—and during the entire period that they traversed Connecticut,

or remained stationed within its borders, they were comforted by easy marches, and by full supplies.

When Gates reached Hartford, he was cordially met there by the Governor and General Assembly of the State, and treated with distinguished honor. And the Governor—and Assembly—in a field of duty quite different from that in which the former was usually occupied—gave the General and his suite, together with all the field officers of the Continental army then in town, a fine entertainment. The proceedings were ushered in, at twelve o'clock in the day, by a parade in front of the State House, on the part of one of the Companics from a Train of Artillery, whose exactness of discipline, says a cotemporaneous account, "rendered them respectable to the numerous spectators."

At three o'clock, dinner was served, at a public inn—and there, at the head of the table—in his white-haired, full-bottomed wig, fine broadcloth or velvet coat, white neckcloth, satin-embroidered vest, black small clothes, probably, and white silk stockings buckled at the knee—surrounded by officers in glittering uniforms—his Excellency sat—dispensing with grace and dignity, over a well-loaded board, the hospitalities of the occasion. His own sober yet imposing manner, we can easily imagine, must have contrasted somewhat strongly, with the gayety of some of his companions—his own opinions and conjectures as to the future probable course of the foe, as to the safety of Boston and D'Estaign, and the security of New England generally, have attracted attentive listeners. And the conversation of all present was, doubtless, wholly absorbed by that war, which, for the first time since it began, had stationed armed brigades in the beautiful valley of the Connecticut—deep in the interior of the State, and sixty miles distant from that sea on which the enemy rode triumphant.

As the feast was about closing, cannon rent the air with thirteen discharges, in honor of the thirteen United States—between whose intervals, and while their echoes were rolling back from the adjacent ridges of mountains, toasts were drank.

"*The United States of America—The Congress and Councils*

of America—General Washington and the American Army—The American Navy—The King of France and our Allies in Europe—Count D'Estaign and the fleet under his command—Dr. Franklin and our Plenipotentiaries in Europe—The State of Connecticut—May oppressed Virtue ever find an Asylum in America"—such were the sentiments in their order at the time, which the patriotic tongues at that festival took up—

> "While sanguine hopes dispelled their floating care,
> And what was difficult and what was dire,
> Sank to their prowess and superior stars."

"*The glorious memory of Generals Warren, Montgomery, Wooster, and Nash, with all the virtuous officers and soldiers who have died in defence of Freedom and their country*"—drank in melancholy silence, followed upon the toasts already given.

"*May the Arts and Sciences be ever patronized in America*"—was the hopeful sentiment which succeeded.

"*May all our citizens be soldiers, and our soldiers be always citizens*"—was the ingenious antithetical canon of true republicanism with which the libations closed.

And at half past five the Governor, General Gates, his suite of officers, and a committee on the part of the State, who had added by their presence to the dignity of the entertainment, withdrew, in imposing procession, to the State House—where—in the midst of a throng of gratified spectators—the ceremony of reception—which had been conducted throughout in a most appropriate manner—was at last concluded—to the great satisfaction of all.

General Gates soon left Hartford for Boston, to take command in the Eastern Department. General Putnam, succeeding him at Hartford, marched the troops from the North Meadow to the West division in that town—and thence, November twenty-fourth, back to Danbury. New England was no longer immediately threatened. The problem of the British plan was solved by the departure of large detachments of their army to the West Indies, and to Florida. So Washington placed his forces in winter quarters—the main portion of them upon and near the Hudson River—a part in

the Jerseys—and three brigades under Putnam, consisting of the Connecticut and New Hampshire troops, and Hazen's regiment, at Danbury—to protect the country lying along the Sound, and the magazines on Connecticut River, and to aid the Highlands in case of any serious movement of the enemy in that direction. The Campaign of 1778 was at an end.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1778.

TRUMBULL and the Home Defence of Connecticut. The British naval armament upon the American station this year. Trumbull's protection of the coast. His attention to the Marine. A privateer named after him. The whaleboat system gives him much anxiety. It degenerates He watches it closely, and is sparing of commissions. The benefits resulting to Connecticut this year from his measures for home defence. Maritime losses few. They are more than counterbalanced by maritime gains. The memorable capture of the Admiral Keppel and the Cyrus, by the Oliver Cromwell—a Connecticut ship-of-war. Its commander's letter to Trumbull announcing the victory. Prisoners—a large number this year. March of the captives at the Battle of Saratoga through Connecticut on their way to Virginia. Trumbull's arrangements for it. Case of Henry Shirley, a distinguished prisoner in Trumbull's hands The handsome treatment he received from the Governor.

TRUMBULL had other important labors in the Campaign of 1778, to which we have not yet alluded—choosing, as heretofore, that they should occupy paragraphs by themselves. We refer to his labors, particularly, in the home and naval defence of Connecticut—a sphere, which in 1778, as in previous years, still continued to make heavy demands on his time and watchfulness. For still armed British vessels hardly ceased day or night, cruising up and down the Sound, threatening towns, and seeking opportunities to land, and burn, and plunder. In February of this year, the British naval armament upon the American station consisted of no less than eighty-three ships-of-war, from sixty-four to ten guns each—besides the Richmond, a bomb-ship—the Juno, the Orpheus, a fire-ship—the Blonde, the Potens, and the Venus. Is it a wonder then that Connecticut, lying directly alongside one of their great highways of travel—Long Island Sound—should be kept in a state of perpetual apprehension!

So far now as coast defence is concerned, Governor Trumbull was employed as usual this year, in raising, stationing, and supplying troops—in repairing and strengthening fortifi-

cations—in providing for these, from time to time, new field pieces and apparatus of every description—in promoting activity among the coast guards—and in preventing all unlawful communications, or illicit trade with the enemy, from the Connecticut shore. Seven companies were to be raised in January for the defence of various points upon the sea-line—to serve during the year—and two brigades were ordered in February, which were to be ready, on the shortest notice, to do duty either within or without the State. These the Captain-General superintended, and at intervals, as danger threatened, drew from the brigades to increase the protection of exposed points.*

As regards defence strictly naval—on the Sound particularly—he was occupied as in previous years. He fitted out the vessels of war belonging to the State. He furnished materials for this purpose—particularly masts, bowsprits, booms, and yards, from the Connecticut River. He commissioned officers, gave sailing orders, and sent out privateers—which he furnished at times with guns—and also whaleboats and spy vessels. He superintended prizes, and enforced embargoes, especially one which was laid by Congress in June.†

Whaleboats were at one time wanted by Washington for the transportation of one thousand men—Trumbull provided these. A new Continental frigate, called the *Confederacy*, was

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*As once, for example, late in March, two additional companies to secure New-haven, which city, particularly, was then exposed to great danger—and once in April, eighty-six additional men to guard Great Neck at New-London. Besides numerous drafts like these—in February, upon request from General Putnam—he sent Major Thompson, the commanding officer of Nixon's battalion then stationed at Farmington, with all of his regiment fit for duty, to take station at Greenwich, for the protection of the coast towards New-York—and in June again, ordered a fresh regiment on to Sawpitts, to be placed under General Gates. There was no part of the whole line of Connecticut sea-coast, which, during the entire year, escaped the eye of himself and his Council.

† Among the vessels which he fitted out for sea this year was the *Governor Trumbull*—a fine privateer ship of twenty guns—which was built by Howland and Coit at Norwich, and named after himself. He sent her out in March upon her first cruise, under the command of Capt. Henry Billings. In April, he sent the Dolphin and the Spy, loaded with hoops and staves, to the West Indies, to procure warlike munitions and stores. In August, he caused Capt. Smedley to fit up his ship anew in Boston, and then to cruise up and down from this port southward. In September, he refitted the Oliver Cromwell, which had then lately suffered from a storm at sea, and ordered her, and the Defence, to cruise up and down the Sound, &c., &c.

to be built at Norwich. He gave attention to her construction, and after she was launched, in September, procured the appointment of his friend Capt. Seth Harding to command her—having taken pains to recommend him previously to the Marine Committee at Philadelphia, as one of the bravest of officers, who could man a ship, he stated, with such expedition that "three hundred men stood ready to engage under him the moment he should receive his commission." The Continental Marine Committee for the Department of Connecticut—among whom were Oliver Ellsworth, and Captain John Deshon of New London—often sought his advice. It was always ready. Naval agent Shaw sought his intervention for funds. His drafts on Congress, to the amount at times of fifty thousand dollars, were ready.

But no department of the naval service gave him more anxiety than that which embraced the cruising of the Connecticut whaleboats, and small armed vessels, upon the Sound. These, during the year now under consideration, were exceedingly active in annoying the enemy—the whaleboats, particularly—which, made light—with sheathing not more than half an inch thick—sharp at each end, and varying in length from fourteen to thirty-two feet—could be impelled, by from eight to twenty oars, with remarkable velocity—could be easily carried on men's shoulders, and, if necessary, be hid among bushes, and relaunched with the greatest facility.

Many a market-boat of the enemy, loaded with provisions, and detached vessels even from British convoys, became their prizes. Many a noted tory upon Long Island, and "loyal" American volunteer—many a little band of British soldiers, Hessians and others—became their captives. They were constantly on the lookout. "They will take advantage of every calm," complained Rivington loudly this year, "to shoot out from their lurking places, and cross over and pillage the loyalists of Long Island." And almost every week this tory Editor had occasion to chronicle, in his "Gazette," some fresh instance of attack—from the Connecticut shore—upon "his Majesty's woodcutters," as he styled them—or "his Majesty's sloop, loaded with wood"—or upon the per-

son and effects of some one of "his Majesty's loyal subjects" on the opposite shore. "These rebels"—these "freebooters"—these "pickaroon gentry"—these "villains"—with their "rebel schooner Wild Cat, of fourteen swivels and forty men," and their armed sloops generally, and their "great abundance of whaleboats," the tory Editor Gaine would add in his "Mercury"—are kept cruising in many parts of the Sound—interrupting our market-boats—and making prisoners of great numbers of "his Majesty's faithful subjects!"*

The commissions which the Governor gave to these armed boats and vessels were at last, unfortunately, abused by some of the parties who obtained them. Under the pretence of taking or destroying tory property, they would sometimes invade that of whigs, and treat its owners with severity. Sometimes, against the positive requirements of law—en-

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* Take the following as examples of the kind of warfare from Connecticut, spoken of in the text.

April 27, 1778, *Rivington.* "Last Monday evening two row gallies and an armed vessel crossed from Connecticut to Lloyd's Neck, where a party of loyal refugees were cutting wood; who, upon being attacked, retreated to a house, in which they defended themselves with great bravery and resolution upwards of six hours; but their ammunition being all expended, they were obliged to submit to superior force. Next morning the rebels carried their prisoners, 18 in number, over to Connecticut. The house in which the refugees fought and surrendered is perforated in many places by the shot of the rebels."

June 8, 1778, *Rivington.* "Wednesday last the rebel schooner Wild Cat, of 14 swivels and 40 men, came from Connecticut to Oyster Bay, and landed 14 of her crew, who shot several sheep, but a number of inhabitants appearing in arms, they made off. This vessel, by having a great number of oars, takes advantage of every calm to cross over and pillage the loyalists on Long Island."

Hartford, *Sept.* 3, 1778. "Maj. Grey, of Col. Meig's regiment, brought off from Lloyd's Neck 15 tories, and killed three—all from Connecticut."

Sep. 7, 1778, *Gaine.* "A sloop with some provisions, and a boat loaded with wood, were taken at Lloyd's Neck last Wednesday, by a privateer sloop from Connecticut. A great abundance of armed whaleboats are cruising in many parts of the Sound, and 'tis feared will much interrupt our market-boats."

Sep. 12, 1778, *Rivington.* "A party of rebels came over from Connecticut to Oyster Bay Thursday evening last, and plundered the house of Wm. Cock of goods to the amount of £140. They made Mr. C. and his family carry the goods near two miles, to their whaleboat, and got off unmolested. And on Saturday a number of freebooters, in two boats, came over to Red Spring, and robbed the houses of Jacob Carpenter and John Weekes of a quantity of valuable effects, and then made off; but returned Saturday evening to Oak Neck, and robbed two unfortunate weavers. The principal of these villains is named Carhart, who sometime ago came over from Connecticut, and pretended to be a friend to government, and was treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness by the very persons whose property he has carried off."

gaged, more than in former years, in illicit trade—they would bring off British goods to the Main, and there dispose of them for lucre.

Some American refugees from Long Island, who professed to be warm friends of their country—but who in fact were unprincipled men, who by imposition had obtained their cruising commissions from the Governor of Connecticut—were among the first and most notorious in their abuse of them. They were men with whom "it required no great stretch of conscience to go on land and plunder indiscriminately, both Whig and Loyalist, under pretence of taking British goods." And in their hands, and those of a few others, the whaleboat warfare at last "degenerated into downright robbery," and, in the year 1779, was summarily stopped. General Putnam, late in the present year, wrote both to Trumbull and to Governor Clinton of New York—who also granted commissions—and warmly remonstrated against the abuses now in question. But Trumbull needed no admonition or stimulus upon this subject. It had been his care, not only to grant no cruising licenses save to those whom he believed to be patriotic and trustworthy, but also to watch their proceedings afterwards, and to arrest and summon them at once before himself and his Council to answer for any violations either of their instructions, or of their duty.*

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* As one example, among many, of his promptness in this respect, take the following summons, which, Aug. 11, 1778, he addressed to Captain Jonathan Vail, and Capt. Jeremiah Rogers, the commanders respectively of two whaleboats.

"Whereas sundry and repeated complaints have been made that persons, under authority of Commission given to American boats to go on shore on Long Island to act against the enemy there, or under color or pretext thereof, have unjustly and cruelly plundered many of the friendly inhabitants there—brought off their effects, and have not caused them to be libelled and condemned in course of Law—you and each of you are hereby required to attend here on Tuesday the 18th instant—to account for your conduct in that respect. In the meantime you are forbidden to act offensively towards the inhabitants on Long Island, or to make any hostile descent upon the Land, in virtue of your Commission.

"JONTH TRUMBULL, GOVR."

Here is another example of the kind, addressed "to Capt. Peter Halleck, Jonth Solomons, or their owners, as they may be respectively concerned."

"*Lebanon*, *Aug.* 11*th*, 1778. Gentlemen. It being represented and complained

The services of Trumbull now described, for the home defence of Connecticut and the Sound, were not, the present year, without important and highly favorable results. When—in February—news arrived that the enemy at Newport were preparing to sweep the coast of the State with fire and slaughter, and one of their large ships—the advance, it was supposed, of a numerous fleet—approached menacingly nearly within the lighthouse towards New London—his active preparations diverted the attack.

When—in March—thirty British sail—some of them gigantic men of war—hovered around Gardiner's Bay, and daily threatened a descent, their purpose was checked by the energy of his measures. When—again in March—two hundred British troops—under cover of a row-galley and two armed sloops—landed at Greenwich Point, to destroy flour on the beach above the Point, and fire a vessel belonging to the State—the guard whom he had stationed there—aided by a few brave inhabitants near the spot—extinguished the flames which the enemy had applied to a galley, retook the cattle and sheep they had seized, and gallantly repulsed the foe.

When again—early in September—New London was greatly alarmed—there being strong reason to apprehend, as the Record expresses it, "that our restless and malicious enemy," having been "lately disappointed, by the favor of divine Providence, of an enterprise" against this town, would "speedily return and attempt its destruction," unless a sufficient force was stationed there "for its security and defence"—that force was immediately raised. Fourteen addi-

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to me, that sundry persons belonging to your or one of your armed boats commissioned to cruise in the Sound, have, contrary to the tenor of your Commission and Bond, made descent upon the island of Long Island, and plundered the inhabitants of their stock and effects, and that without distinction, and in particular have lately taken six oxen from Col. Phinehas Fanning, and brought over to this State—this conduct you must be sensible is unworthy, and renders you liable on your bonds, &c.—I would, with the advice of my Council, advise you or either of you, so far as you may be respectively concerned, to settle—compound the matter with Col. Fanning, and restore to him his property; lest you be exposed to further consequences. I am,

"Your humble servant,

"JONTH TRUMBULL."

tional companies, ordered thither by Governor Trumbull, averted the threatened catastrophe.

While the sea-coast of Connecticut was thus ably defended, the little navy of the State was fruitfully busy upon the water. The *Old Defence*, it is true, commanded by Captain Daniel Deshon, was—in January—taken by the enemy, and carried into Jamaica. A brig also, under Captain Atwell, and a sloop from Newhaven, commanded by Captain Brown, in April, were both captured, and sent to the West Indies. The privateer sloop Broome also, in November, was seized by the British, and taken into New York. But the losses otherwise of Connecticut, were few and inconsiderable.

On the other hand, her naval successes—though not, save in one or two instances, so brilliant as in preceding years, and not comparable to those of 1779—were yet productive and encouraging. A large schooner, an armed sloop, two British captains and several British seamen—together with a large amount of rigging and ship furniture—were brought off, in March, from Smithtown, Long Island, by a gallant party of thirty or forty volunteers from Colonel Meigs' regiment—who at the same time burned a British brig of two hundred tons. Two sloops, deeply laden with wood and vegetables, were cut out from Hempstead harbor, in April, by Lieutenant Lay with a party of fifteen men. A brig from Ireland, laden with provisions, and an English ship from Bristol, were taken in May by the privateer sloop America, Captain Coit, and carried into Martinico. The *Lovely Lass* from London, with a valuable cargo, in May also, was taken by the Revenge, Captain Conklin, and by the American Revenge, Captain Champlin, from New London, and sent into Boston. A ship from London, bound to New York—with a cargo valued at thirty thousand pounds—in May again, was taken by two Connecticut privateers, of which Captain Stanton commanded one. These now mentioned were among the chief prizes which, this year, rewarded the adventurousness of Connecticut upon the seas.

But the capture altogether the most conspicuous of any made during this period—and the most valuable of all that were made by the Connecticut Marine during the entire

course of the Revolutionary War—was that of the two ships *Admiral Keppel* and the *Cyrus*—taken in April by the *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain Parker, and the *Defence*, Captain Smedley. They were both of them letters of marque—mounted eighteen excellent six pounders each—and contained cargoes which together sold for eighty-one thousand two hundred and fifty-five pounds, fourteen shillings, and five pence.

How must the heart of Trumbull have beat with joy, when from Captain Parker—dating a letter to the Governor himself from on board the "Oliver Cromwell, at sea, April 20th, 1778, latitude 20°, longitude 50°"—he received the intelligence, that on Wednesday, the thirteenth of April, this gallant commander had fallen in with, and captured these remarkable prizes—that the Keppel "had a very warlike appearance, and was the best manned"—that he "ran close alongside of her in the Cromwell, and received her first fire at some distance, but did not return it until he came close on board"—that "she gave the Cromwell a warm reception for about three glasses, and *then struck*"—that all this was effected with but the loss of two men killed, and five wounded—that "the courage" of his "raw, undisciplined men could not fail of doing honor to their country"—and that the merit of his officers, "in keeping such inexperienced young boys, as many of them were, to their quarters, without the show of fear, or noise, or confusion, through the whole short and warm action, was conspicuous to all!"

Such was the naval experience of Connecticut in the year seventeen hundred seventy-eight.

Her own land and naval warfare, and that of the country generally, brought with it of course, as in former years, and placed within her limits, a large number of prisoners—not so many, however, as in previous periods, but yet enough to demand, on the part of Trumbull, a good share of his attention. Many were brought in by the privateers,* and other

* The following order illustrates Trumbull's action, at times, with regard to such prisoners:—

"State of Connecticut. By the Governor. To Prosper Wetmore, Esq., Sheriff of the County of New London—Greeting.

"It is represented to me by Mr. Jacob de Witt, of Norwich, one of the owners of the Privateer Sloop Lydia, that Capt. Jabez Lord, Commander of the same,

armed vessels of the State. Once, in April, in one troop—one hundred and fifty British, Hessian, and Canadian prisoners were taken from Albany to Hartford, and there lodged in jail—while at the same time one hundred and thirty more, who were confined in this latter town, were transferred to be kept on board a guard ship at Norwich.

At the beginning of the year, in conformity with a Resolution of Congress—which applied to each State, and had reference to a system for exchanging prisoners—Trumbull furnished an accurate account of all the money, provisions, and other necessaries, which had been used for captives in Connecticut—and in the course of the year, as in previous periods, was busy in negotiating exchanges, and sending flags of truce from the harbors of New London and New Haven. Among those who obtained their freedom this year was the notorious William Franklin, of whom we have heretofore spoken. He was exchanged for John McKinley, Esquire, President of Delaware, and went back to New Jersey, there to renew his nefarious opposition to the land of his birth.

There was one duty, in the department of prisoners, which Governor Trumbull had to perform this year, that was peculiar. It was to see that the "Convention Troops," as they were called—those who had been captured by Gates at the memorable Battle of Saratoga—were marched securely through Connecticut, on their way, in October, from Boston to Charlottsville in Virginia—to which place—on account of the scarcity of flour in the New England States, and the unwillingness of Clinton to grant passports for its conveyance from the Middle States to the eastward—these prisoners were to be conducted. He complied with Washington's requisition for troops to act as an escort and guard upon the occasion—sent

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hath captured an enemy's sloop, on board which he hath taken prisoners one Captain and nine men.

"You are hereby directed to receive and keep in safe custody the said Prisoners. You may take the parole of the Captain, to abide within such short limits as you may judge proper and safe.

"You will give notice by some convenient opportunity to Ezekiel Williams, Esq., Commissary of Prisoners, and observe such orders as he shall give concerning the prisoners.

"Given at Lebanon, the 19th day of August, A. D. 1778.

"JONTH TRUMBULL."

them to meet the captives on the borders of Connecticut, and conducted them safely through the State.* What a spectacle they must have been to the inhabitants, as they passed—morose, solemn, inflexible—the motions of their spirits no longer, as when they swept magnificently strong over the waters of Lake Champlain, light as the tossing plumes which they mirrored by thousands in its glassy depths, but "dull as night"—

> Given to captivity, they and their utmost hopes!"

It was the peculiar fortune of Trumbull, during almost every year of the war, to hold in his custody as prisoners, personages who were more or less remarkable. We have had occasion to notice quite a number of these heretofore. Among such, the present year, he held Hugh Wallace, Esquire, one of the former Council for the Crown in the State of New York.

But more conspicuous than any other person in his hands as a prisoner—if so, under all the circumstances, he can be regarded—was Henry Shirley, Esquire—a gentleman "of estimable character, of great fortune, of powerful connections," and who had himself once represented Great Britain as ambassador to the Court of Russia. With his lady, daughter, a handmaid of Mrs. Shirley's, and their servants, this person had been taken on board the Admiral Keppel by Captain Parker, while on his way from Bristol to settle the affairs of an estate which he owned in Jamaica. He had been favorably inclined towards the United States—had taken no active part against them—and was the gentleman who had formerly presented the Jamaica petition to the King in their favor. He had used his influence on board the Keppel, after she was captured, to keep the prisoners quiet—

* "When you have fixed the time of march and the route, inform Governor Trumbull, that he may be ready to receive them on the borders of Connecticut." —*Washington to Gen. Heath*, *Oct.* 21, 1778.

"I have requested Gen. Heath to employ a sufficient number of the Massachusetts militia to conduct them to Connecticut. I shall make a like requisition to Governor Trumbull, and it will be necessary that the several States in succession, through which they are to pass, be called on in the same manner.—*Washington to the President of Congress*, *Oct.* 22, 1778.

without which, it was said, it would have been impossible to have brought the prize into port, as the Oliver Cromwell had but few seamen, and most of them were sick with the small pox.

All these circumstances were strongly represented to Governor Trumbull by his son Colonel John, who made Shirley's acquaintance in Boston—was warmly interested in his favor—and begged his father to grant him a flag to transport him and his family to his estate in Jamaica—a boon, which, he said, "good policy, not to say justice," should induce him to grant, since Mr. Shirley was in a position "to become a mighty engine," he stated, "either for or against" the great interests of the United States. Captain Parker also represented him in a most favorable light to the Governor. So did Samuel Elliot, the naval agent at Boston, who took pains also to memorialize the Massachusetts Legislature for liberty to accommodate him and his suite in Boston in a manner becoming his rank and character.

These applications were not without their influence upon Governor Trumbull. He in consequence sent instructions to Elliot, to pay every proper attention to the prisoner, and allow him all the indulgence which was consistent with his safety, and duty to the State. And soon he sent on a permit to Shirley himself, to visit Connecticut by the middle route from Boston, with the privilege of being attended by his friend Mr. Phipps, his surgeons, and his servants—and directed Elliot to assist him on his journey, and make Mrs. Shirley and her daughter "as easy in his absence as their unfortunate situation would admit." Mr. Shirley accordingly made a journey to see the Governor at Lebanon, where he was entertained with the greatest courtesy, and where he entered into full and free conversations in regard to the mutual relations of Great Britain and America. The impression he made upon Trumbull was exceedingly favorable.

"Mr. Shirley is a gentleman of good sense and abilities," he wrote the Delegates in Congress from Connecticut, June twenty-ninth—"well knowing British policy, acquainted with all the great men and characters in Great Britain, and was an ambassador from the Court of Great Britain

to the Court of Russia. He talks freely on politics. He left England 9th of March. He wishes we had a *go-between*, as he expresseth it—says France will serve only as a *Poker* to increase the flame—the more the better—that the States of Holland would serve to make a Reconciliation—that great numbers in England wish well to our Independence, with a Treaty of Amity and Free Commerce—that Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas be ceded to us—they to retain Newfoundland—the Fishery to be free to both—they to protect our Flag—these States, in return, to Guarantee the English West Indies.

"He gives the King the character of good—says that he ardently desires a Reconciliation, is much directed by his Ministers, and doth not wish the Administration to be in the hands of Lords Chatham and Shelburne. He gives Lord North a very good character. The Ministry who are violent against these States want to introduce the two former, and to produce a Coalition between the opposite parties in England—to declare no war with France—to raise and send reenforcements to wreak John Bull's vengeance against America—to divide and distract our Councils—and to inflame the Protestant Powers in Europe against the United States for forming an Alliance with France and Popish Powers."

Such were the views which Shirley freely expressed to Governor Trumbull at his house in Lebanon—views which in the concessions they made to America were certainly liberal—and which the latter took pains to communicate, as of more than ordinary weight and importance—through Roger Sherman and his colleagues from Connecticut—to the General Assembly of the nation. At one time he thought of sending Mr. Shirley on in person to Congress, to confer with members there—but finally abandoned this project, lest some "disagreeable consequences," he said, might possibly follow, and he should himself "incur blame." He took another, and probably more prudent course—one which at the same time reflected honor on his courtesy, his humanity, and his caution. He permitted Shirley to hire a vessel for the transportation of himself and his family to Jamaica—gave him a protecting flag—and merely demanding from him—in order to meet any exigency that might possibly arise—his own parole, for himself and those who accompanied him—for the purpose of exchange—dismissed him in safety to pursue his journey to his original destination.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1778.

TRUMBULL and the Conciliatory Plan of Lord North. The bills embracing it are sent to him by Gov. Tryon of New York. His spirited reply. He communicates them to Massachusetts and to Congress. The plan wholly fails. Trumbull and the Confederation. Its articles are sent to him, and he lays them before the General Assembly of Connecticut. His views respecting them. He urges their adoption. Has long advocated some Plan of Union, and been impatient at its delay. With Washington, he censures Congress for its dilatoriness, factiousness, and neglect of wholesome measures. Trumbull and the currency again. Its continued depreciation. His remedy. Connecticut, upon his Message, provides for six hundred thousand dollars. He writes the Connecticut Delegates in Congress on the public debt. With Erkelaus, a patriotic foreigner, he advises Congress, upon certain conditions, to negotiate a foreign loan. His views upon the scheme of regulating prices by law.

THUS far we have been looking at Trumbull, for the year 1778, in that department of his life and services which is strictly military. We have now to look at him, during this period, in a department which is civil, mainly, in its nature, though parts of it connect directly with the war. And here we shall find much that is worthy of special note.

The first important fact which presents itself, is his proceeding in regard to the famous Conciliatory plan of Lord North, which—instituted in the British Parliament about the middle of February—and soon transmitted for consideration to the United States, and backed in this country by a special Board of Peace Commissioners—continued during nearly the whole year to create agitation and disturbance.

This Plan, arranged in three bills—the first, as expressed by its title, intended for removing all doubts concerning the taxation of the Colonies by the British Parliament—the second, for restoring the charter of Massachusetts Bay—and the third, for appointing commissioners with full powers to treat

with the Colonies on the means of quieting the public disorders—the Plan, thus arranged—glittering, but insidious—full of promise, yet full of guile—was in the spring sent over to America. It was sent instantly upon its being reported in the British Parliament, and before it received the sanction of legislation—so vividly apprehensive at this time were the British Ministry, lest an Alliance, that would in every respect improve the aspect of American affairs, should take place between France and the United States—and so eager were they to anticipate any movements which might be made for establishing such a connection. The bills which embraced this Plan, very many of them, came into the hands of Governor Tryon of New York, for distribution in America—and, on the last Tuesday in April, he sent several copies of them, under a flag of truce, to Newhaven, for delivery to Jonathan Trumbull. And at the same time he dispatched a letter to the Governor, requesting him to circulate them both among the people of Connecticut, and those of the Provinces at the East.

These bills, as has been intimated, promised much—they yielded much—yet they were insidious and perilous. The duty on tea was to be repealed. No taxes were to be laid save those which were external, and for the regulation of commerce. The allurement was "extremely flattering," as Washington remarked, to minds that did "not penetrate far into political consequences," and was not without its effect—but yet to discerning men, "a game," he added, played by the enemy which was "more dangerous than their efforts by arms," and which threatened "a fatal blow to the independence of America, and of course to her liberties." So Trumbull viewed the matter—precisely—as the following letter which he addressed to Tryon in reply, abundantly proves.

"April 23d, 1778. Sir. Your letter of the 17th instant, from New York, is received with its enclosures, and the several similar packets of various addresses, with which it was accompanied.

"Propositions of Peace are usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other; and the present is the first instance within my recollection, where a vague, half-blank, and very indefinite draft of a bill, once only read before one of

three bodies of the Legislature of the Nation, has ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, as an overture of reconciliation.

"There was a day when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent State, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but this day, Sir, is past irrevocably. The repeated, insolent rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions; the unprovoked commencement of hostilities; the barbarous inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain on any other conditions than the most perfect and absolute independence. To the Congress of the United States of America, therefore, all proposals of this kind are to be addressed; and you will give me leave, Sir, to say, that the present mode bears too much the marks of an insidious design to disunite the people, and to lull them into a state of quietude and negligence of the necessary preparations for the approaching campaign. If this be the real design, it is fruitless. If peace be really the object, let your proposals be addressed properly to the proper power, and your negotiations be honorably conducted; we shall then have some prospect of (what is the most ardent wish of every honest American,) a lasting and honorable peace.

"The British nation may then, perhaps, find us as affectionate and valuable friends, as we now are determined and fatal enemies; and will derive from that friendship more solid and real advantage than the most sanguine can expect from conquest.

"I am, Sir,
"Your humble servant,
"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

"WILLIAM TRYON, ESQ."

What a rebuke to the presumption of British power does Trumbull administer in this his answer to Tryon—bestowed indeed, as Botta justly remarks, "in a most energetic manner!"—"When I was told the Governor had written Governor Tryon on the subject of the Overtures," said General Jedediah Huntington, in a letter which he addressed at the time* to Colonel Williams—"I was very anxious to know what it was—not that I doubted its being well done, but I considered it a matter of great importance, as it would probably be immediately forwarded to England, and be there received as a specimen of our temper and feelings on the occa-

* April 28th, 1778.

sion. I must think the Governor's words are *like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver!*"

"*Apples of Gold*," they were indeed! So thought Massachusetts of them upon this occasion—to the President of whose General Assembly the Governor transmitted Tryon's communication, and his own reply. So thought Congress, to which Body also he sent the entire correspondence, with the Conciliatory Bills enclosed, and by whom it was all referred, for careful consideration, to their standing Committee on Intelligence.* The sentiments which, with such becoming firmness Trumbull expresses, were those of his country. They were, particularly, those of the Congress of the United States—for one day only before his letter was written—and of course before he could himself have had any knowledge of its proceedings—this Body resolved that the Conciliatory Bills, which Trumbull had thus, so far as his own decision is concerned, summarily rejected, were "intended to operate on the hopes and fears of the good people of these States, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now by the blessing of God," they affirmed, "drawing near to a favorable issue"—and that they were "the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the Stamp Act," down to that time, had "involved the country in contention and bloodshed."

By the united voice of America too, these Bills were

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* The first set of Conciliatory Measures sent to Trumbull, which were mere "Drafts of Bills," were followed, May 21st, 1778, by another communication enclosing these Drafts in the form of "Acts of Parliament"—copies of which Tryon desires Trumbull to forward to Boston, and the Eastern Provinces. They came on, he says, in his Majesty's ship the Porcupine, and he trusts "they will be received with more confidence and liberality than the Drafts" which he sent. Whether they were thus received or not, the following brief epistle from Trumbull to Tryon, in reply, will show.

"Hartford, 25th May, 1778. Sir. Your letter of the 21st instant is received, with its enclosures. The innocent do not want a pardon. The injured do not place confidence in any who have done them an injury, while Force is continued in the same pursuit. To ask it in this situation—does it not add Insult to Injury? Ought not Propositions and Negotiations of a public nature between two contending Powers, to be addressed from one to the other, and not to Individuals, or to a particular Person or Persons? When made in this manner, and honorably conducted, Liberality may justly be expected from both.

"I am, &c.,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

thrown to the winds—as Trumbull had thrown them—and as before him, in entire conjunction of sympathy and opinion Franklin had done—when—consulted in Paris in behalf of the Ministry of England in regard to them—he told the British emissaries upon the occasion—Pulteney and Hartley—that "every proposition, implying a voluntary agreement to return to a state of dependence on Great Britain, would be rejected by the Americans."

The day of reconciliation, as Trumbull affirmed to Tryon, was indeed "irrevocably passed." The efforts of the British Commissioners appointed under the Conciliatory Plan,* though earnestly exerted—though enriched with greater concessions and higher promises in behalf of America than any hitherto proffered—though gilded with glittering guineas, and exalted stations offered under British authority to leading statesmen of our land—all were in vain. In vain, in October, did these Commissioners—persisting to the last in their purpose of crowding an ignoble pacification on the country—send a second flag of truce to the harbor of New London, with fresh dispatches for the Governor of Connecticut, and intrude on the devotional repose of his Sunday evening—at which time he first received them—with their new Manifesto and Proclamation. Trumbull remained incorruptible, and inexorable.† And United America was full of men, whom—like the honest, inflexible Reed—the King of England was "not rich enough to purchase." So the Earl of Carlisle, and Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, found out—not a soul, within the forty days of pardon and of grace which they graciously extended to America, not one being found to desert either the military or civil service of the country. And they went back to England, having, by their blandishing proclamations and haughty threats, accom-

* They were Frederic, Fifth Earl of Carlisle, known afterwards as Lord Byron's Guardian—William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland—and George Johnstone, Commander in the Royal Navy, and at one time Governor of East Florida.

† "There can be no solidity in any offers the British Commissioners can make"—he wrote to Gen. Gates, June 26th, 1778. "The plan is evidently to divide and distract our Councils; to unite the opposite parties in England, to bring into Administration L[d] Chatham and Shelburne; to declare no war with France; to send over Reenforcements, to wreak their vengeance on America. Our Heavenly Protector, I trust, will spare and defend us."

plished nothing but to rivet more firmly than ever American resistance to British tyranny—with the opinion—it must have been so—planted deeply in their conviction, that

"'Tis late indeed before the brave despair!"

Another important subject which claimed Trumbull's attention in the year 1778, and of which we shall now speak, was the Confederation of the United States. Far back as 1775—just after Dr. Franklin introduced before Congress the first Articles on this subject—we found the Governor of Connecticut a strong advocate of a plan of union between the Colonies—consulted with about it—and earnestly hoping that one, "maturely digested," would be adopted soon as possible, and remain "firm and inviolate."

For such a plan he continued to be an advocate—and when towards the close of 1777, he received a copy of those Articles of Confederation, which became subsequently the bond of union for the country, and which were then for the first time finally adopted by Congress—he proceeded—immediately upon the assembling of the Legislature of Connecticut, in January, 1778—to lay them before this Body for their "dispassionate attention," and to procure their authority for their ratification—urging them—as a Circular from Congress requested the Governors of all the States to do—to examine the subject "with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow-citizens, contending for the same illustrious prize, and deeply interested in being forever bound, and cemented together, by ties the most intimate and indissoluble."

The articles were taken up by the Assembly, and most carefully considered—but a final decision was not made upon them until its succeeding session in February. At this time, at the opening of the session, Governor Trumbull was not able to be present, by reason of sickness—a very remarkable circumstance in his career. But he did not forget—in a Message which he then sent, February eleventh, from Lebanon to the "Gentlemen of the Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives"—to introduce this subject of the Confederation, as the first and most important matter to be again considered by them, and brought to a conclusion.

"It having pleased Providence," he proceeded to say, "to detain me by indisposition from personal attendance with you, at the opening of the present sessions, I am to take this method of addressing you on the present important occasion. The Papers relative to the Business which will come under your attention, accompany this—and any Letters under Address to me, which may be received in my absence, his Honor the Deputy Governor will open and communicate.

"The Articles of Confederation of the United States, call first for your attention—and as this Business was well nigh completed during your late sessions, I hope it will be speedily finished."*

Prompt attention was paid to this, the Governor's recommendation. The Articles were discussed at great length, and serious objections were made to some of their features—particularly to that rule by which the expenses of the country were to be apportioned among the States. The value of lands, which, by the eighth Article, was made the standard for taxation, was by no means, it was thought, a just representation of the proportionate contributions which each State ought to make towards discharging the common burthens. It was a standard that would be extremely unequal, it was urged, in its operation upon the different States. The true criterion, on the other hand, for estimating the wealth and ability of each State, ought to be, it was believed, the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, and quality, except Indians not paying taxes—this being a more certain, equitable, and practicable rule for apportioning taxes than the value of lands—and including in its operation that trade and those manufactures of the country, which give employment and support to multitudes, and are in fact sources of wealth to a nation as well as the produce of lands.

Such were the views of Trumbull and Connecticut, as well also as of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and

* The illness, to which the Governor refers, abated so that he was able to attend awhile upon the Legislature, but soon returned, and compelled him to go home—as the following note, from his hand, shows.

"March 3d. Governor Trumbull taketh this method to inform [the General Assembly] that his indisposition is such that he is unable to attend on public Business—that he intends to take the first favorable weather to return home—that he wisheth them Wisdom, influence, and direction in all the Important Affairs before them." By a Resolution at this time the General Assembly devolved his duties on the Deputy Governor.

a large part of New York and Pennsylvania. "Is it not certain," said Trumbull at this time*—enforcing the rule of apportionment by the polls, and meeting the objection from the South on the score of its slaves—"is it not certain the riches of a nation consist in the number of its inhabitants, when those inhabitants are properly employed? If the negroes when young or old are like drones in a hive, will it not be remedied by numbering them from a certain age, when they become useful, to the age when they are unserviceable? Will not this be more satisfactory?"

But notwithstanding the Governor's objections, and those of the General Assembly, to the basis of taxation as established by Congress—and notwithstanding the want among the Articles of some provision against a standing army in time of peace, and against an improper system of pensions—both Trumbull and the State—"sensible," as they said, "of the great importance, necessity, and advantage of a firm and speedy union"—early in February, day the twelfth—empowered the Connecticut Delegates in Congress, in conjunction with others, "to agree to and ratify" the Articles. So that, July ninth—amendments expressing their views having been previously submitted to Congress, and, in common with all from all the States, rejected—the hand of Connecticut was set to that Roll of Parchment which was the first cement of the first federal union—the first written "League of Friendship" between the Thirteen Independent States of America, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare."

Trumbull watched the operation of this celebrated instrument, till the close of his life, with the greatest interest and anxiety. He lived to see negotiated under it that Treaty of Peace which acknowledged the Independence of his native land, and that War concluded upon which he so lavished the treasures of his intellect and his heart. He was fully sensible of its defects, as time disclosed them—no man was more so. It was his wish, year by year, to remedy them—in order that the Federal Government might "act, and move, and guide" independently and firmly, "and not merely totter un-

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* His letter to Congress, Dec. 12, 1778.

der its own weight," or sink into a drowsy and palsied decrepitude. But the remedy did not come in his own day. He did not survive to see the old Confederation—its glory departed—"its days of labor done"—stand but "as a decayed monument of the past"—as "but the shadow of a mighty name." Yet while he lived, he gave to its enforcement the whole strength of his influence, as the only instrument of government, he was forced to think, which, under the circumstances of the day, could be exacted from thirteen jealous Sovereignties. And when he passed off from the stage of public action—having had opportunity to see some of the steps of its decline as they went on "numbering and finishing"—he left on record, as we shall hereafter find, his own wise and strong counsel for its extensive and radical amendment.

Its progress through Congress had been exceedingly slow. Nearly seventeen months had elapsed from the time its first draft was reported till the instrument was finally adopted. Trumbull was impatient at this long delay—impatient at the hesitation and unwillingness, even obstinate, of some of the States to ratify it. "I am exceedingly anxious," he wrote, August twenty-fifth, to Roger Sherman—"to see our Confederation completed. The four States," he added—alluding to New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, which had not yet signed the Articles—"how long must the others wait for them? If they are not like to comply soon, should we not confederate *without them?*"*

"Why, why is this vital matter delayed," was the frequent burden of his letters to others in Congress†—a Body which, towards the close of the year on which we now dwell—"for want either of abilities or application in the members, or through the discord and party views of some individuals—"had become quite neglectful of the important concerns of

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* In April 1779, all the States excepting Maryland having ratified the Confederation, the State of Connecticut authorized its Delegates to complete this Plan of Union, exclusive of Maryland.

† e. g. "Am sorry to find Confederation is procrastinated," he wrote to Dyer and his colleagues from Connecticut. "I find Maryland has something plausible to say—I wish that obstacle was removed—yet think they might rely on what hath been already done by Congress on that head. If the matters they mention were settled, it would be well. That must be a work of time. A delay of Confederation is very detrimental."

the nation—and which, for this reason, both Washington and Trumbull chastised with free and just censure.*

"It is most devoutly to be wished," exclaimed the former, in November, addressing Joseph Reed—"that faction was at an end, and that those, to whom everything dear and valuable is entrusted, would lay aside party views, and return to first principles. Happy, thrice happy country, if such were the government of it!"

"Many and weighty," said Trumbull, in October—preceding the Father of his country in similar reproof—in a letter which is worthy of special note†—"are the objects which still press on Congress for consideration. I wish, however, it did not seem that some essential things appear to be protracted to a greater length than either their nature, the importance of the objects, the necessary time for consideration, or the public expectation, deem necessary. I would fondly hope that no time is lost which might be employed in precious deliberation—that no unnecessary, unreasonable, or untoward circumstances conspire to make delays. Our situation, altho' the dawn of happier days seems to lighten upon us, is in my apprehension very critical. Many great and serious points remain to be settled. I would hope no leaven of uneasiness between States, Dis-

* A letter to Gov. Trumbull, dated Aug. 31, 1778, from Mr. Hosmer, a Delegate in Congress from Connecticut, thus corroborates the statement in the text:—

"The idleness and captiousness of some gentlemen," he says—"maugre the wishes and endeavours of an honest and industrious majority, in my apprehension, threaten the worst consequences. * * Some States have Delegates so very negligent, so much immersed in the pursuit of pleasure or business, that it is very rare we can make a Congress before eleven o'clock; and this evil seems incapable of a remedy, as Congress has no means to compel gentlemen's attendance, and those who occasionally delay are callous to admonition and reproof, which have been often tried in vain.

"When we are assembled, several gentlemen have such a knack of stating questions of order, raising debates upon critical, captious, or trifling amendments, protracting them by long speeches, by postponing, calling for the previous question, and other arts, that it is almost impossible to get an important question decided at one sitting, and if it is put over to another day, the field is open to be gone over again, precious time is lost, and the public business left undone."

"Where is virtue"—wrote Henry Laurens, President of Congress to Washington, November 20, 1778—"where is patriotism now; when almost every man has turned his thoughts and attention to gain and pleasures, practicing every artifice of change-alley, or Jonathans; when men of abilities disgracefully neglect the important duties for which they were sent to Congress, tempted by the pitiful fees of practicing attorneys; when members of that body artfully start a point, succeed, and then avail themselves of the secrets of the House, and commence monopolizers, and accumulate the public debt for their private emoluments? I believe many such tricks have been acted."

† It was addressed to Congress through the Members from Connecticut.

union, or opposition of North to South, or South to North, is creeping into Congress to prevent the completion, the speedy completion of those matters which are of essential moment to the duration of our union, and uninterrupted happiness. In all your deliberations I hope it may be a fixed principle, that virtue alone can be the foundation, that virtue alone can be the support of any government."

This wholesome reproof and advice from the Governor of Connecticut, applied, among other things—as Washington specially applied his own—to the remissness of Congress with regard to the currency of the country—particularly to its neglect to promote "some happy expedient" for restoring credit to the Continental Paper Money, and for punishing the "infamous practice" of forestalling those articles which were vitally necessary to the existence of the army.

The currency was ever a subject of deep interest to Trumbull—as has been heretofore suggested—and this year especially so, as no less than sixty-three millions of dollars was added to the already enormous circulation of previous years. An "amazing sum," in all—which was seven or eight times more than was wanted—which consisted of bills bearing no interest—with no specific fund appropriated for their redemption—and whose amount ruinously affected prices—encouraged speculation and dishonesty—kept in operation the wretched policy of penal, tender, and limitation laws—and produced an almost total stagnation of trade and purchases. The "*aut mors, aut vita decora*," which figured as a motto on some of its bills, was realized in the alternative of fatal depreciation, and its "*fugios*" in the perpetual flight of value.

What was to be done? The army was harassed to death by the overriding evil. It was imperative that some remedy should be applied. Congress during the year—down to its very last day—applied it only in the shape of fresh emissions of paper, which but augmented the ill they were intended to alleviate. Trumbull contemplated, mainly, but one remedy—and this the only sound one—one which—though not perhaps at the time, in consequence of the feeble power of Congress, generally practicable—was yet, so far as he is concerned, urged with all the strength he could bring to bear upon it. *Tax*—"*pay as we go.*" At all events pay by taxa-

tion so far as we can. Emit no new bills of credit. Sink those outstanding speedily as possible. Procure a loan in aid of this purpose, if rendered necessary—a foreign, not an *internal* one. Fill up the magazines of the country with articles of public consumption, that speculators may not have opportunity to affect prices ruinously by imposing an artificial scarcity and demand. Here were Trumbull's remedies—the fundamental one, as just suggested—*taxation!*

"The necessity of immediate taxation," he said in his Message early in February of the present year, enforcing his views upon the General Assembly of the State over which he presided—"will now occupy your serious attention. For my own part, I am more fully convinced that this is the only effectual and safe method of extricating ourselves from our present difficulties, and of giving value to our currency—and that this time is the most proper for adopting this remedy is almost self-evident. *Our debts must be paid*—and all men must allow, that it is more easy to pay a nominal sum, when Money is plenty and cheaply earned, than when it is the scarcest, and consequently the dearest Article."

Trumbull had the satisfaction of seeing the General Assembly adopt his own wise recommendation. The sum of six hundred thousand dollars, which, in November of the preceding year, Congress had apportioned on Connecticut, as its own quota at that time for procuring means to carry on the war—which was large, and save the quotas upon three States only, the largest of any apportioned on any other one in the Union—was immediately provided for by a tax of two shillings on the pound, on the list of the polls and rateable estate in Connecticut—to be placed in the Treasury in the course of the year. And the State Treasurer was directed to pay it over to the order of Congress, as fast as it should come in, and debit the same in account with the United States.

The States generally, however, did not take this course—did not comply with the recommendation from Congress. The Continental Paper Money, therefore—that expedient embraced from necessity—that "cheap defence of the nation," as it has been justly styled, of which our emancipation from oppression is the rich purchase—that "happy illusion, which

worked the miracle of reality"—went on so deepening in depreciation, that Congress soon could no longer force its circulation at prescribed rates. And this Body was compelled, in October—retracing its own steps—to take off all limitations on the prices of gold and silver—and, on the very last day of the year, adopt that financial policy of which Trumbull had ever been the unwavering advocate. It was compelled to resort to taxation—and create a sinking fund, by establishing an annual levy on the country of six millions of dollars for eighteen years.

"You are sensible," wrote Trumbull, December eighth—just before this plan was adopted by Congress, to the Connecticut Delegates there—enforcing again at the close of the year the same sound views which he had expressed at the beginning—"you are sensible of the sad condition our Finances and currency are in. I trust Congress is meditating a remedy. 'Tis a Continental object. No one State can give the necessary relief—and unless some relief is speedily provided, our affairs will grow worse and worse.

"The remedy for the public is the same as for a private person—that is to pay his debt when it is in his power. 'Tis in the power of the public to pay off a reasonable part of its debt. The Bills are yet in the hands of almost everybody, and 'tis easier paying taxes when this is the case, than it will be when speculators and others have accumulated the bills. Is not taxation the plain path before us."

"I am, I confess," he again wrote Congress, December tenth—"I am seriously alarmed at the State of our Currency, and the seeming delay of the necessary remedies. * * Are not the means, by which we have been brought into this situation, instructive lessons, pointing us to the cure? So long as our magazines were kept full, and our stores plentifully and seasonably provided, Speculators had not the opportunity of imposing an artificial scarcity and demand upon the Public, and thereby making their own prices upon the articles of public consumption. Is it that we have exhausted our resources, that our supplies are now so scantily made from hand to mouth—perpetually keeping up the demand, and playing in tune to the desires of the ungodly seekers of gain? Certainly not. Our internal resources are still great; our magazines can again be filled—they must be filled; the idea of scarcity, from this artificial demand, must be removed. This appears to me one great remedy. Another, and very principal one, is to reduce the quantity of circulating Cash, and have means devised to prevent the necessity of constant and perpetual new emissions for new emergencies."

And the Governor goes on to express the opinion that

"Taxation and Loans must be cooperative"—that as regards loans, a foreign is to be preferred to an *internal* one*—that the former, should the Confederation and Confederate Funds be established, can "undoubtedly be obtained"—and that its improvement—a part by its realization in gold and silver to be brought into the States, and a part by the sale of Bills of Exchange within the country—"might be attended with very salutary consequences." "At the same time," he says emphatically—"in aid of this remedy, heavy taxation should be kept up; our debts should be paying; our new emissions should be as small as possible; and punctually sunk off;—our yearly expenditures should certainly be reduced, by a yearly payment of taxes, and as much of the public funded Debt paid, from time to time, as circumstances will admit. A youthful, growing, vigorous, and industrious nation, need be under no great apprehension from a very considerable public Debt. Peace, Arts, Commerce, and Industry, will soon exonerate such a State."†

One other scheme for reducing the quantity of the circulating medium, and so of reducing the unequal and exorbitant cost of articles, was at this period recommended by Congress—which, though it received Trumbull's assent, did not receive his cordial approbation. It was that of regulating by law the prices of labor, manufactures, internal produce, and imported commodities. A Convention for this purpose of the New England States—and of New York, New

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* "I don't know," says Trumbull, "how an internal one would operate. I am rather of opinion, that, until the value of the Paper Currency is fully ascertained by the Public, and so long as a rapid depreciation is going on, your monied people will rather choose to make the best of their money, in some kind of business, than to trust to an uncertain future redemption in the hands of the Public."

† The scheme of a foreign loan, above suggested by Trumbull, was by himself, and one Gossimus Erkelaus—a patriotic foreigner resident in Connecticut—urged particularly upon the attention of Congress. They each, at the same time, addressed the National Council on the subject—the latter, from his connections abroad, his zeal in behalf of America, and his good repute as a business man, being employed by the Governor to interest himself, in Holland, in procuring funds for the use of the United States. Their communications were both referred to the national Board of Finance. But Congress, being "not yet prepared to adopt the scheme"—as in a letter to Trumbull and his coadjutor they declared—declined the proffered negotiation. It was an instance of attention, however, on the part of Trumbull, to the financial wants of the country, that deserves note.

Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—was held at Newhaven on the fifteenth of January, 1778, and Governor Trumbull, in introducing their proceedings to the notice of the General Assembly of Connecticut, remarks as follows:—

"The Doings of the Convention at Newhaven, in the Regulation of prices, &c., will likewise come before you, and will demand your very serious consideration. As it is a matter of particular concern to the whole Body of the People, will it not be advisable to Defer your Determination, until it can be referred to, and considered by them in their Town Meetings. At least it is not in my opinion safe to attempt the regulation of those Articles which are immediately necessary for the support of the Army. We may, it is true, avail ourselves of whatever is at present on Hand—but, meantime, if we affix a low price to provisions, and articles of importation, we shall find that the Farmer will cease to till the Ground for more than is necessary for his subsistence, and the Merchant to resign his Fortune on a small and precarious prospect of Gain. These things, I trust, will be carefully attended to, and those measures adopted which will best promote the public good."

It is plain from the passage now quoted, that Trumbull was rather opposed in principle to the regulation of prices by law. This is a fact which redounds to his credit as a political economist. For at the time—this system—though now by universal concurrence deemed a solecism and fatal error in public administration—was in vogue. It seemed a good purpose to take from the hands of engrossers, forestallers, and others, such articles—beyond the required supply for families—as were wanted for the Revolutionary Army. But when it is considered that the only and true cause of the derangement of prices, at the period now under consideration, was the excessive issue of paper—and that all acts of limitation, fixing, under high penalties, maximums at which property should be sold, are in their nature arbitrary, and do not in fact tend to arrest the evil against which they are intended to provide—the scruples which we have found Trumbull to entertain, are fully justified. He earnestly desired a remedy in the case, but—like Washington in this respect—was not satisfied, it is obvious, with that of fixing prices by legal enactment—nor, among expedients proposed, did he ever for once admit that which in modern times has

so stained the faith of some portions of our Union—the foul remedy of repudiation. But, with our own Revolutionary Congress—and as they expressed it—"knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honor"—he looked "with horror on such an execrable deed" as that of leaving the bills of the country unpaid.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1778.

A DOMESTIC affliction. Death of his son Joseph, and his feelings in consequence. Sketch of the son. The father memorializes Congress in behalf of his son's accounts as Commissary General of the United States. Resolution of Congress respecting the same. The Wyoming Massacre. Trumbull's special interest in the event. He prays both Washington and Congress for an armed force to avenge it. His letters on the subject. Through his influence, particularly, a force is finally raised, under Gen. Sullivan—the savages are chastised—and protection is given to frontier inhabitants He proclaims a public Thanksgiving.

THE year 1778 brought to Trumbull, among other events, a severe domestic affliction. On a Thursday—July twenty-third—his son Joseph, the first Commissary General of the United States, breathed his last, in the house of his father at Lebanon.*

A gentleman—as Chief Justice Marshall remarks—whose talents, activity, and zeal, fitted him well for the important station which he held, for two years and more, during the most perilous and trying portion of the Revolutionary War—he had labored in the Commissariat Department with exemplary fidelity—with in fact a degree of anxiety and exertion that had overtasked his constitution, and brought him, at the comparatively early age of forty-two years, to his grave.† In January of the present year, he was unable,

* The following is Gov. Trumbull's entry, in his own Family Bible, of his son Joseph's death:—

"Joseph d. at my house—Thursd. 23rd July 1778, at 4 o'clock, A. M."

† "The fatigues of his business," says the Governor, writing Henry Laurens, President of Congress, June 29th, 1778—"but chiefly the trouble, sorrow, and grief for the treatment he received after all, broke his Constitution; bro't him next door to death, and renders his recovery doubtful;—former health and strength never to be expected."

"On information," he writes in a paragraph immediately preceding this now quoted—"that my son Joseph Trumbull, late Commissary General, from fatigue beyond his strength, being dangerously ill, Lord's day morning, 14th instant, I left Hartford, and came to Norwich; found him better than my fears. He is in a

J.H.Bufford's Lith.

I am, Gentlemen
Your ever Dutiful & Faithful
Humble Servant
Jos: Trumbull

From an Original Picture in the possession of Hon. Joseph Trumbull

on account of failing health, to take his seat at the Board of War, as his father, in his behalf, informed Congress at the time—and in April he was compelled, for the same reason, to resign his seat altogether at that Board—a post which he occupied for about one year.

Long the partner of his father in business—long associated with him in Revolutionary service—full of enthusiasm in the cause of his country—open, frank, engaging, benevolent—well-educated, of finished manners—the eldest son—in the prime of manhood—but a short time married, and to the highly accomplished daughter of Eliphalet Dyer—the blow which severed him from the love and presence of a parent whose locks were now whitening with age, though endured by the latter with Christian resignation, was yet to him peculiarly painful.

In a letter at the time to Roger Sherman and others, he alludes feelingly to his own "distresses," and "melancholy of mind" in connection with the event. It occurred directly in the midst of the anxious preparations he was making for the Rhode Island Expedition—preparations so pressing as to require a session of his own Council of Safety, at Lebanon, on the very day of his son's funeral. "His Excellency the Governor not present sitting with us, being the day of his son Col. Joseph Trumbull's interment"—reads most significantly the Record of this Body for August twenty-fourth.

What a hint does this furnish us of the sad urgency of the times, that the Governor's own Council—themselves his intimate coadjutors in the public service, and warm personal friends—coadjutors and warm friends too of the deceased—should by the public dangers be compelled—in his own town—sitting in his own office—not twenty paces from the corpse of his eminent son—in the very presence as it were

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feeble condition, easily overset. I visited him the 22d instant, and left him on the gaining hand. He prays his best compliments to you, and gratefully acknowledges the receipt of your late letters. Hopes he will be able so far to attend his Accounts, as to send his Cash Accounts. Mr. Hoskins, his head clerk, and others employed in his Accounts, are busy on them—not to equal advantage without his assistance. 'Tis easy to conceive that in two years and a half supply of the Army, they are large and extensive. He had reduced his business into method, and got into a good train."

of the dead—to forego the courtesy of an adjournment, and give themselves up to their ordinary cares and occupations—unable to ponder upon one who was going to his long home—denied the melancholy privilege of aiding a weeping father "to wrap the athletic in his shroud," and build his tomb.*

From the first moment that his son Joseph was introduced into the service of the United States, Governor Trumbull had watched his career—as well as that of his other sons in their public capacities—with deep parental solicitude, and with the ever-recurring hope, that at any expense on their own part of time and exertion, and at the sacrifice even of personal emolument, they would prove eminently useful to their country. His pride as a parent was thoroughly enlisted in their success—and when, in 1775, Joseph was first appointed to his office as Commissary, he did not fail at the time to make his satisfaction known both to General Washington and to the American Congress, and to add the stimulus of his own warm personal advice to the good purpose and efforts of his son.

The performance of his duty, in a manner "answerable to your expectations," he said in a letter to Congress, August fourth, expressing his thanks—"will meet your approbation, and afford me peculiar satisfaction."

"These instances of kindness," he wrote to Washington, July thirty-first—referring both to his son Joseph's appointment, and to that also of his son John as a member of Washington's military family—"justly claim my most grateful acknowledgments."

"Enclosed," he wrote the same day to his son Joseph—"is a letter of Thanks to the General for his kindness to you and your brother. I hope you will both conduct with honor, and satisfaction to him."

"I apprehend," he said in another letter to the same, in

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* The following is his epitaph on the memorable family tomb at Lebanon:—

"Sacred to the memory of Joseph Trumbull, eldest son of Governor Trumbull, and first Commissary Gen'l of the United States of America, a service to whose perpetual cares and fatigues, he fell a sacrifice A. D. 1778, Æ. 42. Full soon indeed may his person, his virtues, and even his extensive Benevolence be forgotten by his friends and fellow-men. But blessed be God! for the hope that in His presence he shall be remembered forever."

September, referring on this occasion to his son Jonathan's office also, as Paymaster General of the Northern Army—"I apprehend danger in both your and his department as to your emoluments for your services"—but, he adds, "the great business is to discharge your trusts with ability and fidelity—to do all you can to serve our country, devoted to ruin by our enemies."

The emoluments to which the Governor refers, and the settlement generally of his son Joseph's accounts, after his decease, gave his Excellency much anxiety and labor—and the manner in which he discharged his duty in this regard, is so honorable to his character, as to deserve, in connection with his son's proceedings previously, particular mention here.

In July, 1777, on account of a new and unfortunate arrangement of the Commissariat, Colonel Joseph Trumbull resigned his office in that Department. Congress had undertaken to regulate it by dividing its duties between a Commissary General of Purchases, and one also of Issues—with four deputies under each—all to be appointed by Congress—and the deputies not to be removable by the Head of the Department, but in case of any charge against them, to be suspended only by him, and then to be accused before Congress—which Body alone was to have power to examine such charge, and either remove the party accused from his office, or restore him to it, as circumstances should determine.

In the opinion of Colonel Trumbull, this was taking the proper control out from the hands of the proper authority the Commissary General—upon whom the selection and entire command of all the officers under himself, as "absolutely necessary to insure uniformity and obedience," ought to devolve—and creating, in favor of the subordinate officers, an absurd and fatal independence of their legitimate superior. It was a plan which was adopted entirely against the advice and wishes of General Washington. It was a plan, which, persisted in by Congress, proved misjudged, and abortive, and had the effect of driving Colonel Trumbull from the office,* which under the new arrangement was promptly offered him again—that of Commissary General of Purchases.

* "His experience taught him the incongruity and impracticability of the new

"In my humble opinion," he wrote Congress, July nineteenth, 1777, stating his reasons for declining the commission then tendered him—"the head of every department ought to have the control of it. In this establishment an *imperium in imperio* is created. If I consent to act, I must be at continued variance with the whole department, and of course be in continued hot water. I must turn accuser, and be continually applying to Congress, and attending with witnesses to support my charges, or I must sit down in ease and quiet, let the deputies do as they like, and enjoy a sinecure. The first situation I cannot think of—the last I never will accept. It never shall be said I was the first American pensioner. I am willing to do and suffer for my country, and its cause—but I cannot sacrifice my honor and my principles. I can by no means consent to act under a regulation, which, in my opinion, will never answer the purpose intended by Congress, nor supply the army as it should be.

"I must beg Congress to appoint some person in my place as soon as may be; until then I will continue to furnish the army as heretofore."

And Colonel Trumbull did as he promised.* He furnished the army until his health rendered it impossible for him to perform the task any longer—at which time the Department—always under the new arrangement in difficulty—became at length so deranged as to require—just what Trumbull had anticipated and foretold—a return to its old system of management—at which period, in April, 1778, it was committed anew to the sterling superintendence—as the second Commissary General of the United States—of another son of Connecticut—the able and enterprising Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth.

It was indeed a most arduous and important duty—this of feeding the armies of our Revolution—and it involved the officer at its head in the receipt and disbursement of vast sums of money, and in most extensive and ponderous accounts. These accounts, so far as the first Commissary General is concerned, were not settled by Congress up to the time of his death, though Colonel Trumbull had frequently applied for the purpose. The father, therefore, soon after his son's decease, renewed solicitations on the subject. He

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regulation of the Commissariate: After experience teacheth us he was right. The Army feel its bad effects to this day."—*Gov. Trumbull to Laurens, June* 29, 1778.

* "He is honest and zealous in his country's cause. He cannot bear to see it suffer for want of any assistance in his power to afford."—*Gov. Trumbull to the President of Congress, Jan. 24th*, 1778.

caused a full and clear Statement of all his son's transactions on public account to be submitted to Congress, in order—as in a letter to this Body dated October third, he says—"that justice should now be done the Relict and heirs of the deceased, upon the same principles as he ever expected, while alive, should be done to himself—principles of at least equal generosity and liberality as are allowed to the present Commissaries General of Purchases, whose task, by the path having been in a great measure traced, explored, and ascertained by the first Commissary General, has by that means become in a measure easy and familiar to them, thro' the care, the attention, industry, and application of him who may perhaps be said to have lost his life in the arduous pursuit. I must beg your attention to this object," he adds, "that it may be speedily determined. It was always grievous to my son that Congress were never pleased to take up the matter on his own representation."*

Governor Trumbull had the pleasure of securing at last from Congress ample attention to the accounts of his son—of having them fully approved—and all due allowances made for the benefit of the legal representatives of the deceased.†

He had the high satisfaction also of finding Congress adopt a Resolution affirming that "the late Commissary General Joseph Trumbull, coming into office in the earliest stage of

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* Writing Congress again, Dec. 10th, 1778, through Henry Laurens, its President, he says: "Your esteemed favor of the 10th of last month, is now before me. I feel a pleasure in the estimation you express of the services of my late son, the first Commissary-General. My own thoughts have often turned in the same strain; and I fondly think still, that the disadvantages accruing to the States, in consequence of his being obliged to leave that service, is not overrated by your estimation—but that is passed. He is gone. I now only wait for that justice I think is due his Estate, from the Public, for those services he actually performed." And he goes on to state that his son Jonathan is arranging the accounts of the Commissary, and will shortly exhibit them for settlement at Philadelphia. "Their appearance," he remarks, "allowing for times and circumstances in which the business was conducted, is favorable beyond expectation."

† These allowances were, a commission of one half per cent., on the gross sum of all monies received and issued by him for public service—and also a commission of two and a half per cent., on such sums as were laid out in purchases made by himself. His brother Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, as his Administrator, was principally employed, under the direction of the Board of Treasury, to settle the accounts of the deceased. They were settled at the public expense, and additional clerks were authorized by Congress to aid the Treasury Board in the execution of the trust.

the American contest, found himself without a system by which to trace the plan of his duty; that with great care, industry, labor, and attention, he instituted a plan by which the army, during his continuance in office, was amply supplied, with much economy and to general satisfaction; that during his commissariate, he was obliged to act not only in capacity of Commissary General of purchases, but to direct all the issues of provisions, and for near two campaigns had the additional duty of purveyor of the hospitals and Quartermaster General, the three last of which employments greatly increased his care and trouble, but not so much his expenditure of monies"—that he "made great savings to the public by his large and seasonable purchases and contracts, out-running and anticipating in many instances the orders of Congress, by which means he kept up large supplies, thereby moderating the demands of the seller, intercepting monopolies, and keeping down prices"—and that a compensation for services by the said Commissary General still remained to be made.

We have now reviewed the career of Trumbull during the fourth year of the Revolutionary War. Our pen is upon its close. Yet ere we leave it quite, one other fact deserves to be commemorated, of which just at this time the Governor—in letters from his own pen, has left us a brief memorial.

It relates to that appalling, almost world-startling assault, which, beyond the Delaware—at Wyoming—laid eight beautiful towns belonging to Connecticut in ashes—consigned an extensive and fertile territory, at the very time when it was loaded with most luxuriant crops, to desolation—and devoted the larger part of more than one thousand hardy and enterprising families—in the midst of a supposed security, and under the guarantee of repeated pacific assurances—to the hatchet and to fire—to

> "the fatal wile
> Of Indian ambuscade, the maddened shout
> Of massacre—the flight of timid forms,
> And moan of sireless orphans."

The event was sudden—was almost without one note of warning. The able-bodied, effective men of the Colony—

nearly one thousand of them in all—were away, fighting for their country in the Continental Line. Few, save grey-haired men and boys, remained at home to protect the settlement, and till the crops. The merciless British, tories and Indians, in consequence, had full opportunity for their work of destruction, and neither Washington or Trumbull had chance to anticipate or provide against it. On the ears of both, therefore, the blow fell like a thunderbolt.

Trumbull, particularly, it filled with the most poignant grief. For here was a colony from Connecticut—flourishing towns and a whole county from the loins, and still within the body of that State which he himself governed—a district for whose title and whose vitality as a member of his own good old Commonwealth, he had himself painfully toiled—a district interwoven in all civil, political, and religious affinities, and by the ligament too of a regular semi-monthly post, with that by which he was himself immediately surrounded—here it was now, draining down to the bitterest dregs, and more deeply than any other portion of our common land, the cup of revolutionary afflictions. Here it was, "given up a total prey to pillage and conflagration"—with but one-twelfth only of its property left—with but a little fragment only of its population in being—and this consisting chiefly of widows and orphans, who were now either wandering through the woods, or begging their way back to their friends in the east, in utter beggary and destitution.*

What could the Governor do? Nothing, under the circumstances—distance from the scene of action considered, and the active employment of Connecticut troops in other directions—nothing but interpose his prayer to Washington, and to Congress, for a force sufficient to avenge on the foe its onslaught, and give new and lasting protection for the future,

* It would be nearly impossible to estimate the amount of damage sustained, but the list of assessments for 1777-8 amounted to £20,322.17; and in November, 1780, the list of Westmoreland was £2,353—making the difference of £17,969.17. The miserable state of destitution at Wyoming was such that, in August, 1781, all the males from sixteen to seventeen years of age were only 143; they all had but 24 yoke of oxen, 14 three year old steers, and 18 two year old steers and heifers; while at the same time *Connecticut counted sixty-one soldiers from Westmoreland in the army!*

to doomed Westmoreland, and to the whole western frontier. This he did, and in terms of earnest entreaty.

"I must now beg leave," he wrote the Commander-in-chief, August twenty-seventh, 1778—"to turn your attention to a case of peculiar and accumulated distress"—and he goes on to describe the devastation on the Susquehannah—"a particular representation whereof," he says he has received from "Messrs. Jenkins, Gallup, and Harding, persons of integrity," and settlers from the eastern part of Connecticut "who had the good fortune to escape the carnage."

"Your Excellency," he proceeds, "hath undoubtedly been made acquainted with the distresses of this People, and felt the tenderest emotions for them, and a willingness to afford them all the relief in your power, consistent with the safety and good of the whole.

"I have this day written to Congress on the subject, and proposed to their consideration whether it would not be advisable that a sufficient force, to consist of 1500 or 2000 men, be immediately sent to that part of the country, under whose protection the inhabitants would return and secure their crops—which would be an important acquisition—and also to pursue that detestable Banditti into their own country, chastise them for their insolence and cruelty exercised towards the innocent inhabitants aforementioned, and effectually prevent their making any further depredations on that, or any other of our back settlements. Such a measure, I am persuaded, would produce the happiest effects. I would recommend it to your Excellency's consideration, and in case the state of the army and present appearance of things will permit, that your Excellency would order a sufficient number to be detached, and employed for the purpose aforesaid."

Congress, in the judgment of Trumbull, acted, in the emergency, altogether too slowly and inadequately. Again therefore, and in terms of remonstrance—for the subject was never out of his mind—he addressed this Body.

"The depredations," he wrote them, December eighth, through the members from Connecticut—"which were made last summer on our settlements at Susquehannah were very alarming—it is so likewise that no provisions are made for the security of those inhabitants who returned to take care of what the enemy did not destroy. I am informed that the force hitherto sent is in no measure sufficient to prevent mischief being done there very frequently—that there are great quantities of pork and grain remaining, but that many of the inhabitants, who were returning

with the intention to re-settle their habitations, are discouraged, and coming off through fear of the plunderers that often appear among them. Ought not an adequate number to repel the Enemy to be sent, for relief of the suffering inhabitants that do remain there. I esteem it a matter worthy serious and early consideration."

And soon—in union with the Governor of New York—Trumbull followed up the remonstrance now quoted, with another letter, and with carefully prepared memorials respecting the depredations and dangers upon the western frontier. These papers, by special order of Congress, were transmitted to the Commander-in-chief of the American Army, with particular instruction to the latter to take "*effectual* measures" now "for the protection of the inhabitants, and chastisement of the savages"—measures which Washington did not fail to pursue, and which, in 1779—through the instrumentality of a thoroughly equipped and resistless force under General Sullivan—swept in turn the land of the Six Nations with destruction like a whirlwind, and effectually shivered their murderous arm.

Spite of the disaster, however, at Wyoming, the general result of the Campaign of 1778 was favorable to the American cause. The enemy made no important headway. The army under Washington had sustained itself well, and been encouraged by a few, though small, yet brilliant successes. France had become openly our ally. Spain was leaning to our side. The hearts of the American people remained united.

It had been the duty of Trumbull, in April, to proclaim a day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer. It became his duty now, as the year closed, to proclaim a day for public thanksgiving. This he did—for the thirtieth of December—and in his usual fervid strain upon such occasions, called upon all the people under his charge—in view of the mercies of God, manifested by his supporting them in a just and necessary war—by his affording them seasonable supplies for their armies—by his disposing the heart of a powerful monarch to enter into alliance with them—by his defeating the evil designs of their enemies—and by his continuing that union among the States which was their strength and glory—for

these reasons he called upon his people, with the country at large, to express a just sense of the Divine Favor. Pray—he enjoined—that under the smiles of Heaven our public counsels may continue to be directed—our arms by land and sea be prospered—our Liberties and Independence secured—our schools and seminaries of learning flourish—our trade be revived—our husbandry and manufactures be increased—and the hearts of all be impressed with undissembled piety, and with benevolence, and zeal for the public good.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1779.

STATE of the Revolutionary Struggle. The main theatre of war now at the South. The campaign of this year marked by comparative debility. Enlistments difficult. Trumbull completes the quota of Connecticut in the Continental Army by adding eight hundred men—some of whom participate in the attack on Stony Point. He also furnishes troops for Rhode Island, and supplies the famishing there with food. His Brief for the purpose. The enemy, much to his joy, abandon Newport. He calls for four thousand troops to cooperate with D'Estaign, upon the expected return of the French fleet to the North. His Proclamation for the purpose. D'Estaign, however, sails for the West Indies. Trumbull hears from various quarters—and particularly from Arthur Lee in Paris—that a fierce renewal of the devastating policy of the British King and Ministry, is designed. His precautions in consequence. The enemy land and pillage Newhaven. Trumbull hears of it by express—orders out fresh troops—and sends to Washington for help.

THE year 1779, and Trumbull! It was a year, fifth in the progress of the Revolutionary Struggle—and marked, like the last, so far as the country at large is concerned—save in the remarkable successes at Stony Point and Powles Hook—by no very brilliant results in favor of the American arms.

But, on the other hand—from an overweening confidence engendered in the public mind by the alliance with France, and by the connection which soon followed with Spain—from a reaction in point of effort and patriotism on the part of the people—from the wretched policy, still continued, of short enlistments—from the depreciation of the currency, and destructive spirit of speculation—and from diversions and factions in Congress—the Campaign was characterized by general inaction and debility.

The theatre of war—except so far as Connecticut territorially is concerned—was now transferred to the South—where Georgia was soon overrun, and every preparation made by the enemy to invade the Carolinas, and to extend the sphere

of conquest from this region northward. Congress was exceedingly tardy this year in replenishing the national army. It was not until the ninth of March even that requisitions were made upon the States for their several quotas. Measures, in short, were not adopted for raising men, until the time when they should have been already in camp, thoroughly trained and prepared for service. When adopted, they were carried into effect very slowly—and this in spite of advice and entreaties to the contrary from Washington—from Trumbull—and from others of those leading spirits of the day, who in no respect yielded to the overwrought expectation of the country in regard to the speedy termination of the war—but who, on the other hand, foresaw nothing but disappointment and ruin to the American cause from the prevailing false hopes, bewildering apathy, and general neglect.

It was not until the close of July, that Washington received a single reenforcement to his army, since the last campaign, save four hundred recruits from Massachusetts. Yet, so far as Trumbull is concerned, there was not in this particular sphere of labor the same necessity for exertion which existed in previous years. The Connecticut quota of troops in the Continental Line of the preceding year was so little diminished by the expiration of enlistments, or by sickness, desertion, or other causes, as that but eight hundred more effective men were required from the State to make her battalions complete. These, with the aid of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars granted him by Congress for the purpose, Trumbull proceeded with due expedition to raise, clothe, and equip. And he had the pleasure of seeing them take their places, quickly as possible, in the Grand Army of the country on the banks of the Hudson—there, some of them, to achieve glory in that immortal band under General Wayne, which, on the fifteenth of July—in the dead of night—with unsurpassed intrepidity—without a bullet in their muskets, or a whisper in their mouths—under a tremendous fire of grape shot and musketry—mounted the works at Stony Point—struck the British standard from its height—and made the hours of darkness suddenly vocal with Major Po-

sey's soul-thrilling cry—"*The fort's our own!*"* "May we not forget on this event," wrote the grateful Governor at this time†—"duly to notice the hand of the Supreme Director of events, who causes us to sing of mercies in the midst of judgments!"

Two calls more upon Trumbull, and two only—in the way of providing troops for the general service of the country, outside of the State—were made during the year now under consideration. One was for the Connecticut quota for Rhode Island, as settled by the Springfield Convention. This Trumbull furnished as usual—and, early in the year, he performed another duty towards the State in question which deserves particular mention.

The long presence of the enemy there—sweeping completely, as they did, with their power the whole island on which they were posted, and lowering like a storm-cloud ready to disgorge itself on the whole adjacent Main—had caused very great distress to a large number of the inhabitants there. It had stripped them of property. It had debarred them from cultivating their lands. It had cut off their trade, navigation, and fishery—and thrown them—women and children many—unhappy fugitives all—upon the compassion and charity of the country. Even national intervention was called out at last for their relief. "Many must inevitably perish unless they are speedily supplied with the necessaries of life"—reported to Congress the Delegates from Rhode Island, in February. And Congress, in consequence, recommended the States of Connecticut and New York—so far as the supply of provisions for the sufferers, by land, is concerned—to repeal their respective embargo acts.

The Governor, and Council, and General Assembly of Connecticut, had anticipated this recommendation. "The State of Rhode Island," wrote Trumbull, February twenty-second, to Dyer and others in Congress—"has received a grant for seven thousand bushels of grain to be carried from hence thither—with a Brief throughout this State for the

* He was the first—standing by the side of Col. Henry, who first struck the British standard—to give tongue to this phrase of victory.

† His letter to Maj. Gen. O. Wolcott.

sufferers driven from the Island of Rhode Island—which will raise both money and grain for their relief. I have received nothing from the President [of Congress] on that or any other head."

The Brief to which Trumbull here refers, was an Authority given to Jonathan Otis, and Oliver K. Warner, of Newport, to collect in every Religious Society in Connecticut, donations for the sufferers from "the charitable and well-disposed." Trumbull, with characteristic humanity, took pains to promote this benevolent purpose.* He granted permits freely for the transportation of flour, and other necessaries, into the afflicted region—and the succor thus afforded he continued, whenever necessary, until the British pall was wholly lifted from the territory of Rhode Island.

That was indeed to him a gratifying moment, when this event took place—when, by letter from Providence, October thirtieth, General Gates informed him that the troops of the enemy—stealing surreptitiously away in the darkness of the night—all their heavy artillery and a large quantity of stores left behind—by "an extraordinary and precipitate abandonment," yielded Newport—for the undisputed possession of whose ramparts Trumbull had so long and so earnestly toiled—into American hands.

The troops of Gates—all the Continental troops that had been employed in Rhode Island—soon—about the middle of November—marched for Head Quarters on the banks of the Hudson. They took their way—a day or two apart—in two divisions—on through Plainfield, Canterbury, and Windham—to encamp, near a week, at Hartford, ere they marched again for their final destination. The road they followed, was at some points but five or six miles distant from the family mansion of that Governor, who was among the foremost to feel for their dangers, to supply their necessities, and

* To the people everywhere he said, in the language of a legislative resolution of the time—that, while "they adored the gracious Providence, which, in the course of a wasting and distressing, though just and necessary war, had exempted them from so many of the calamities and desolations which had fallen on some of the sister States" of the Union—they should "cheerfully and liberally contribute, each one according to his ability, for the relief of those who suffered under the rigorous, inhuman, and vindictive cruelty of our common enemy."

to pray for their success. How pleasant now to imagine, that—attracted by their proximity for a time to his own house—Trumbull might have ridden over to gratify his eye with the spectacle of their columns on their winding way—to take Gates, their chief commander, and Livingston, Jackson, Webb, Green, Angell, and Sherburne, their colonels, by the hand, in mutual congratulation—perhaps to receive complimentary salutes, heart-bestowed, from scores of drums and ear-piercing fifes—from the mouths of thousands of muskets, and from the brazen throats of Colonel Crane's artillery—the echoes of whose thunder, rolling up and down the valley of the Shetucket, and upon the bosom of the murmuring Thames, may have been borne from Tolland Lake to the Falls of Yantic, and from Yantic to the sea. Just tribute, if such perchance there might have been, to one of the most dauntless of Work-masters for Liberty!

The other of the two calls, this year, upon Governor Trumbull for troops, to which we have referred, was, in October, for a force to cooperate with Count D'Estaign—just when the fleet of the latter, after the attack on Savannah, was "hourly looked for" on the northern coast, to renew, in conjunction with Washington, assaults upon the foe at Newport and New York. Upon this occasion, the Commander-in-chief made a requisition on Trumbull for four thousand militia.* Promptly, as usual—the General Assembly assenting—the latter issued his Proclamation for the purpose. "Taking into consideration," as in this document he said, "the foregoing requisition—the important reasons on which it is granted, and the happy consequences, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may attend a cheerful and vigorous exertion in this peculiar and great occasion—[taking into consideration also] the singularly noble and generous conduct of the French Admiral in leaving to hazard his acquisitions in the West Indies, and coming to our aid at the request of Congress—and the emotions he must feel if disappointed of the spirited cooperation he has been made to ex-

* He at the same time required from Massachusetts two thousand—from New York twenty-five hundred—from New Jersey two thousand—and from Pennsylvania one thousand.

pect from the several States"—he the Governor, therefore, called for "a free, cheerful, and immediate enlistment" of the required number of men.

They were to be formed into two brigades—which were to rendezvous along the coast and western frontiers of Connecticut, either for defence in these directions, or for cooperation with the French, as the Governor and Council should direct. And he urged officers and privates, all, to provide themselves with necessary arms, blankets, and equipments—for all of which he promised them "a reasonable allowance and full compensation, if lost without their default." And at the same time, by the consideration of "the happiness and salvation of their country," he earnestly pressed the neighbors and friends of those who enlisted "to lend and furnish" with equipments all such as could not supply themselves. The brigades were raised.* Every thing that Congress or Washington required in the case, was fully effected. But D'Estaign did not, as expected, sail for the North, but away for the West Indies. The force, therefore, which the energy of Trumbull had thus collected for cooperation with the French, was in December disbanded.

Though thus—as regards the defence of the country at large—Governor Trumbull was not called upon the present year to make exertions by any means so strenuous as those he made in previous periods of the war—yet, so far as the home defence of Connecticut is concerned, there was no year which gave him so much anxiety and duty as this of seventeen hundred seventy-nine. For it was at this time that the enemy—in order at any event to drive the Colonies into submission, or to render their accession to France, if such was to be the issue, of as little avail as possible—began to pursue systematically, and relentlessly, the system of making the Ameri-

* "The time," wrote Trumbull to Washington, November fifth, "when the arrival of the fleet under Count D'Estaign may be expected, being so far advanced that the utmost readiness to cooperate with him is become necessary, should he appear on this coast, and the immediate danger to which our own seaports will be exposed from the collected force of the enemy, should he be prevented from coming this way, have prevailed to induce the General Assembly of this State to order the militia, requested by your Excellency, to be assembled at the places of rendezvous proposed, as soon as possible."

can coasts scenes of perfect desolation. And Connecticut was now the first among the States to feel—and to feel more deeply than any other one in the Union—the effects of this ill-fated and detestable policy.

Johnson, Carlisle, and Eden, the King's Commissioners to America of the preceding year, had threatened this course. "The policy as well as benevolence of Great Britain," they said in their boastful Proclamation to the Colonies—"have thus far checked the extremes of war." But when America, they menacingly added, "professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself to our enemies, the whole contest is changed, and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by any means in her power, destroy and render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France." Instructions to the same effect came from the British Ministry to Sir Henry Clinton. "Keep the coasts of the enemy constantly alarmed"—wrote Lord George Germain. "Destroy their ships and magazines. Prevent the rebels from becoming a formidable maritime power, and obstructing the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, and from sending out that swarm of privateers which has enabled and encouraged them to persevere in their revolt!"

The instructions thus given—notwithstanding a counter-manifesto from the American Congress that "exemplary vengeance" should be taken, if the policy they contemplated was attempted—were yet to a great extent executed—and with a Vandal-like ferocity—as Connecticut, unfortunately, experienced—she particularly at this time having been selected by the foe for a victim.

Governor Trumbull early heard that such was to be the future policy of the English King and Ministry. It was in fact foreshadowed, towards the close of February, by the invasion of Greenwich—when fourteen or fifteen hundred of the enemy, under General Tryon, destroyed some salt-works and a store, burnt a schooner, plundered the inhabitants of the principal part of their effects, broke furniture and windows, and stripped many families even of the clothes on their backs. But Trumbull had better information of British de-

signs than this foray alone would give him—and he had it from abroad.

"I have received intelligence," wrote to him Arthur Lee from Paris, April sixth—"that it is just determined in the British Cabinet to send over immediate orders to New-York, for an expedition through the Sound up Connecticut River. The enemy are to land at Wethersfield, and proceed by land to Newhaven Bay, where they are to embark, after having plundered, burnt, and destroyed all in their way." "The English Parliament have given orders to burn the sea-coast of New England—particularly to burn Newhaven, Hartford, and Boston"—reported also to Trumbull Captain Niles, on his return from the European seas. Such at this time was the complexion of news from abroad.

"Sixteen transports, I am informed," he was apprized by Washington in March—"with a flat-boat each, a sloop-of-war of sixteen guns, and five or six strong privateers, went up the Sound a few days ago with a view of joining the Scorpion and Thames of twenty guns. The advices also say, that the Admiral [Gambier] in a sixty-four, with a sloop-of-war, sailed from the Hook about the same time, with a pilot acquainted with Long Island and the Sound, that the supposed design of the expedition is to take the frigates at New London, and that their determination now is to plunder and distress the coast. There are accounts, besides these, that troops have been drawing towards the east end of the island, and some flat-boats building under the direction of Sir William Erskine. It is added, that General Clinton is gone there himself."

Such was the complexion of advices at this time which Trumbull received from Washington.

In this conjuncture, therefore, he made every preparation in his power to ward off the impending calamity. Two regiments had been regularly ordered in the spring for the defence of the State. These he hurried to their stations. He added new guards along the sea-coast. He improved signals, multiplied expresses, increased the munitions of war, and strengthened all works of defence. In particular he largely augmented the troops at New London, and General Putnam went there to take the command. He ordered the militia everywhere to be ready for instant service. "Call out your brigade." he specially instructed General Wolcott—"and

guard the stores at Danbury, and the whole western frontier, and the pass from Fishkill to Fredericksborough!"

But spite of all these precautions, the blow came—like a thief in the night, came unexpectedly in the quarters where it fell—and with a devastating force. Monday, July fifth—at two o'clock on the morning of that very day on which the citizens of Newhaven were to assemble to celebrate the Declaration of Independence—the Camilla and Scorpion, British men-of-war—with forty-eight tenders and transports, bearing from twenty-six hundred to three thousand men—anchored off the beautiful city of Davenport, and Eaton, and Sherman, and Wooster.

Sunrise—and the foe landed. In vain the small, but brave and spirited force of militia and volunteers which opposed them. Noon—and they entered the town. Afternoon and night—and Newhaven was given up to pillage and to outrage. Houses were sacked—many burned. Stores, and magazines, and shipping, at Long Wharf, were reduced to ashes. Individuals, even women and children—shocking execrations in their ears, and the bayonet at their breasts—were everywhere insulted, lacerated, and robbed. The venerable President of Yale College,* while pleading for his life, was gashed four times to the skull-bone, and then plundered. Worthy, inoffensive old Mr. Beers, was shot in his own doorway. The aged and helpless Mr. English was murdered in his own house. An insane man had his tongue cut out, and was then killed. The honored widow of General Wooster was seized, hurled mercilessly about, cursed, and, with a bayonet levelled at her bosom, made to give up her plate, and part of her attire. Some women, less fortunate than herself, escaped the reigning brutality only with ravishment.

Tuesday morning—and this execrable scene of British barbarity was ended. The foe suddenly retired—with plunder, much of it—with about forty inhabitants taken captive—having killed outright no less than twenty-seven others, wounded nineteen, and despoiled Newhaven—in the teeth of their lying proclamation of immunity to all who

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* Dr. Napthali Daggett.

should remain peaceably within their own dwellings—of more than one hundred thousand dollars worth of property.

Expresses flew with the news of this invasion to Trumbull at Lebanon—and to the commanding officer also at New London. The Governor at once sent the intelligence to General Wolcott, and to General Ward, with fresh incitements to vigilance, and fresh orders to establish posts wherever necessary on the sea-coast, and to watch the frontiers. He at once also transmitted the intelligence to General Washington, and prayed for help. The militia in the region around him were ordered under arms, and to be ready to march to the scene of danger. But news quickly reached him—on July the eighth—that General Tryon had left New Haven. Here was a pause, therefore, now for his anxiety.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1779.

THE attack on Fairfield, and report of a projected attack on Hartford. Trumbull's measures in consequence. The attack on Norwalk, and his measures. The alarms upon other parts of the Connecticut coast, and his successful watchfulness against future hostile descents. Maritime losses and gains this year. Loss of the Oliver Cromwell, and of the privateer Governor Trumbull. The whaleboat system again, and Trumbull.

THE pause for Trumbull, with which our last Chapter closes, was brief indeed—but for a few hours only. The very next day after he heard of the evacuation by the enemy of Newhaven, he received news of their attack on Fairfield.

Sure enough! There they were—July seventh—in another beautiful town of Connecticut—the scattered, desultory fire from a few intrepid militia-men and volunteers who opposed them, having proved fruitless—there they were, the bloody Hessian and Yager bandits, again let loose for plunder and rapine—again sacking houses—breaking open desks, trunks, and closets—seizing pocket-books, and even buttons—dashing glasses, ware of china and stone, and furniture of all kinds, in pieces—threatening lives, and taking many. Wrapping one poor victim in a sheet saturated with rum, they burned him to death. They knocked down, and rifled, the old and infirm. They stripped with violence rings and buckles from feeble women. They robbed them of their bonnets, their aprons, their handkerchiefs. Pouring into their ears language the most foul and profane, they left them with but just strength enough to escape, stunned, bruised, and fainting, from a "horrid conflict" in defence of their virtue. And at last they consummated their hellish work by firing the town—the conflagration—while a sudden thunder storm overspread the heavens—illumining "the earth, the skirts of the clouds, and the waves of the Sound, with an

union of gloom and grandeur at once inexpressibly awful and magnificent."*

Ninety-seven dwelling houses—sixty-seven barns, most of them just filled with wheat, from a harvest that was extraordinarily bountiful—when the fields had borne a "load" more "ponderous" than for many years before—forty-eight stores—two school houses—one County House—two Meeting Houses, and one Episcopal Church—nearly two hundred thousand dollars worth of property in all—these were the sacrifices which at this time "pleasant Fairfield" made to its ferocious assailants. Such "the smoking ruins, marks of hostile ire," to which it was devoted when Tryon "sealed its melancholy doom."†

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* What a scene! The sky, in the vivid language of Dr. Dwight—"speedily hung with the deepest darkness, wherever the clouds were not tinged with the melancholy lustre of the flames"—the lightnings at intervals blazing "with a livid and terrible splendor"—the thunder rolling above—beneath, the waving of the fires filling up the intervals "with a deep and hollow sound, which seemed to be the protracted murmur of the thunder, reverberated from one end of heaven to the other! Add to this convulsion of the elements, and to these dreadful effects of vindictive and wanton devastation, the trembling of the earth, the sharp sound of muskets, occasionally discharged, the groans here and there, of the wounded and dying, and the shouts of triumph." Then let the Reader place before his eyes "crowds of the miserable sufferers, mingled with bodies of the militia, and from the neighboring hills taking a farewell prospect of their property and their dwellings, their happiness and their hopes," and he "will form a just but imperfect picture of the burning of Fairfield." It needed "no great effort of imagination" on the part of those who were witnesses of the event, adds Dr. Dwight—"to believe that the final day had arrived, and that, amid this funeral darkness, the morning would speedily dawn to which no night would ever succeed, the graves yield up their inhabitants, and the trial commence, at which was to be finally settled the destiny of man."

† Language from an elegy written by Col. Humphreys, in 1779, on the spot where the town stood. The following interesting entry was made in the Record of the Congregational Church at Fairfield, by its pastor at the time when Tryon laid the town in ashes—the Rev. Andrew Elliot.

"1779, July 7. A part of the British enemy, consisting of Britons, Germans, and American refugees, under the command of Maj. Gen. Tryon and Brig. Gen. Garth, landed in this town from a fleet, commanded by Sir George Collier.

"In the evening and night of the same day, great part of the buildings in the town plot were consumed in the flames by said troops.

"July 8th. In the morning the Meeting House, together with the Church of England buildings, the Court House, Prison, and almost all the principal buildings in the Society, were laid in ashes.

"Our holy and our beautiful house
Where our fathers praised thee, is
Burnt up with fire; and all our
Pleasant things are laid waste.

Again quickly, expresses—which in the present emergency Trumbull had established—at but fourteen or fifteen miles only apart—all the way from Lebanon to the New York line—bore to him the news of this fresh invasion. And with this news came also a report that a formidable body of the enemy, six thousand in number, were advancing into Connecticut by the western frontier—were already at Rye Neck—bent on devastation—and on making Hartford, more particularly now, feel their vengeance.

Again therefore Trumbull armed the State for a crisis. He augmented to its full complement the two battalions that had been already ordered for home defence. He sent three hundred Lighthorse to Newhaven. He directed all the militia of the third brigade, and one-quarter of the two brigades of General Douglass and General Wolcott, to assemble at New London—Washington had informed him by express that he had instructed General Glover—who about this time was on his way from Providence to join the Main Army on the banks of the Hudson—to take his course not far from Long Island Sound, and cooperate with the troops of Connecticut in case the enemy should make a descent. Trumbull immediately, therefore, sent an urgent request to Glover to bring his brigade on by Norwich to New London. That is a post, he wrote, which must "not be left naked for a day."

He again also urged Washington for further aid from the Continental Army. "Mine of this morning," wrote Washington in reply, from his Head Quarters at Windsor, July twelfth—"will inform you that on hearing of the enemy's movement from below, I had detached a body of troops under Major General Heath to counteract them. It gives me pain that I have it not in my power to afford more effectual service to our country; but the smallness of my force obliges

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The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken
Away: Blessed be the name of the Lord.
All things work together for good to them
That love God—to them that are the
Called according to his purpose.
ALLELUIA.
The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.
AMEN."

me to confine my attentions so entirely to one essential point, that I can do little more than lament the depredations of the enemy at a distance."

Trumbull was not, however, disconcerted by this inability on the part of Washington to render him the full assistance he desired—but at once, on consultation with his Council, applied to Massachusetts and to New Hampshire for aid—and from the former State received it, promptly. One-sixth of its militia from the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire, and Frothingham's company of artillery at Springfield—consisting of thirty men, with a train of six field pieces—were ordered to his relief. And he distributed them for defence, part on the sea-coast of Connecticut—part at Hartford—and part at Middletown.*

Force, however, could not be assembled and stationed in the western part of the State in time sufficient to ward off another most serious blow from the enemy at Connecticut. July eleventh, Tryon crossed the Sound from Huntington Bay to Norwalk—there to crown himself "plentifully," as General Parsons remarked at the time, with laurels from another "fiery expedition"—there "upon the rebellious women, and formidable host of boys and girls," in another defenceless, hapless town of Connecticut, to wreak his "master's vengeance."

Vain the opposition of a little band of Continental soldiers under the intrepid Captain Betts. Vain that of a few militia, and of one hundred horsemen, from the northern heights of the town. Vain that of a small force under General Parsons—save, after the work of destruction was accomplished, to hasten the enemy's retreat. Seated—a table by his side—in a chair, on the top of Grummon's Hill—whose sides, in the graphic description of an eye witness,† were "*all red with*

* "From every appearance," he wrote Washington, August second—"there is no reason to think our enraged enemy are satisfied with the plunder and destruction they have already made in this State, but that it is yet an object of their determined pursuit, and especially the town and port of New London, which, from a variety of circumstances and intelligence, I have reason to apprehend they will attack in a few days—and should they be able to carry it, that they will endeavour to make it a post from which it would be very difficult to dislodge them"—and he goes on renewedly to urge the great importance of its harbor, and the overruling necessity for its defence.

† Nathaniel Raymond, of Norwalk.

the British"—with beautiful Norwalk, and the river flowing through its midst, the Sound, the long train of islands fronting the town, and neighboring Long Island, all full in his view—Tryon wrote his fiery orders. And from this his seat he beheld eighty dwelling houses—all in the town but six—two churches, eighty-seven barns, that were many of them overflowing with wheat and hay, seventeen shops, four mills, and four vessels—in all a property of nearly one hundred and sixty-seven thousand dollars—reduced to ashes. He beheld a thriving population—amid abuse and pillage—amid bloody menaces, and mortal stabs, such as sent poor John Waters, and John Rich, to their graves—burned out of house and home.

July eleventh, the report of this disaster—third in the list of startling forays upon Connecticut within but about a single week—reached Trumbull. Not his the disposition, in consequence, to relax one nerve of effort. The power of the enemy, thus far superior and resistless, but fired his energy anew—and he proceeded, with his Council, to take fresh measures for defence.

"Can the whole strength of your province cope with the force which may at any moment be poured through every district in your country?"—was the taunting inquiry which Tryon and Collier made in their Proclamation at this period to the inhabitants of Connecticut. Four thousand men, ordered anew, August second, to stations along the whole coast of the State—from Stonington to Byram River—was Trumbull's answer.*

"You who lie so much in our power," continued the invading commanders, in the same vaunting document—"afford the most striking monument of our mercy." You, therefore, "ought to set the first example of returning to your allegiance. We hoped that you would recover from the frenzy that has distracted this unhappy country. We offer you a refuge against the distress, which, you universally acknowl-

* "Four thousand troops," he wrote Washington, August second—"are detailed for the defence of the State—besides the complement of men we are filling up for the Continental Army—by all which we are greatly distressed, and the agriculture of the State, so important for our own and for the supply of the army, is in danger of suffering material injury."

edge, broods with increasing and intolerable weight over your whole country!"

That "frenzy" you charge us with, answered by their conduct, Trumbull and his State—is the enthusiasm of liberty. We are the "monument," not of your "mercy," but of your barbarity. We owe no "allegiance" to your master, and shall never "set the example of returning" to it, "first" or last. The people of Connecticut, in the memorable language of Colonel Whiting's response to Tryon at Fairfield—"having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain"—and having had "the flames precede the answer to your flag—will persist to oppose to the utmost the force exerted against injured innocence."*

Such, as now described, were the devastations of the enemy, in the year 1779, upon Connecticut. They were devastations by which half a million of dollars worth of property—the painful accumulation and sole stay of a large mass of frugal human life—was wantonly immolated—and defenceless men, women, and children, by crowds—through the ferocity of a foe that boasted of its superior humanity and civilization—were suddenly forced to hide themselves "in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains," and to say "to the mountains and the rocks, fall on us, and hide us from the face" of those to whom it hath been given "to kill with the sword, and with hunger," and "to hurt the earth and the sea."

But Trumbull's watchfulness was not confined solely to those particular marauding expeditions which we have now sketched.† He had also, as in former times, other invasions—that were menaced on the coast during almost every period of the present year—to note and guard against. And

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* Trumbull sent the intrepid Response referred to in the text, together with the hostile Proclamation which elicited it, to General Washington. "I thank your Excellency for the Proclamation and answer," wrote back Washington, July twelfth. "The first is truly ridiculous, and must tend to incense rather than intimidate; the last is laconic, but to the purpose." The Response was dated "7th July, 1779."

† He took special note, however, it should be stated in this connection, of all the losses they occasioned—which, carefully collected by Committees of the General Assembly, were by him transmitted to Congress.

alarms in 1779 were particularly rife—more so than during any other season of the War. They shook the seaboard and the State.

Conspicuous among these was, first, that which, in April, was occasioned by the appearance of a British fleet of thirty-one sail—then by that of another of thirty sail—which, passing both up and down the Sound—now seizing some American schooner laden with West India goods—now other craft—now rocking at anchor near Gull Islands—now off Fisher's Island—were reported as meditating a speedy attack upon the Connecticut Main—and pointedly upon New London.

Next came an alarm, in June, from a fleet of twenty hostile ships, which anchored off Fisher's Island, and again menaced New London.

Next, in July, another was occasioned by the landing of a detachment from the enemy's fleet on Fisher's Island, which blew up a house—fired outbuildings—fired hay—and threatened other serious mischief on the adjacent coast. Next—far more startling than the preceding, and in the same month—came an alarm that a most formidable British fleet of fifty sail had appeared off Point Judith, and would soon move on a plundering and burning expedition to Connecticut. And next, towards the close of autumn, there was still another and extensive alarm, when—the fleet of D'Estaign having failed to appear at the North—fresh inducement and opportunity were, in consequence, offered to the foe to renew their depredations.

Upon some of these emergencies—as, particularly, when that immense British flotilla was expected from Point Judith, and the roar of cannon, from Stonington and New London, roused the militia of the whole surrounding country to arms—the consternation created was universal—and the energies of the Captain General of Connecticut, and of the forces under his command, were tasked to the utmost. At the very beginning of the year, when the western Sound was filled with the armed craft of the enemy—for the purpose of either taking or destroying them—he concerted, with the Marine Committee at Philadelphia, a plan for joining two ships of Con-

necticut to a Continental armed vessel*—and by his judicious arrangements, fresh troops, as emergencies happened, were poured to every exposed point. He gave orders to the Brigadier Generals of the State to hold more in constant readiness to march. Men from the County of Hampshire in Massachusetts, and from the hills of Berkshire, were at times stationed at menaced New London—and the defences there were freshly inspected and strengthened.

"Should the advanced season," he wrote Washington, towards the close of this eventful year, November fifth—"or any other unforeseen cause, prevent the Count [D'Estaign] from coming this way, and the intended enterprise against the enemy in New York be laid aside, the frontiers and sea-coasts of this State will be eminently exposed to the depredations and ravages of the enemy. We would flatter ourselves it will be in your Excellency's power to send a part of the troops, under your command, into this State, to take post so as to cover and protect the most exposed part of our sea-coast and frontiers; and desire you to inform us whether we may expect that our hopes and wishes, in this respect, may be realized."†

Thus did Trumbull make every preparation to receive the enemy, at all times, should they attempt a landing, or an assault. Fortunately they did not. His own and the signal activity of the State, at the perilous periods, averted farther attack.

And while thus active to guard against fleets of formidable size, Trumbull did not forget to keep his eye, as heretofore,

* "By an Express from the Navy Board of the Eastern Department," wrote to him, February 10th, 1779, Samuel Adams, Chairman of the Marine Committee—this Committee "had the honor of receiving your letter to them of the 22d of January, respecting the enemy's armed vessels in the western Sound, and the probability of taking or destroying them by joining the force of the Confederacy to the two State ships. They were very anxious of adding the Confederacy to the number of those ships destined for another service; but the object you have in view is so very desirable, and the accomplishment of it, from your representation, attended with so little danger or delay, that they have fallen into the measure, and consented to join the Confederacy to the State ships."

† "The keeping up large guards of the militia on the coasts," he proceeds—"besides the enormous expense attending, injures the public service by withdrawing the men from the field, and lessening our ability to supply the army with men or provisions. But I persuade myself, I need not use arguments to prevail on your Excellency to indulge our request, if consistent with the public service and a due regard to the general interests of the States."

on all the smaller British craft that infested the Sound—and upon Long Island particularly, where most of the refugee and tory privateers were harbored and equipped.*

Nor did he forget the little Marine of Connecticut—but, as usual, kept the armed vessels of the State in constant motion. And not infrequently, by direction of his Council, he chartered other vessels to cruise in the Sound. Privateers, which he commissioned, continued to dart out for British prey, whenever they could, and met, on the whole, with great success.

The *Oliver Cromwell*, it is true, was lost this year—having been taken—June fifth, off Sandy Hook—after a most gallant defence against a superior British force, consisting of the frigate Daphne, and one or two other smaller British vessels.† So too was lost—infelicitous reverse indeed—that privateer twenty gun ship to which we have heretofore referred, as having been named after the patriot we commemorate—the *Governor Trumbull.* While cruising off the West Indies, in March, she was captured, and taken into St. Kitts, by the Venus—with this only consolation attending her loss, that the British frigate which took her was originally a patriot vessel, owned by Massachusetts, and was first named the *Bunker Hill!* Add to these losses now, that of the sloop *Wooster*, Captain Brintnall of New Haven—of the sloop *Maccaroni*, Captain Eldridge of Stonington—which were both captured and carried into the West Indies—and of a few other inconsiderable vessels and small craft—and we have the sum total of prizes which the enemy made this year from the Connecticut Marine—while, on the other hand, the State counted her prizes taken from the enemy, by scores.

* "A fleet," he wrote Deputy Governor Bowen of Rhode Island, August ninth—"is fitting out at Huntington, of Tories to come on another plundering and burning expedition on our coasts." This is an example of his watchfulness to secure information, and communicate it, for cooperation in defence, to adjacent States whose coasts also were exposed.

† Connecticut had the mortification of finding this vessel—her name changed to that of the *Restoration*—advertised, July 31st, in Rivingston's Gazette, as then fitting for sea "to join the Associated Refugee Fleet in Huntington Harbor," with the intention of soon paying "a visit to the rebel coast"—the coast of the very State which had built her, and for which she had been employed to fight many a brilliant battle on the seas.

In June, no less than eighteen of the latter were libelled in a Court of Admiralty held at New London, on one and the same day. On another day, preceding, no less than one brig, three schooners, and seven prize sloops, with all their cargoes and tackle, were advertised for sale at public auction. Nine New-York or tory privateers, captured between the first of March and the thirteenth of June—the brig Ranger, a refugee privateer of twelve guns, that was cut out from Sag Harbor early in the year—the privateer Ariel, of twelve guns, also taken—eleven vessels captured in the spring, all of which were loaded with valuable produce, most of it from the West Indies—a ship from Liverpool freighted, among other articles, with thirty thousand pounds of steel—a rich ship from Halifax, likewise taken—these, together with innumerable smaller prizes, far outbalanced any losses that Connecticut sustained.

The *American Revenue*, the *Eagle*, *Washington*, *Gates*, the *Revenge*, *Gull*, *Rattlesnake*, *Beaver*, *Hancock*, and *Young Cromwell*—these privateers particularly—spite of the almost overpowering presence of the enemy in the Sound—distinguished themselves by their dashing exploits, and amply justified the commissions their owners had received at the hands of Governor Trumbull. Armed whaleboats too, by their descents on Long Island, continued to add much to the general stock of acquisitions from the enemy. True very few of these, as has been heretofore intimated—on account of irregularities which had crept into their system of warfare—received commissions from the Governor this year. Still the temptation to retaliate upon the enemy on the opposite coast was irresistible—and many bold men ventured, without license, to pounce upon the cattle, horses, goods, plate, furniture, and other property on the Island, and bring them over to the Connecticut Main—accompanied often by prisoners whom they made, from one to little groups of eight, ten, and thirteen in number.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1779.

Great want of money. Depreciation of national Bills of credit deepened. Eight millions four hundred thousand dollars apportioned on Connecticut by Congress. The impossibility of raising this sum. Trumbull's anxiety on the subject—and his confidence in the future ability of the nation. His views on the finances of the country shown in a letter to Henry Laurens. He hears from Baron Capellan, asking for an American Agent to reside secretly among the Dutch—and soliciting also from him a circumstantial account of American transactions, resources, and prospects. Trumbull gives the account in a letter of great length and ability. The letter. It was shown to the President and Members of Congress before it was sent, and was highly approved Capellan delighted with it as a most energetic defence of the American cause—and makes advantageous use of it to counteract English views and opinions regarding America. He so writes Trumbull—and in his letter speaks feelingly of himself, and his own life. Tribute to the patriot.

The addition made to the means of Connecticut, from the sources indicated at the close of our last chapter, was this year felt as peculiarly valuable—for it was more than ordinarily difficult to obtain supplies. Trumbull, it is true, succeeded in procuring his usual quota of food and clothing for the country—and closed his labors in this respect, in December, by furnishing eight thousand barrels of flour for the Continental Army, which Congress had apportioned on Connecticut. But so far as money is concerned for the general service, this could not be raised, in the way either of taxation or of loans, to any considerable extent—either in Connecticut, or in any other State—and the fact gave Trumbull great anxiety.

Such were the wants, difficulties, and dangers of the time—so sadly was that great instrument of the war, Paper Money, now depreciated—no less than seventy-two millions of dollars having been this year added to its former amount—so large had been previous draughts on the resources of the country—so completely deranged was the course of regular industry—and so feeble the powers of the General Govern-

ment—that taxation, under these circumstances, was almost wholly impracticable. Of specie, there was hardly any in the country. But the pitiful sum of seventy-three thousand dollars, in gold and silver, reached the National Exchequer during the entire year! How then could Connecticut—these things considered—be expected to raise by taxation the enormous sum of eight millions and five hundred thousand dollars, with which she was charged this year by Congress, as her quota of the general expense? It was impossible.

Trumbull deeply felt her powerlessness in this respect. But he at the same time felt, as ever before, an abiding confidence in the ability of his country ultimately to redeem all its pecuniary obligations. It must necessarily increase in population, he reasoned—in accordance with the confiding Congress of the nation. "Extensive wildernesses, now scarcely known or explored, remain yet to be cultivated, and vast lakes and rivers, whose waters have for ages rolled in silence and obscurity to the ocean, have yet to hear the din of industry, become subservient to commerce, and boast delightful villas, gilded spires, and spacious cities rising on their banks." Such resources in prospect then, the national debt can, and must be paid. "Let it never be said," was his own, as well as the noble language of Congress at this period—"let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent, or that her infant glories were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring and almost adoring the splendor of her rising!" And *his* remedy, he said, for all the pecuniary embarrassments of the day, was embraced in two words—"*Do Justice*"—as in the following extract from a letter addressed from Hartford, November second, 1779, to the President of Congress, Henry Laurens, he repeats—and at the same time, in connection, expresses other important views.

"I sincerely lament with you," he proceeds, "the prospect before us respecting our Finances. Yet I am far from being discouraged. Whether the remedy applying by Congress will prove the radical cure we wish, I will not absolutely decide.* I wish, however, the aspect in my view

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* The remedy to which Trumbull here alludes, was the attempt by Congress,

had a more favorable appearance. A remedy might I think be applied—a remedy simple, easy, and perfectly right. In short, two words will express it—*Do Justice.* If this remedy in our present circumstances cannot have its *full* operation, come as near to it as we can, and do the best we can. Let our *creditors* be assured, in the most absolute terms, it shall be done. Remove false weights and measures. Fix the currency, if circumstances will admit—if not, fix on some standard measure by which the variation may be ascertained—and let the variation be constantly made up.* Continue the present currency a legal tender to all intents and purposes—but when so used, let the quantity tendered make up the quality or value. Make good all contracts, equal to the value contracted. Remove the deception of sounds, and let not nominal value attempt to drown the idea of intrinsic worth. In short, use this substitute for money as it ought to be used—measuring it by some real standard. In this track I think our political safety must be secured. We have tried too many devious paths already. The more we deviate, the more we stray. The only sure way, in my mind, is the simple road of justice and equity, as near as we can practice it—and in that only shall we find our security.

"Great resources to relieve our coming necessity might be found from internal loans, were these loans on a proper footing. How long are the lenders to want the *assurance* that the value lent shall be repaid, or secured? Was this assurance given in the most positive terms, the present *creditors* would be perfectly easy, and might be induced to trust large further sums. Till that takes place, I think all prospects from loans must fail."

The views on finance, which, in this letter to Laurens, Trumbull presents, and his firm conviction also of the ability of the country to redeem its plighted faith, were repeated by him this year, in various forms, to numerous other correspondents, both at home and abroad—and among those abroad

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this year, to call in and destroy two of its emissions of Bills of credit—one of 1777, and one of 1778—and at the same time to impose heavy taxes, and establish a prospective sinking fund.

* "Is there no means to prevent the farther depreciation of our currency"—inquired Trumbull, writing Congress September sixth, and again urging taxation. "Can there be no radical cure? The measures used formerly, in the case of the old Tenor bills, answered the end at that time—why not at the present? The bills are of the nature of Tallies, that each individual may know and bear his burden in equal proportion. An appreciation will prove more pernicious than depreciation. Justice ought to be sought for and done to all, as far as is possible. *Taxation is an infallible remedy.* A tax nominally high is as easily borne as one of a lower denomination, where the value is the same. 'Tis always best to pay our debts, when the means for doing it are in our power, which is assuredly the case while the bills, or tallies, are so equally distributed."

to no one so fully and earnestly as to Baron Van der Capellan in Holland—that ardent friend to America, and to the cause of liberty in general, to whom we have heretofore referred. This will appear in the course of a letter, mainly upon other topics, which we are now about to introduce to our readers. It is one of the ablest and most important that ever came from the hands of Trumbull, and with it we shall close our review of his life for the present year. To appreciate this document fully, however, some preliminary remarks and statements are necessary—to which we now invite attention.

In a letter to Trumbull, dated Amsterdam, July sixth, 1779, Capellan assures the Governor of his still unwavering attachment to the American struggle for Independence, and of his endeavors still to promote the same both by his "mouth and pen." And in proof of his sincerity—at a time when the conciliation of Holland—both for the sake of her pecuniary aid, and of commercial and political alliance—was of the utmost importance to the United States—but when, unfortunately, the English party and influence were still predominating there, and wholly false accounts of the situation and resources of America were everywhere rife—at this critical time he urged upon Trumbull—as he did also upon Governor Livingston of New-Jersey*—the appointment of some able agent from the United States to go over and reside among the Dutch. There, *privately* for awhile—"*under the rose*," as Capellan expressed it—he wished him to form useful connections, become acquainted with the language and dispositions of the country, and promote the interests of America, until such time as circumstances might allow him to appear openly in a public character.†

At the same time that Capellan urged upon Trumbull this

* Capellan refers to Livingston in his letter to Trumbull, and says that he has desired the former to communicate specially with the Governor of Connecticut upon the subject of his epistle.

† "Congress," wrote Capellan, "would do well to send over, the sooner the better, a gentleman of distinction and capacity, to be incognito among us, and as a private gentleman to form connections and acquaintances, to obtain a sufficient knowledge of the maxims, dispositions, and even language of the country, and at the same time promote the interests of America (under the rose) until the proper season arrive openly to appear in and assume his public character."

scheme—and upon other occasions also—he warmly solicited the Governor, himself to prepare and send over to him a circumstantial account of American transactions, resources, and prospects—in order that upon information thus obtained, he might be fully armed to resist English statements, ideas, and influence in Holland, and better aid the rising Republic of the New World to take her place among the free and independent nations of the earth.*

With this request Trumbull complied in a letter of great length†—in which he describes New England, and the origin and progress of the Revolutionary War—shows that the British are masters of but little more than they possessed at the outbreak of this war—and replies most fully to all the leading false reports against his country. He compliments Dutch valor, and, advantageously for the United States, compares the Dutch and American contests for liberty. He describes the American governments, soil, climate, productions, and inducements for settlement. He treats of the Continental currency, and American indebtedness—and concludes with a grateful reference to Capellan's generous exertions in Holland, and with some allusions to his own, the writer's family.‡

It is a document full of value to the cause of that abused

* "A description of the present state and advantages of United America," says Capellan in his letter to Trumbull—"of the forms of government in its different republics; of the facility with which strangers can there establish themselves, and find subsistence; of the price of lands, both cultivated and unimproved; of cattle, provisions, &c.; with a succinct history of the present war, and the cruelties committed by the English, would excite astonishment in a country where America is known but through the medium of gazettes."—"I shall be much honored," he wrote, "with your Excellency's correspondence, which in future I intend (as good as I can,) to answer in English."

† It fills thirty printed pages in Volume sixth, Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

‡ "Another cause of distrust, in relation to the credit of America, is the false intelligence which the English incessantly circulate, and the effect of which the friends of the Americans cannot destroy, from want of information. It would be of the last importance to enable them, by authentic relations, which should contain nothing but what was *precisely* true, and in which even the disadvantages inseparable from the chance of war, should not be concealed, to enable them, I say, from time to time, to give an idea of the *actual* state of things, and of what is really passing on the other side of the ocean. If you choose, Sir, to honor me with such a correspondence, be assured that I shall make a proper use of it. Communications, apparently in confidence, have much stronger influence than those which appear in public."—*Capellan's Letter.*

and suffering country, for whose particular vindication it was written. It will compare most favorably in point of ability, and is in its general nature and aim the same, with that celebrated Memorial, which, at a little later period—in 1781—John Adams addressed to the States General of Holland, in order to promote their recognition of American Independence. It was shown to the President and Members of the Congress of the United States ere it was sent abroad—was by them highly approved—and with their "knowledge and consent," as we are assured by Capellan, was transmitted to himself.*

Let those who read it now, we would further remark, not fail to bear fully in mind the circumstances under which it was written—that the period of its composition was one of deepest anxiety for the American cause abroad—that the Cabinet of Great Britain, as already intimated, was busy poisoning the mind of Europe, and particularly of Holland, with the idea that America—from divisions and factions in her Congress and among her people, from discord between the French and Americans, from a rapid increase of royalists, from her depreciated currency, ruined credit, and almost total lack of resources—could not much longer maintain her contest for Independence—nay was, upon the whole, disinclined to persist in it—and that, therefore, neither Holland, or any other European country, ought to look with an eye of pity, least of all with a helping hand, upon her condition of revolt.

Add to these circumstances the consideration, that—spite of all these efforts of Great Britain—there was a growing

* A part of it also was placed under the inspection of the Minister of France at Philadelphia, the Chevalier de Luzerne—with what comment upon it, on his part, we do not learn. Trumbull was in the habit of transmitting important letters from Capellan, to Congress, by which Body they were carefully scanned. Writing to its President Sept. 6th, 1779, he says: "I have lately received an answer to my letter of the 27th June, 1777, addressed to Baron Van der Capellan. Enclosed is his original with *its* enclosures, written in French. * * Enclosed is a packet for him, prepared in answer—left open for Congress and your observation—to communicate so far as you think fit and prudent. Please to seal and forward the same by the first good conveyance. I entertain raised expectations of some solid benefit to the public from this nobleman. Money and goods may be had most advantageously from the Hollanders."

disposition in Holland to favor America*—that her merchants, particularly, were all anxious to share in that commerce which the Independence of the United States would open to the world, and were at this period deeply irritated at the aggressions which England had committed upon their trade in naval stores with France—and we have a series of facts which cannot fail to render the document we are now about to present, of absorbing interest to those who will peruse it. Surely it *was* of vital importance to secure on the side of the American Revolution—and against its armed foe—a Sovereignty so distinguished as Holland then was—she being rich in resources, and one of the first and most formidable maritime Powers of Europe. It is to this end that the letter of Trumbull is directed. Let us proceed now to look at it. It is dated "Lebanon, Aug. 1779," and thus opens:—

"Dear Sir. I have the honor and pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your first and triplicate letter, dated 7th December, 1778; the former came to hand the 18th instant, the latter about three weeks ago by Capt. Niles, from France. The duplicate came to Philadelphia; Mr. Erkelaus took it, and unhappily irrecoverably lost it in Connecticut River, to his and my grief. I do sincerely thank you for the communication; and your kind offer of correspondence is very freely embraced. The letters I sent, I feared were not received, or neglected. Col. Derks kindly offered to see the quadruplicate delivered. That gentleman's polite and agreeable behaviour and disposition inclined me to make another attempt, to be sure of its delivery. Before the receipt of that, sent by him, I am agreeably entertained by yours. In consequence, I shall embrace every opportunity to carry on a correspondence, which, I trust, may be mutually acceptable, and prove beneficial to the public, especially to this springing in the wilds of America."

The Governor goes on now to describe succinctly, yet with great accuracy, the early settlement of New England—the first hostilities at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill—the establishment by Congress of an army—the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderoga—and the military affairs in Canada,

* "The people of Holland begin to think now more favorably of America," wrote Capellan at this period—"so that this would be the very time to establish its rising credit."

before Quebec and elsewhere, under Montgomery, Arnold, and Schuyler. He sketches the evacuation of Boston, with its military causes—the defeat of General Clinton in South Carolina—the naval fight under Arnold on Lake Champlain, and the subsequent retreat and despondency of the American Army. He notes the Declaration of Independence—the military proceedings at New York, and Battle of Long Island—the retreat of the American Army through New Jersey—their return and victories—the Expedition for Philadelphia, and Battle of Brandywine. Leaving the British in quiet possession of the metropolis of America, he proceeds to outline the Northern Campaign, and surrender of General Burgoyne—the Treaty with France—the evacuation of Philadelphia—the military proceedings and battles at Newport, Rhode Island—the military events in Georgia and South Carolina—the expedition of the enemy up the North River—their plundering and burning expeditions to Newhaven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, in Connecticut—the recapture of Stony Point by General Wayne—the expedition to Penobscot—and the defeat of the English in the West Indies by Count D'Estaign. His description of these events, because of their great familiarity to the Reader, we do not here present—but proceed with his letter from this point.

"The foregoing account," he continues, "gives you a general idea of the operations of the war, in which, notwithstanding their many conquests, whether boasted or real, you find the British actually, at this day, masters of little more than they first possessed. New York, Staten Island, Long Island, Rhode Island, Savannah in Georgia, and Penobscot in Massachusetts, are the extent of their present dominions, all of which, you will naturally remark, owe their preservation much more to the navy, whose superiority we have no power to dispute, than to the army, whom we are now ready to meet in the field.

"I can well conceive the address and perseverance of our enemies, in disseminating false and disgraceful reports of our resources and movements; but a very little knowledge of mankind will be sufficient to teach even the most simple, what confidence is to be reposed in the *assertions* of those, whose *actions* are seen to deviate widely from every rule of right. They assert, that 'of 32,000 electors of Congress, only 600 have taken the oath of abjuration.' But I affirm to the world, that only in the little state over which I have the honor to preside, there are 10,000 electors, every one of whom has abjured his allegiance to the king of Great

Britain, and sworn to support with his life and fortune the liberties and independence of his country—these oaths being one established and irrevocable condition on which the right of election is founded. They assert that 'the people are disgusted with the measures of the new Congress.' On the contrary, the *recommendations*, only, of this worthy body of men, have every effect of laws, in guiding the actions of their constituents; and it may be truly said, that they have taken no one *material* step, which has not been received with the most hearty approbation. It would be strange indeed, and unprecedented in the annals of mankind, if, in the establishment of a new empire, under the numberless embarrassments through which we have struggled, no errors had been committed which an after prudence might find to correct.

"'The number of royalists is said to have increased with rapidity.' General Johnson should have learned to discriminate between people who *voluntarily* declare in favor of a party, and those whom *misfortune reduces to the necessity* of partial and temporary submission to avoid the horrible alternative of fire, captivity, and slaughter. Experience, or history might have taught him, that a submission, thus forced, is but the prelude to revenge; if he demands example, let him look at New Jersey, or the modern instances of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut.

"'Discord already reigns between the French and Americans, and even among the Americans themselves.' Let the French gentlemen, who have been in America, relate the reception they have met with in this country; or inquire of my countrymen what treatment they receive in France. The answer will decide on individual affection; and the unequivocal conduct of the Courts of France and Spain leave as little doubt of the subsistence of national harmony. For ourselves, at the commencement of the war, the southern and northern States were almost as unacquainted as two different nations; but now, not only political, but individual union subsists on the firmest, most amicable foundations.

"'That many of the States are on the point of following the example of Georgia, Carolina, and Connecticut, in returning to their allegiance,' is an assertion too impudently false, almost, to merit an answer. However, let the present state of Georgia and Carolina, let the late opposition of two or three hundred raw, surprised militia, and the children of a college at Newhaven, to as many thousand veteran troops in the field, and the precipitate retreat of those veterans in less than eighteen hours, be considered, and I will grant that America, in general, is upon the point of returning to her allegiance in the very same manner.

"The history which you already have, of the operations and misfortunes of the war, with their causes, furnishes a ready answer to the inquiries of your countrymen, and gives the true reason why 'we did not improve the opportunity of General Burgoyne's defeat, and the support of Count D'Estaign, to dispossess our enemy, entirely, of the small part of the continent which still groans under their dominion.' It was want of power. New York, Newport, and Penobscot, with the islands, are to

us real *Gibraltars*, impossible to be reduced so long as the enemy command the seas; and this command we can have no power to dispute for many years to come, except by the support of our allies.

"I acknowledge, my dear Sir, that no *one action* of the present war merits any comparison to the fury, and the rage of valor, which was displayed at the sieges of Harlem, Leyden, &c., and which rendered your ancestors so justly, so illustriously celebrated. But when we compare the circumstances of the two countries, perhaps we may be induced to believe, that the collective conduct of the present has been, by no means, less arduous than that of the former war.

"At the time of your revolt, Holland might already be called old in population, in government, in war, and in arts. Your country, though not of wide extent, was crowded with cities and inhabitants. You had many men of extensive knowledge and experience: your people were inured to the fatigues and discipline of war, by land and sea. Cultivation and manufactures were, by you, carried to an height of perfection unknown to almost any part of the world: trade and commerce you had almost engrossed to yourselves: your cities and harbors were already covered with extensive and very strong fortifications: and to these must be added, your *real dominion* over the seas, whether on the ocean, where your fleets were nearly equal, if not almost superior to those of your enemy, or by your inundations, which formed a new, and absolutely unconquerable style of defence. On the other hand, we see America almost in a state of infancy. We are three millions of inhabitants indeed, but thinly scattered over an immense country, whose extent on the sea is not less than fifteen hundred miles, and to the back country more than three hundred; destitute of a single fortified town, or the engineers, the men, or the revenue, necessary for works of the kind; without a civil officer informed in independent government, or a military of higher rank than a colonel of irregulars; without almost a man who had ever served on board a ship of war, or in a disciplined army. Cultivation is, from the youth of the country, but very imperfect; and manufactures, especially of arms, ammunition, and the requisites of war, from the policy of our connections, were almost unknown in the smallest degree. These are disadvantages, which already form a striking contrast to the resources of Holland, and might have well been sufficient to deter the most heroic people from an attempt, which, thus embarrassed, reason would almost stamp with the character of madness and despair.

"But let us go further, and compare our naval situation with yours (to say nothing of the advantage derived from your inundation.) Our commerce has always been so cautiously restricted to our mother-country, that we were almost unknown, by name, to the other nations of the earth. Thus destitute of commercial connections, or political acquaintance, we had, at first, little to expect from the friendship or alliance of strangers; while the same mediocrity of commerce, in itself, deprived us of seamen, the soul of a marine. In fine, there was not, at the com-

mencement of the war, a single armed ship on the continent, to defend, even the smallest point of our vast extended coast, against a navy, which, but a few years before, had triumphed over the united powers of the world. The innumerable .misfortunes, which were the inseparable consequence of this inferiority, are obvious; it was impossible to combat to advantage an enemy who could thus, in a moment, evade an attack, and transport himself to a thousand different defenceless quarters of the country. Devastation and plunder were continually in his power, while supplies, of ammunition, and military stores, were almost more precarious from abroad than the manufacture of them was unknown at home. Thus friendless, and thus destitute of resources, the maxims of Fabius were necessarily adopted, and we have hitherto 'conquered by delaying.'

"You will find in the enclosed answers to the inquiries of the British Court, an accurate description of the form of government, population, soil, climate, produce, and trade of the State of Connecticut. The governments of the other States are founded on democratic principles likewise, and nearly similar to ours; most of them are already established, though some (from peculiar difficulties of situation,) are still scarcely arranged.

"The climate, the soil, and the productions of a continent, extending from the thirtieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and in longitude an unknown width, are various beyond description, and the objects of trade consequently unbounded. There is scarce a manufacture, whether in the useful or ornamental part of life, of which you will not find the materials, collected, as it were, in an immense magazine. In every requisite for naval armaments we abound: our forests yielding prodigious quantities of timber and spars; our mountains vast masses of iron, copper, and lead; and our fields producing ample crops of flax and hemp. Provisions of all kinds are raised in much greater quantities than are necessary for our own consumption; and our wheat, our rye, our cattle, and our pork, yield to none in the world for quality.

"The price of cultivated lands is by no means extravagant; and of uncultivated, trifling; twelve thousand acres, situated most advantageously for future business, selling for three hundred guineas English, i. e., little more than sixpence sterling the acre. Our interests and our laws teach us to receive strangers, from every quarter of the globe, with open arms. The poor, the unfortunate, the oppressed, from every country, will here find a ready asylum; and by uniting their interests with ours, enjoy in common with us all the blessings of liberty and plenty. Neither difference of nation, of language, of manners, or of religion, will lessen the cordiality of their reception, among a people whose religion teaches them to regard all mankind as their brethren.

"The only obstacle which I foresee to the settlement of foreigners in this country, will be the taxes, which must inevitably, for a time, run high, for the payment of the debts contracted during the present war.

These, indeed, will be much lightened by the care which has been taken to confine these debts, as much as possible, among ourselves, and by emitting a paper currency in place of borrowing from abroad. But this method, though it secures the country from being drained, hereafter, of immense sums of solid coin, which can never return, has exposed us to a new and very disagreeable embarrassment by its monstrous depreciation—an evil which had its rise in, and owes all its rapid increase to, the single cause of our not having provided, at a sufficiently early period, for its reduction and payment by taxes. This measure was indeed rendered impracticable, at the proper time, by the radical derangement of the system of government, and consequently of revenue, in many of the United States; and its necessary delay, till the removal of these impediments, gave time for avarice and suspicion to unite in sapping the foundations of our internal credit. Many methods have been attempted for the prevention of a further depreciation; and among others, the regulation of prices and markets has been repeatedly essayed; but all efforts of the kind must forever prove fruitless, while they do not strike at a radical cure; and the evil, after each momentary restraint, springs up, like the hydra's head, redoubled and renewed in vigor; each new attempt constantly evincing to us, what we ought at first to have received as a fixed principle, that the value of money, whether real or artificial, will forever be determined by the proportion of its own quantity to the quantity of all the objects of trade in the country where it is current.

"Taxes, therefore, are now adopted, and the evil seems at a stand.* The continuation of this system, and stopping the emission of additional sums, we now begin universally to acknowledge as the only effectual remedy; and the increasing union of sentiment, which pervades all classes of men, will soon produce the desired effect. The danger of extravagant taxes, indeed, is much more imaginary than real. We have to defray the expenses of an army of twenty thousand men for four

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* This was particularly true as regards Connecticut. Washington, in a letter to Edmund Pendleton, Nov. 1st, 1779, after alluding to the "capital injury" to the country from the depreciation of the Continental money, thus, with a compliment to the State over which Trumbull presided, urges the restoration of public credit.

Let the enemy, he says, "once see, that, as it is in our power, so it is our inclination and our intention, to overcome this difficulty, and the idea of conquest, or hope of bringing us back to a state of dependence, will vanish like the morning dew. They can no more encounter this kind of opposition, than the hoar frost can withstand the rays of the all-cheering sun. The liberty and safety of this country depend upon it. The way is plain, the means are in our power. But it is virtue alone that can effect it. For without this, heavy taxes frequently collected (the only radical cure,) and loans, are not to be obtained. Where this has been the policy, *in Connecticut for instance*, the prices of every article have fallen, and the money consequently is in demand; but in other States you can scarcely get a thing for it; and yet it is withheld from the public by speculators, while everything that can be useful is engrossed by this tribe of black gentry, who work more effectually against us than the enemy's arms."

years. These expenses are almost entirely within ourselves; and one hundred bushels of wheat will at this day discharge the pay of a man as readily as at the commencement of the war. What matters it then (so long as our country continues to produce an equal quantity of essential wealth,) whether that wheat is nominally called one hundred pounds, or an hundred shillings? The real value (that is in any foreign market, or in solid coin,) is still the same, however we may vary the denomination of our internal currency.

"You find I am not an advocate for internal or foreign loans; in my opinion, they are like cold water in a fever, which allays the disease for a moment, but soon causes it to rage with redoubled activity; temporary alleviations, but ultimately real additions to the burden. The debts which we have already contracted, or may hereafter be necessitated to contract abroad, I have no doubt but will be paid with the utmost punctuality and honor; and there can be no surer foundation of credit than we possess in the rapidly increasing value and importance of our country.

"Indeed it is not so much my wish, that the United States should gain credit among foreign nations, for the loan of money, as that all nations, and especially your countrymen in Holland, should be made acquainted with the real state of the American War. The importance and greatness of this rising empire, the future extensive value of our commerce, and the advantage of colonization, are objects which need only to be known, to command your attention, protection, and support.

"Your 'Tertia,' with its enclosures, will (together with this,) be immediately forwarded to Congress, where, I doubt not, the services you have already rendered this country, and the affectionate attachment you are pleased to testify to our interests, will meet that acknowledgment of gratitude which pity and relief demand in return from the unfortunate.

"Give me leave, most sincerely, to express my grief that the efforts you have made for the removal of oppression in your own country, and for extending the blessings of liberty and plenty to the poor, should have met with so ungrateful a return of persecution and insult. Unhappy state of man! where opulence and power conspire to load the poor, the defenceless, and the innocent, with accumulated misery! where an unworthy few join to embitter the life of half their fellow-men, that they may wallow in the excess of luxurious debauch, or shine in the splendid trappings of folly!

"Go on, however, my dear Sir; continue to assert the liberties of mankind, and support the cause of this injured and unfortunate country. And may heaven, in return for your generous, benevolent, and virtuous exertions, crown your life with the enjoyment of every public and domestic blessing. And if future events should render it convenient or agreeable to you to visit this new world, and share with us the enjoyment of universal freedom, may you be happy.

"For myself, sixty-nine years which I have already lived, allow me but a few days at best, of which I can even hope for the enjoyment.

But I have children, in whom I am happy to anticipate an elongation of life; and in whom, you may be assured, you will meet with faithful friends, though you should not chance to see, My dear Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and grateful humble servant,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

To the letter from Trumbull now given, Capellan replied, from Zwoll, early in December of the present year. He was "delighted," he said, with the communication. He had made it known, "with discretion," in Amsterdam—down to December "without giving any copies"—he reported—and it had made "a strong impression" upon all who read it. "All regret," he added, "that *so handsome, so energetic* a defence of the American cause, should be shut up in the portfolio of an individual."

Such, however, was the necessity in Holland, just then. It was not quite time yet, in the judgment of the Baron, to publish it openly to the Dutch—for the Court of London stood ready to pounce upon this nation at once with the talons of war, in case of any active interference in behalf of America—and indeed had succeeded, at the moment, in deepening the prejudice against the American cause. The United States will break off from France—they do not defend themselves "with that exasperation and fury manifested by Hollanders in past days"—such were the "disparaging reports," among others, with which Capellan said he was himself "mortified every day." Are there "no true heroes in America as in Switzerland," he asked of Trumbull in this connection—in true affliction of soul, yet still with unyielding confidence in American bravery. "Should America not have her sacred Phalanx as well as Thebes? Yes, certainly!"

For himself, he added—he was rejoiced to be the object of the public esteem of America—and but for an aged father, and wife, and child, would go over and take up his abode there—shut out still, as he was, on account of his attachment to liberty, from the Council of his Province—and feeling the ties, therefore, which united him to his native land, sensibly impaired. His own political proscription, however, he said, he did not regret; for he greatly preferred "a quiet, unofficial life"—especially as it was plainly manifest to himself,

that, though but thirty-eight years of age—because of sickness, great application to business, and trouble—he was "old before the ordinary time," and unable, therefore, "to do much."

Still what he could, he would do, he promised, for the infusion, and spread of liberty. He had himself subscribed, he stated, to a loan for the United States—was still busy urging others to subscribe—and wished Trumbull to continue to send him full accounts of his country—the refuge and the hope of freedom, and always inexpressibly dear to his heart. What Trumbull had already sent, he was anxious, were it prudent, to publish at once. It should be used, however, he assured him—as all else that he would transmit—for the benefit of America. And it was so used—most effectively. Holland became at last, though slowly, inoculated with the views, and with the arguments sustaining them, which Trumbull had presented—and no longer distrustful of American credit—but propping it with her own funds—took her station side by side with the struggling Republic of the Western World—an open foe to its great Oppressor.

Philanthropic, self-sacrificing Capellan! Thou wast one among the first of the nobles of Europe, that—stepping off from the platform of hereditary rank—bursting every barrier with which wealth and power in the Old World have entrenched and palisadoed man from his fellow-men—didst come with thy cheering sympathy, thy purse, and thy influence, upon the arena of oppressed America, and bid her—*Be free!* At a time when she was rocking, at utter hazard, in the stormy cradle of war, thou didst say to her—*Be of good cheer!* Honor then to thy name, thy bounty, and thy love! Honor for that undying confidence in the final triumph of liberty here, which thou wouldst permit no arrow barbed from our distress ever to wound! The shield thou thus lifted for American defence, should be emblazoned with gratitude, wherever thy good deeds are known! Fame, in fair guerdon of thy worth, should tell to posterity thy virtues, and keep the temple thou hast erected in the American heart, ever vocal with thy praise!

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1780.

The Campaign of 1780. Another Valley Forge scene. The Continental Army starving again in its winter quarters. The portion of it upon the North River relieved by Trumbull. Testimony of George Washington Parke Custis on this point. The army distressed for support during most of the year. Trumbull, therefore, called upon for extraordinary exertion. A change made by Congress in the Department of Supplies. Trumbull under the new organization. He furnishes provisions, tents, camp equipage, and gabions and fascines, to Washington. He supplies Ethan Allen with powder. His task rendered doubly difficult on account of the wretched state of the national currency. Yet he achieves it. The whole subject of finance in Connecticut is committed to his special care. Favorable results. A new Congressional plan, started this year, for improving the currency, is sustained in Connecticut.

The Campaign of 1780 opened under favorable auspices. France, we were assured, was to help us. Spain looked upon us with a cautious, yet with a kindly eye—she was at least pledged against Great Britain. The combined navies of these two Powers were in the waters of the West Indies to threaten there the annihilation of British armaments and commerce. Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, had combined in an Armed Neutrality that was profoundly humiliating to British naval power and pride. Lord George Gordon was beginning to rock London with civil convulsions. Ireland was restive under the oppression of her master, and threatened retaliation. Disturbances, directed against the English Government, were rife in Scotland. Prospects then for America were auspicious. The hour of deliverance seemed at hand.

But, alas, no deliverance came. The campaign of the year was tardy—and, upon the whole, fruitless but of gain to the enemy.* A capital city of the South—beleaguered

* True, in some respects, America was profited. Hurricanes and assaults in the West Indies, had wounded Great Britain in her "tenderest point," her

Charleston—fell. Upon the blood-soaked plains of Camden, Gates was defeated, and the heroic Baron de Kalb expired. The bloody Tarleton ravaged and plundered, almost with impunity, from the slopes of the Alleghany down to the sea upon which his master's fleet rode quite triumphant. Lord Cornwallis, not without reason, regarded Georgia and South Carolina as conquered provinces—and his foot was planted, with apparent firmness, on a part of North Carolina, ready for an advance northward into Virginia, and beyond—an advance which nothing seemed able to prevent.

Yet though the main theatre of the war—transferred at the close of 1779 to the South—remained there during the whole of the year now under consideration—a full thousand miles away from the immediate observation of that Governor we commemorate—who for the five years that preceded, had been accustomed to see battle rage in his own neighborhood—still at home—for the military departments directly around him—he had his usual amount of labor and duty to perform—at one period of the year indeed, as we shall see, more than an ordinary share.

The year opened with another call upon his services in the way of supplies for the Continental Army, which involves a scene of great interest—and one peculiarly illustrative of his promptness. To this, therefore, we first direct the Reader's attention.

On going into quarters—in a winter again signally severe—in the first month of the year—the scene of Valley

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trade—source of her wealth and credit. Portugal had insulted her, fearlessly and without provoking retaliation, by shutting her ports against her ships-of-war, and her prizes. Strangely enough, the petty principalities of Germany, which had heretofore sold her Hessians and Waldeckers for a few shillings a head, now paused in the mercenary traffic, and rendered additions to her troops destined for America from this source impracticable. The American cause too in Europe had gained in credit. There was satisfaction and even joy felt there at the expected circumscription of English domination. Though expending all her finesse to detach France from her alliance with the United States, yet England had not succeeded. Though she had labored to weaken the friendliness of Spain and Holland, she had not succeeded. All these circumstances—forcing her, as they did, to maintain her belligerent attitude—still to muster her battalions, and task her resources, for a continued contest with America—left her, at the end of the Campaign of 1780, upon the whole, in a posture by no means favorable. God, "in bounty," seemed to be "working up storms" about her.

Forge, as regards distress for want of food, was renewed among the American troops, with even aggravated horrors. "The present situation of the army, with respect to provisions," wrote Washington, January eighth—"is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past, the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either, and frequently destitute of both. They are now reduced to an extremity no longer to be supported."

Such at this period, was the melancholy picture drawn by the Commander-in-chief. And it was but too true. There they were, the poor soldiers—both those in quarters in New Jersey, and those cantoned on the North River—on the very verge of famine—reduced to half, and sometimes to less than half allowance—five or six days, at times, without either bread or meat—compelled to eat every kind of horse-food excepting hay—their magazines absolutely exhausted—their medical department without sugar, tea, chocolate, wine or liquors of any kind, and driven to the alternative either of perishing with cold and hunger, or of dispersing to relieve their biting wants by indiscriminate plunder—honest and honorable though their intentions, and heroic and unexampled their patience.

To those of them that were in winter quarters in New Jersey, Washington, under the menace of military impressments—fortunately, on account of the magnanimous exertions of the people and magistrates of that State, seldom carried into effect—was compelled to extort an irregular and precarious subsistence.

But for those cantoned upon the North River he appealed—just at their extremest point of suffering—to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut—as did also General Heath—and Congress also, in pressing terms, twice within six days—to a State that was apparently, from her previous exhausting contributions, destitute of any provisions beyond those immediately necessary for the subsistence of her own inhabitants. Of the manner in which Trumbull responded, the fol-

lowing account, gathered from the personal statements of the late venerable George Washington Parke Custis—the adopted son of the great Father of his Country—will give the Reader a vivid idea.*

"It seems that once," proceeds the account, "when Gen. Washington was quartered in New York, the necessities of the army were at a discouraging extremity, and such frequent and exhausting calls had been made upon the various States, that he despaired of being able to draw any substantial quantity of supplies from any quarter. However, as a last resort, he wrote to Gov. Trumbull on the subject, expressing his mind with perfect frankness, and sending his letter by a special messenger. The Governor received the letter in the afternoon, and, after reading it, told the messenger to rest for the night, and call the next morning to take his answer. The envoy supposed the case was desperate, and as he galloped his horse back to New York the next day, believed that he was carrying information of the utter inability of Connecticut to supply the provisions asked for.

"The letter was opened by Gen. Washington, and, much to his surprise, informed him that on a stated day he might expect a certain number of barrels of beef, a certain number of barrels of pork, and other provisions in detail. The news was joyfully received, for the Governor was never known to prove false to his promise. On the day assigned, squads of American soldiers might have been seen on the highest hills in the vicinity of the camp, straining their eyes down the line of road from the East, in which the longed-for wagons were expected to appear in sight.

"Within half an hour of the time assigned by Governor Trumbull for the arrival of the stores, the expectant eyes almost filled with tears of joy at discovering through the mists of the valley the teamsters cheering along their jaded horses. It was like the cry of "sail ho" to the shipwrecked. Every heart bounded with gratification, and Gen. Washington was delighted to receive fresh evidence of the trustworthiness of the sterling people and punctual Governor of the State of Connecticut, during the "times that tried men's souls."

"With respect to provisions," wrote Washington, January twenty-ninth—"the situation of the army is comfortable [now,] on this head. I ardently pray it may never be again as it has been of late." But the prayer of the Commander-

* The facts were communicated to the Hon. Charles Rockwell, then of Norwich, Connecticut, upon occasion of a visit paid by himself and lady to Mr. Custis. By Mr. Rockwell they were communicated to Charles Hosmer, Esq., of Hartford—by Mr. Hosmer to L. F. Robinson, Esq., of this city, and by the latter were written out and published.

in-chief was not, however, answered—for though relieved at the time he describes, yet spring, and summer, and autumn too—the whole year in fact—saw the same distress painfully renewed. May—and the troops were at a half, a quarter, and even an eighth allowance, for subsistence. September—and the destitution in camp caused Washington to send fifteen hundred of the militia of Connecticut, as well as militia from other States, *home*—just to procure their "daily bread." Instances these of want which are "so reiterated and constant," said the Commander-in-chief about this time, as "cannot but lead to alarming consequences." And the consequences predicted did ensue. Two regiments of the Connecticut Line were forced into seeming mutiny—as were subsequently portions of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines.

Trumbull, therefore, as at the beginning, so during the whole course of the year, was compelled to do extraordinary duty in the department of supplies—a fact which leads us to dwell somewhat on this duty here. Though it is familiar to those who have thus far followed us in this work, still its round at this time, for Trumbull, varies a little from that of former years, and in justice to him should not, though under some aspects analagous, be untrodden either by his Biographer, or the Reader.

It was at this period that Congress new-modelled the Department of Supplies—and for the old system of Continental purchases by Continental agents, substituted the plan of making requisitions upon the States for specific articles—to be procured under State authority, by State agents, with State money. Connecticut, therefore, appointed, for herself, a Commissary and Assistants, to make requisite purchases—and Trumbull superintended their performance of duty. From time to time, in order to ensure supplies, this State, as has been observed, decreed embargoes. Trumbull proclaimed and enforced these—this year as before—and as against all exportations that might interfere with demands for the public service. Connecticut again, passed careful acts for collecting and storing provisions and refreshments, and for impressing them even, if otherwise they could not be ob-

tained. The Governor saw these Acts too, faithfully executed—nor did he forget to add beef and pork to the general stock, from prizes brought into New London by American privateers.*

So that when the Army, during the year, was in need, Trumbull was always prepared with a supply—greater or less—generally all, and often more than was the just quota of the State. When the French troops—arriving this year—were in want, he relieved them—and frequently also during the year, supplied some of the people of neighboring States, from the strangely exhaustless magazines, as they seemed, of old Connecticut. The Manager of a forge in New Jersey, for example, on which the army was dependent, wrote him that unless he received aid in provisions, his workmen must be dismissed. The provisions were sent. The people of Nantucket, in March, were suffering from want of bread. He gave them permits to barter their oil, salt, and rum, in Connecticut, for this great necessary of life.

Congress called upon him, in March, for one thousand barrels of pork, and one thousand five hundred barrels of flour—to replace stores that had been borrowed from the French Marine. They were furnished. In June, De Cornay came to him with a letter from the President of Congress, requesting his aid for the steady supply of the French force, and for the prevention of all competition in purchases between France and the United States. This aid Trumbull cheerfully bestowed. He commissioned agents to go to Boston for a conference and arrangement on the subject with agents from other States. Twenty thousand pounds were advanced to the French Commissary from the Treasury of Connecticut—and wagon after wagon, loaded down with provisions—under permits which Trumbull granted to Commissary Wadsworth—rolled along the roads from Connecticut to the French Army at Newport.

In September again, Congress asked him for five hundred and thirty-nine head of cattle—for the "full" number, and

* As once, for example, in May, when he sent Commissary Champion to New London, to seize such stores, then lately captured, and convert them to the public use.

"immediately." The cattle were sent. In the same month again, General Heath—the militia and troops under his command at Newport being in extreme want of bread, and in the "utmost danger," in consequence, he said, of a mutiny and desertion—sent to him for three or four hundred bushels of Indian corn.* Permission was given to take five hundred. Washington wanted four or five hundred barrels of salted beef for exhausted Fort Schuyler. "I desired Governor Trumbull," he wrote Governor Clinton of New York, "to hurry them on, that they might be got up, in all, this month." The barrels of beef were "hurried" on.

In November again, Congress asked him for fifteen hundred barrels of beef—twenty-five thousand hundred weight of beef—three thousand barrels of pork—twenty-five thousand gallons of West India rum—eight hundred and thirteen bushels of salt—and two hundred and two thousand three hundred and ninety-nine dollars and one-third, in money. It was an enormous demand. Trumbull communicated the call to the General Assembly. Make what purchases you can—said the Assembly to himself and his Council—but at the same time represent to Congress their own tardiness in making the requisition, its magnitude, its disproportion, and our own inability, at present, to comply with it fully.

This representation Trumbull made. The requisition, he wrote to Congress, is so "dilatory as to render a reasonable compliance absolutely impracticable"—why was not Congress more prompt? It is "large and untimely," especially in the

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* The following is the letter of Gen. Heath to Governor Trumbull, upon this occasion.

"*Newport, Sept.* 30, 1780. Sir. Since I had the honor to address your Excellency on the 22d, we have been in extreme want of bread, and the militia on the point of a mutiny and dispersing.

"A temporary relief of flour and meal arrived yesterday from Massachusetts; but your Excellency well knows that the resources of that State in grain, especially in the neighbouring parts of it, are but small. Permit me therefore again to request some aid from your State, if possible. Capt. Collins will bring 300 or 400 bushels of Indian corn from your State, if he can gain permission. As this can be ground here, and the meal mixed with wheat and rye flour, it will be a great relief to the troops."

"Had it not been for Connecticut," says a newspaper account, speaking of this period—"the whole south-eastern part of Massachusetts would have been desolated by a famine."

article of salted provisions—and "vastly beyond" the just proportion for Connecticut. Congress is not sufficiently careful of its supplies, when obtained. There is the article of clothing, for example, in which there has been "great loss and spoil." Still Connecticut is patriotic, and though much exhausted, "will make every proper effort." Such were the views he presented.

"'Tis difficult and ever will be," he wrote again to Congress upon another occasion this year—"for Governors and Executive Councils to be Commissaries and Quarter Master Generals. But we must struggle through the present campaign as we can. The winter, I think, will be employed in systematizing still farther. Is it not already time to be forming your estimates for another year—that the States may know what they have to obtain—that their procurements may be in their season—and that we may not have the misfortune and embarrassment to look up our salted meats, &c., after they have all passed to markets. I wish Congress would for once economize in point of time as well as money."

But it was not provisions alone, but supplies of every other kind wanted for the war, that Trumbull, this year, was more than ordinarily active in procuring. Washington, for example, in July, called for a large quantity of tents and camp equipage. Trumbull made them ready. Gabions and fascines were wanted. One thousand militia-men were, in July, set to work cutting them on and near the banks of the Connecticut River. Washington again, in August, called on him for fifteen hundred arms. They were furnished. Ethan Allen, in February, and again in December, appealed to him, in behalf of Vermont, for powder with which to ward off an expected invasion from Canada. Elderkin and Wales, by Trumbull's order, sent two tons in all to the "Green Mountain Boys" from their powder-mill at Windham.

Labors like these now described, in the department of supplies, were achieved by Trumbull, it should be remembered, when the medium of purchases—Continental Money mainly—now thirty-nine fortieths at least below its nominal value—was fast verging to the point of utter annihilation—when in fact, at times, there was no available money at all—as, in September, Commissary Champion declared before the Coun-

cil of Safety, when pressed by this Body to "do his utmost" for supply. True Congress—early in the year—had taken measures to reduce the quantity of bills in circulation—and to establish and appropriate specific funds for the punctual redemption of a new paper substitute, which they endeavored to render equivalent to specie.* True, their appeal to the States for cooperation in their plan was kindly met by Governor Trumbull, and the people of Connecticut—who, in their General Assembly—for the purpose of sinking the wretched outstanding paper of the country—authorized a lottery—and imposed an annual tax of seven pence on the pound, for six years, on all the polls and rateable estate of the State.

But all these proceedings did not suffice to make money, in the language of Wall Street, either "plenty" or "easy"—and the business of supply therefore, to Trumbull, the present year, was on this account—as well as on account of a disposition still existing, among some, to engross and forestall commodities—an arduous task. Yet, aided somewhat by a fresh emission of State bills of credit—spite of all embarrassments—he achieved it.

It is a striking proof of the confidence felt in his financial ability and integrity—that the General Assembly, this year, specially empowered him "to superintend" the whole subject of Finance in Connecticut—to supervise and direct the Treasury, and the Pay Table—to examine into the state of the public debts and credits—to make a proper estimate of the amount of public expenses, and of the ways and means provided for their discharge—and to take effectual measures for securing, from the towns of Connecticut, their respective arrearages of the public taxes. All this duty he performed—and he inspired confidence. The people began, after a while, to accept cheerfully the new system of finance devised by Congress. "The Connecticut traders"—was the compliment which, at this time, the Honorable James Duane of Con-

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* By issuing them on the funds of particular States—by guaranteeing their payment, and making them, principal and interest, redeemable in specie, or, at the election of the holder, in sterling bills of exchange drawn by the United States on their Commissaries in Europe, at 4*s.* 6*p.* sterling.

gress,* paid to the State over which Trumbull presided—"have done themselves great honor, as well as the principal farmers. The former, in an Address to the Assembly, declare their readiness to receive the new money at its value specified by Congress, in payment for their commodities. New-York, I am sure, will concur."

* In a letter to General Washington.

CHAPTER XL.

1780.

Trumbull and military affairs at the North. Devastations by the enemy in the Jerseys, and elsewhere. The forces raised by Trumbull for Continental service, and for Home Defence. Enlistments difficult. An alarm upon the Hudson River. Washington applies to Trumbull for aid. Arrival of a French land and naval force at Newport. High expectations of the country in consequence. Preparations for cooperation. Trumbull, through La Fayette, congratulates Count Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay, upon their arrival. Arbuthnot, however, blockades the French fleet Trumbull orders on troops to that quarter. Another alarm. Clinton, with a formidable armament, is reported to be in Long Island Sound. The Governor's measures in consequence. A meeting between the American and French Commanders-in-chief, at Hartford, to arrange a combined plan of operations. Their expenses in Connecticut are paid from the State Treasury. Their imposing reception at Hartford, the Governor being present. Their first interview in the street near the State House. Their subsequent interview and consultation at the house of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth. Trumbull shares in all their deliberations. The result. Escorted by the Governor's Guards, and amid the roar of artillery, the Commanders-in-chief depart for their respective Head Quarters. Washington on his way hears of Arnold's treason.

So much for Trumbull's labors in the department of finance and supplies, for the present year—a year which, though the arena of war, as has been stated, was chiefly at the South, yet did not pass at the North without dyeing some portions of this quarter with blood, and keeping the expectation of armed collision almost momentarily alive. And it is to Trumbull's connections with military affairs in this quarter that we now turn.

It was during this year that large detachments from the British army, advancing upon the Jerseys, reduced Springfield and Connecticut Farms to ashes—and that Sir Henry Clinton, having settled, as he supposed, South Carolina and Georgia in firm allegiance to the King, returned from his successes southward to New-York—thence, with a veteran army, now become immense, to menace the American battal-

ions around Morristown, and all the posts in the Highlands upon the North River. It was in this year that the alarming treachery of Arnold came near throwing West Point into the hands of the British Commander. It was in this year that the French naval armament under Admiral Ternay arrived at Newport, and cooperation with the United States for the expulsion of their formidable foe was carefully planned. It was in this year also that Major Carlton and Sir John Johnson—with their motley hordes of Europeans, Indians, and tories—dashed upon the northern parts of New York—and, reducing two hundred dwellings and immense quantities of wheat and forage to ashes, startled the dwellers upon the upper Hudson and the Mohawk with fresh scenes of terrific waste and conflagration.

The period, therefore, was a most anxious one at the North, as well as at the South. It exacted constant military watchfulness. It consequently called on Governor Trumbull not only for the supply of provisions and munitions of war, but largely also for the supply of troops. These he had to raise, as usual, both for regular service in the Continental Army, and for Home Defence.

Of the former there was required, first, in January, a force of eighteen hundred men to make up a deficiency in troops that had been previously ordered by Congress from Connecticut—second, in May, a force of twenty-five hundred and twenty men to complete a quota of three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight that in February was assigned to the State by Congress, for the Campaign of 1780—and third, in October, a force of about two thousand to complete a quota of four thousand two hundred and forty-eight ordered by Congress for the ensuing Campaign of 1781, to serve for three years, or during the War, and which was to be made ready, and be in the field by the succeeding first of January—at which time—through the expiration of enlistments, and other causes, it was calculated that the old regular army would be diminished one-half—down to six thousand men—to but a shadow and a name.

Add now to these, two regiments which in January were ordered for Home Defence—to serve steadily—and other

troops that were only occasionally, in some emergency, raised for the same sphere of duty—as once one thousand men for Horseneck—add a body of two thousand militia that, in June, upon an alarm in the Highlands, was suddenly made ready, and marched to West Point—add also a body of about one thousand, which, in July, was detached, and sent on to Greenwich, Rhode Island, upon occasion of an expected attack upon the French at Newport—and we have, in all, a force—distributed through the year—of about twelve thousand men, that was newly raised for public service in 1780—with the superintendence of which Governor Trumbull was occupied.

To raise it was at many times—as in days that had passed—a difficult task. Once, in May—in order to secure men—it became necessary to lay an embargo on the privateers, letters of marque, and armed vessels of Connecticut—which the Governor proclaimed and enforced—making, however, such exceptions as in his own judgment were expedient. Empowered as he was, with his Council, to fill up all deficiencies in the army—make peremptory detachments, if necessary—call out, if thought best, the whole military strength of the State—and, at discretion, regulate bounties—which, in the course of the year, were raised to the amount of even three hundred dollars a man—he had occasion to exercise these powers, nearly every one of them, more or less. And though through the country generally—partly from dilatoriness in Congress—partly from jealousy of a large standing army, such as was contemplated, of from twenty-five to thirty-five thousand men—and partly from an overstrained reliance on the French auxiliary force—there was tardiness in completing the Continental battalions—yet, so far as Trumbull is concerned, his own exertions in the case were put forth with his usual energy. With the humanity also which ever characterized him, he labored assiduously to make the condition of all the officers and soldiers comfortable as possible—and, in May, united cordially with the General Assembly in a Public Act which was intended to secure to all of them the balances which were already due, and those additional which would become due on the ensu-

ing first of January—a purpose which was achieved by having every soldier registered at the Pay Table, and his wages, together with interest thereon, provided for in installments that were secured and made payable, from time to time, within a few years.

Two occasions, particularly, this year, drew upon the Governor's energies. One was an alarm at West Point, and upon the Hudson River generally, in the beginning of summer—and the other was the American plan of cooperation with the French land and naval force at Newport.

The alarm to which we refer occurred about the middle of June—at the period of Sir Henry Clinton's return from the South to New York. At this time everything indicated that the British Commander would proceed immediately to attack the American posts in the Highlands—while General Knyphausen, having just burned the flourishing settlement of Connecticut Farms, should continue to harass New Jersey, and threaten the American army and stores around Morristown. In pursuance, to all appearance, of this project, Clinton assembled transports, and embarked his troops. His destination was believed to be West Point. He had at this time, in and around New York, an army of no less than twelve thousand men, while Washington had an operating force of but about three thousand only—a fearful disparity. It was, therefore, a most auspicious time for the British general to undertake the scheme he threatened—but one of gloomy prospect indeed, and pressing danger, for the American troops.

Washington fully apprehended "some alarming scene shortly to open," as he expressed it—some "serious misfortune" in the quarter of the Highlands. *Prepare*, therefore, he wrote to General Howe, who was then in command at West Point. Circulate ideas of having the militia ready for a sudden call. *Apply to Governor Trumbull* for the advance of the Connecticut regiments. Collect boats, sufficient to carry two thousand men, and put the garrison under moving orders, with provision for three days, for a demonstration in your quarter, in case the design of the enemy should be against the army in New Jersey—and take such other steps

as, without making a noise, may give the enemy some alarm.

Governor Trumbull responded, of course, to the application made to himself. He ordered a peremptory detachment of about two thousand militia—and "caused them to march with the utmost expedition" to General Howe. They reached the exposed quarter, and gave strength and confidence to the garrison there. The relief they afforded was most timely. And the arrival, speedily, of the French fleet with Count Rochambeau—which gave Clinton occupation in other directions—rendered this relief complete. "I am under no apprehensions now of danger to West Point," wrote Washington to Livingston, June twenty-ninth—"on the score either of provisions, the strength of the works, or of the garrison. I have dismissed all the militia that were called in for the defence of the posts on the North River." "I beg your Excellency," he wrote Trumbull at about the same time,* "to accept my warmest acknowledgments for your exertions in behalf of West Point."

The second occasion to which we have alluded as specially commanding his Excellency's attention the present year, was the arrival, at Newport, of the French Armament just mentioned. Six thousand soldiers from sunny France—gallant, devoted, ambitious—came bearing the ægis of protection for America in her perilous struggle for independence. It was a boon and benison soul-stirring! The chivalric La Fayette—chief promoter of the event—announced their coming, April twenty-seventh, from on board a frigate in the Bay of Boston which his Majesty of France had furnished him for his passage—that *he* might be the bearer of the tidings, and find himself once again one of the "loving soldiers" of Washington. How the good news flew the country over! How the heart of each American patriot kindled with exultation! The foe, in his belief, could certainly now be expelled from New York! The South would be recovered! The proud navy of England would no longer ride triumphant on the American seas! America would be free at once! Beautiful dream—to be realized at last—surely—but not at

* July twenty-seventh.

the time this present Joy dated its fulfilment—not in the year seventeen hundred and eighty!

Still preparations were made as if its immediate fulfilment were certain. A memorial from the Minister of France* roused Congress—and this Body appealed to the country for ten millions of dollars—to be paid within thirty-five days at least—and to be used solely for bringing an army into the field, and forwarding its supplies. Connecticut, for her share, was asked for one million three hundred and twenty-nine thousand dollars. Congress called on the country also to complete a force of twenty-five thousand men, which, in January, had been promised for cooperation with France. Connecticut had yet many soldiers to enlist in order to make up her assigned quota of this force. Congress demanded explicit information from all the States as to their men, money, and provisions, and charged their Supreme Executives with the duty of correspondence with a Committee of its own at the Head Quarters of the Army, to communicate the measures they took from time to time in pursuance of the public requisitions. A Circular from this Committee to all the States detailed measures—many and vital—and entreated for their execution.†

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* At Philadelphia.

† The following is General Washington's appeal to Trumbull, June 27th, on the Plan of Cooperation:—

"Dear Sir. I can omit no occasion of repeating my earnest entreaties to your Excellency to use all your influence to forward the measures recommended by the committee of cooperation. I assure you with the greatest sincerity and truth, that nothing short of them will answer our purpose, and that I am fully pursuaded, from a general view of European and American affairs, that the fate of our cause depends on the exertions of this campaign. The sparing system has been tried, till it has brought us to a crisis little less than desperate; and, if the opportunity now before us be neglected, I believe it will be too late to retrieve our affairs. These are ideas which I may safely trust to your judgment, though I know they would be slighted by those indolent and narrow politicians, who, except at the moment of some signal misfortune, are continually crying *All is well*, and who, to save a little present expense and avoid some temporary inconvenience, with no ill designs in the main, would protract the war, and risk the perdition of our liberties. As I always speak to your Excellency in the confidence of friendship, I shall not scruple to confess, that the prevailing politics, for a considerable time past, have filled me with inexpressible anxiety and apprehension, and have uniformly appeared to me to threaten the subversion of our independence. I hope a period to them has now arrived, and that a change of measures will save us from ruin."

To the new duties that now devolved upon him, Trumbull devoted himself with his usual assiduity—and, notwithstanding the great embarrassments of the country, with comparatively good success. The occasion was indeed an extraordinary one—calling for an extraordinary amount of concert and correspondence, and for the greatest wisdom and energy. The General Assembly, it is true—in view, as they said, of the fact that "affairs of great weight and moment to the peace, happiness, and safety of the States" would "now devolve on the Executive Department" of Connecticut, and that "very vigorous and important exertions" must be put forth—added ten gentlemen, for the conjuncture, to the Governor's Council. Their advice and aid were received by him with respect and attention, but did not very materially diminish his own labors—for his were hands which found always something to do. Nor, to any great extent, did they relieve his sense of responsibility—for this, Chief Executive of the State as he was—with such sensitiveness to duty as he possessed—no number of Councillors, though a multitude, could weaken.

Soon as the French troops appeared at Newport, he warmly congratulated the Public on their arrival. He spoke in flattering terms of their commanders—and by La Fayette—who on his way, in July, to join his countrymen, visited him at his home in Lebanon—he sent on to Rochambeau and Ternay words of courtesy, and zealous assurances of his own purpose to do all in his power to make their mission grateful to themselves, and fruitful of good to the great cause which they came to succor.

It was but a few days only after their arrival, as is familiar history, when the British Admiral Arbuthnot—suddenly reenforced by Graves with six ships of the line—reversed the naval superiority of the French, and effectually blockaded them in their quarters at Newport.

July twenty-seventh, Trumbull heard of the appearance of Arbuthnot off this place. General Heath wrote him. So did Governor Greene. The news was alarming. The enemy, it was said, would immediately make an attack. Quickly therefore did Trumbull provide, so far as was within his

own power, for the emergency. He ordered half the men from four eastern brigades to be made ready to march to the threatened quarter. A part of the forces from the two brigades of Tyler and Douglass, he sent immediately on to Rhode Island. To the same quarter also he sent Captain Timothy Backus with his troop of Veterans from Canterbury—and Captain Daniel Tyler with his company of Matrosses from Pomfret—instructing them all to rendezvous at Greenwich—and there, placing themselves under the order of the officer commanding in that department, to be momentarily ready to defend Newport, should the enemy, as expected, make an attack.

But two days after this, came a second installment of startling news. It was at ten o'clock at night, July twenty-ninth, that a wearied express—one among others who, by order of General Silliman, had ridden night and day upon his errand—drew up his panting steed at the door of Governor Trumbull's mansion at Lebanon, and announced that Sir Henry Clinton—with a most formidable armament—was on the waters of Long Island Sound. He had embarked eight, probably ten thousand land forces—was the report which his Excellency received. The armament had been in menacing position off Greenwich, it was added. It had now put into Huntington Bay, and lay there at anchor. It was destined, concluded the message, for Newport—or for *New London!*

The Governor instantly sent the news, by express, to General Heath. An attack upon you at Newport, he wrote, "may be momently expected." Another express he sent with the news to General Washington. Other expresses he sent to New London—and in various other directions—with numerous and urgent commands that every preparation should be made to receive the enemy—that fresh aids of militia should be put under marching orders—that coast guards should be multiplied, supplies augmented, spy-boats sent out, and the most sleepless vigilance be everywhere exercised.

Fortunately the danger was escaped. To alarm Clinton, General Washington moved rapidly with a force of ten thousand men towards Kingsbridge, threatening New York.

Arbuthnot found that the French had so strengthened their defences, as in his judgment to defy assault—nor did he like Clinton's plan of combining a land and naval force for his project. It was, therefore, abandoned. Newport was relieved. New London was relieved—and Clinton went back to New York. His bootless expedition was at an end.

Arbuthnot, however, still continued to blockade Newport—and cruised from his station off Block Island to intercept, if possible, that second division of French troops which was daily expected from Brest. August passed—and this second division had not come. Neither did Count de Guichen, so anxiously looked for with a fleet from the West Indies, appear. Nor—from the over-abounding confidence engendered by the presence of Rochambeau, and from other causes—was the American Army recruited rapidly and fully as it should have been. How then recapture New York—the darling project of General Washington—or how otherwise direct, separately, or in union, the French and American forces—were now the great questions to be settled.

In order to settle them—"to combine some plan of future operations" which events might render practicable—arrangements were made for a personal interview between the French and American Commanders-in-chief. It was to take place at Hartford, Connecticut, September twentieth—and Trumbull was to be present. On a Monday morning, therefore, Washington—with General Knox and La Fayette for companions, and some other officers of his suite—set out to meet Count Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay at the appointed place.

It is a singular and interesting fact, related by Gordon—and one which shows strikingly the pecuniary pressure of the times—that, on the departure of Washington and his party from Camp—they were compelled to send about in every direction in order "to muster up" money with which to pay the expenses of their contemplated trip—and that, after strenuous exertions, all they could obtain was eight thousand paper dollars—such was the "scarcity," says Gordon, "even of that depreciated commodity at camp." Before quitting New York, they had expended "more than half their stock"—and were much embarrassed by the idea

that soon they would become quite unable "to pay their way." Nevertheless, they "put a good countenance" on the matter, when in Connecticut, says Gordon—"called for what they wanted, and were well supplied—but the thought of reckoning with their host damped their pleasure. To their great joy, however, when the bills were called for, they were informed that the *Governor* of Connecticut had given orders that they should *pay nothing in that State, but should be at free cost!*"

Gordon is correct. Trumbull's thoughtfulness upon this occasion *did* anticipate their wants, and those too of the French commanders and their suite—for, September nineteenth, say the Records of the Council of Safety—"*agreeable to the orders of his Excellency,*" three hundred and forty-five pounds are to be drawn from the Treasury "for the reception and entertainment" of General Washington, and the French General and Admiral at Hartford.

Upon their appearance in this city, they were received with imposing ceremonies. The Governor's Guards, and a company of Artillery, were on duty upon the occasion. They saluted Washington, as he entered the town, with thirteen guns. Trumbull, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, and other distinguished personages of the State, met him as he advanced. They gave him a cordial welcome—and, through crowds that rent the air with cheers, and strained to catch a sight of the illustrious Commander-in-chief, the latter made his way, together with Knox and La Fayette, to the residence of their mutual friend, Colonel Wadsworth—there upon the site where the Historical Society of Connecticut now lifts its walls—and where, in a beautiful mansion, still standing, though upon another spot, himself and his principal officers were nobly entertained during their stay.

The same ceremony was repeated soon after Washington came, upon the arrival of the French commander and suite.*

* The following interesting occurrence, upon their journey to Hartford at this time, is related by Rochambeau himself.

"I will here venture to intrude on the kind attention of the Reader with an anecdote, which is strikingly characteristic of the manners of the good republicans of Connecticut. The conveyance in which I proceeded to the conference, in company with Admiral de Ternay, who, by the way, was very infirm, broke

They were formally received at the City Landing, after crossing the ferry—and marching to the area in front of the Capitol, were there met by General Washington and his military companions. It was the first time that these distinguished leaders of the great Allied Armies, saw the faces of each other—the first time that, through their chief martial representatives, France and America shook hands—and the spectacle is described as having been one of the most august and imposing character.

There were the noble-looking Frenchmen, gayly dressed, and sparkling with jewelled ensignia. There was Washington—erect, tall, commanding—in his buff vest, buff breeches buckled at the knee, long-spurred boots, white neckcloth, and blue, buff-lined coat, that shone with a pair of rich, massive epaulettes. There were Knox, and other American officers, in nearly similar attire. There were Governor Trumbull, Colonel Wadsworth, and other noted patriots, in the close-fitting short clothes, embroidered vests, and drab or

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down. I dispatched my first aid de camp, Fessen, to fetch a wheelwright, who lived about a mile from the spot where the accident occurred. He soon after returned to us, however, that he had found the man sick with the ague, and that he had positively declared to him that for his hat full of guineas he would do no work at night. I prevailed on the Admiral to accompany me to the man's shop, and we repaired thither; we told him that General Washington would arrive at Hartford the same evening, to confer with us the following day, and that unless he could repair our carriage, we should be too late to meet him. 'You are no liars at any rate,' he replied, 'for I read in the Connecticut paper that Washington was to be there to confer with you; as it is for the public service, I will take care that your carriage shall be ready for you at six in the morning.' He kept his word; and we proceeded on at the promised time. As we returned, another wheel broke, and we were once more obliged to have recourse to our old friend. 'Well,' said he, 'so you want me to work again for you at night?' 'Aye, indeed we do,' I replied. 'Admiral Rodney has arrived to reenforce threefold the naval forces against which we are contending, and it is of the highest importance that we should return without delay to Rhode Island to oppose him.'—'But what can you do,' he continued, 'with your six ships against the twenty English?'—'It will be the most glorious day of our life if they attempt to break our line.'—'Come, come,' said he, 'you are good honest fellows; your carriage shall be put in repair by to-morrow morning at five o'clock. But tell me, before I set to work, although I do not wish to inquire into your secrets, how did you like Washington, and how did he like you?' We assured him that we had been delighted with him; his patriotism was satisfied and he kept his word. I do not mean to compare all Americans to this good man; but almost all the inland cultivators, and all the land owners of Connecticut, are animated with that patriotic spirit which many other people would do well to imitate."

crimson broad-flapped coats, which then distinguished the dress of the opulent citizen.

In close proximity to this central group, were the Governor's Guards, in glittering uniform, and Mattrosses with their shining brass artillery—and around—crowding the street, and filling every window, stoop, and niche in the vicinity, was an immense, eager multitude—composed of men, women, and children, who had assembled from Hartford, and the neighboring towns, to witness the novel and gorgeous spectacle of a meeting in America between the Representatives of the two great military families of France and the United States. Everything passed off most happily. "The greatest satisfaction," says the Hartford Courant of that day, "was expressed by the parties at this meeting, and the highest marks of polite respect and attention were mutual."

The interview between the commanders was continued at the house of Colonel Wadsworth—whither the parties retired—and where, we are reliably informed—Trumbull in their midst, and lending his own highly valued aid and advice—they proceeded with that consultation which was the special object of their meeting. They conferred long and earnestly—about recapturing New York—about a combined expedition to the South—and about eventual operations by the French squadron against the British West India isles, in case the enemy should be expelled from the United States—operations in which these States—to be "disencumbered," it was hoped, "of an internal war"—might vigorously unite their own inhabitants and resources, for the benefit of the common cause.

But this deliberation resulted in no definite plan of action—because, as Washington informs us, "neither side knew with certainty what was to be expected. We could only combine possible plans," he adds, "on the supposition of possible events, and engage mutually to do everything in our power against the next campaign." Still, though the exceeding complicity of public affairs, at this time, rendered it impossible for the illustrious military Areopagus at Hartford to concert any project for immediate execution, yet the interview was fruitful of good to the country by bringing the

great leaders of the French and American forces personally in contact—making them acquainted with each other—and by augmenting mutual respect, attachment, and harmony.

Thursday night, the Conference was concluded. Friday saw the French officers start on their return to Newport—the Governor's Guards again in martial array—escorting the distinguished guests to the River bank, while thirteen guns renewedly rent the air. The same parade was again produced on the following morning—at which time General Washington and suite shook hands with the hospitable Wadsworth, the worthy Governor Trumbull, and numerous other friends—and, amid volleys of huzzas, started for the Head Quarters of the Army—their way, for a while, pleasantly beguiled, doubtless, with thoughts of the friends and the welcome they had left—but soon awfully saddened by the report, which met them on their journey, of the fearful treason of one, whom in confidence and friendship, but five days before, Washington had met at King's Ferry—whither, from West Point, to pay the Commander-in-chief his respects, had come the execrable Arnold.

CHAPTER XLI.

1780.

TRUMBULL aids to rebuild Fairfield and Norwalk. British marauding expeditions upon the western frontier of Connecticut. Similar expeditions from Long Island—particularly from a band of "Associated Loyalists" at Lloyd's Neck. Trumbull's precautions. Illicit trade, and forays upon Long Island. Trumbull in this connection. Capture of Gen. Silliman, and counter-capture of Judge Jones. Trumbull restores Silliman to liberty. The Governor and naval defence. Maritime prizes this year comparatively rare—losses inconsiderable. Gallant capture of the Watt by the frigate Trumbull. The army goes into winter quarters. Trumbull and Col. Sheldon's regiment of Horse. The Duke de Lauzun, and his famous corps of Hussars, take up their quarters at Lebanon. Their appearance and mode of life at this time A dinner given by the Duke to the Marquis de Chastellux and Baron Montesquieu. Trumbull present. Sketch by Chastellux of his appearance, and of his "saying grace" at the repast. Another sketch of him by the same hand, and also of Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth.

THE foreign fleet—whose coming originated the Conference described at the close of our last Chapter—we have found to have been the cause, indirectly, of a great alarm to Connecticut—that occasioned by Clinton's expedition. No large British squadron, however, like that of July, seems to have again threatened the coast of this State during the period on which we now dwell—and Trumbull, therefore, had a little time to devote to the good work of lifting Fairfield and Norwalk up from the ashes to which the enemy had reduced them the previous year—a work which he promoted by freely granting permits for the exportation of produce from Connecticut to Boston and elsewhere, for the procurement of boards, glass, and other materials required for the rebuilding of these towns—while at the same time, at other points where the enemy had expended their fury—as particularly at Fisher's Island*—he promoted re-inhabitation and industry.

Still, so long as the foe occupied New York and Long Is-

* In February, on application of John Winthrop, he gave this gentleman permission to rebuild on this island, and cultivate.

land, Connecticut was never otherwise than in immediate danger. Still marauding expeditions against the western frontiers were frequently set afoot by them—as once in July, when a band of their horsemen surprised a militia-guard at Horseneck, killed four, wounded as many more, took twenty prisoners, and drove off a large number of horses, and thirty or forty head of cattle—and as once again in December, when another British party of one hundred horse and foot, surprised another militia-guard at the same place, and carried off about thirty prisoners. Such forays as these, of course, drew immediately upon the Governor's care—some of them for extraordinary care—as upon one occasion in June, when he sent to General Howe at West Point for forty Lighthorse to relieve Greenwich—and upon another occasion late in the fall, when for the defence generally of the western frontiers, he asked Washington and Howe for the return of two Connecticut regiments from the Highlands that had been temporarily loaned, upon a fresh alarm in that quarter—and upon still another occasion, in December, when one thousand additional soldiers were ordered for the defence of Horseneck and vicinity.

Marauding expeditions too from Long Island against the Connecticut Main, were frequently concerted and attempted. Particularly did these originate from a nest of tory privateersmen at Lloyd's Neck—who, this year, for the first time—for the express purpose of annoying the sea-coast of the "revolted" provinces, and distressing their trade—became formally organized, as a "Board of Associated Loyalists," so styled, under a commission from Sir Henry Clinton, and with Trumbull's own former prisoner—Governor Franklin of New Jersey—for their President.* The watchfulness, however, of Connecticut against them was abounding. For there, cruising in the Sound—one set from Stonington to Guilford—another set from Guilford to the Housatonick—and still another from the Housatonick westward—were ten thoroughly armed whaleboats—under the command respectively of

* "The important post of Lloyd's Neck," says Onderdonk, in his *Revolutionary Incidents of Queen's County, L. I.*, "was put under their direction, and they were furnished with suitable armed vessels, provisions, arms, and ammunition, to de-

Phinehas Bradley, William Ledyard, and David Hawley—captains whom Trumbull commissioned for the special employment—and manned by nine men each, such as, in the language of the Record, were "true to the American cause," and might "be relied on for their fidelity." And they were aided occasionally by some of the large armed vessels of the State—and once, in October, by two or three vessels from the French fleet at Newport, for which Trumbull specially applied.* There they were, day and night, cutting the waters of the Sound, turning its waves in sparkles to the sun and stars, in order to intercept and check all hostile craft, guard the coast, and detect and prevent illicit trade.

This illicit trade, the present year, was more than ordinarily active. The General Assembly had to pass a new and special act for its suppression. And plundering expeditions, by some unprincipled men, from the Connecticut shore over to Long Island, were to some extent still continued—spite of the fact that Governor Trumbull—in obedience to the advice of Congress and of Washington, and in consonance with his own convictions of duty—had, on account of abuses, refused any longer to grant commissions for armed descents upon this quarter. Still they were made, at times—against law—as one Colonel Hamilton of Flushing, for instance, found to his cost—for the house of this man, filled with elegant furniture, and stocked with provisions and costly wines for the entertainment of his British and tory friends—was in January, by a party of whaleboat adventurers, burned to the ground. The vigilance, therefore, of Trumbull in regard to forays upon Long Island, was still kept active.

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fend the post, and carry on enterprises against the rebels." The conditions of their "Association" were as follows:—

"1. Each Associator was to receive 200 acres of land in North America. 2. All captures made by them to be their own property. 3. Prisoners taken by them to be exchanged for such Loyalists as the Board may name. 4. The sick and wounded to have the benefit of the King's Hospital. A skilful surgeon, with a complete medical chest, to reside at Lloyd's Neck, and accompany the Associators in their excursions. 5. It will be their care to stop those distinguished cruelties with which Colonial loyalists are treated, when in the hands of rebels, under the distinction of prisoners of *war* and prisoners of *State*. The Directors *will omit nothing to make the rebels feel the just vengeance due such enormities*."

* He asked for them to be stationed "at or near New London, and the mouth of the Connecticut River."

And in this connection it should be noticed, that the prisoners made from this island, and those taken upon the Sound, as well as those taken elsewhere, also gave him at times, this year, much duty to perform—both as regards their security, and their exchange. Prominent among the exchanges which it devolved upon him to negotiate, was that of his endeared friend, the patriotic General Silliman—who was Superintendent at this period of the coast of Fairfield, and whose case, as it illustrates strikingly the exposures and perils of the day, deserves brief mention here.

It was the dead of night in 1779, and General Silliman and his family were soundly sleeping at his house in Fairfield, when a violent assault, from without, upon the door, suddenly awakened them all. The General leaped from his bed—seized a musket—sprang to a window—and there saw eight armed men striving to force an entrance. Quick as thought he attempted to fire his musket—but it only flashed. And the assailants, dashing through the window, seized their victim—pronounced him their prisoner—plundered him of his purse, a pair of pistols, a sword, and a few other articles—and just giving him and his son* time to dress themselves, hurried them down to the water-side, which they reached at two o'clock, and thence instantly embarked for Long Island.

"Have you got him?"—was the excited inquiry of Colonel Simcoe to the party as they approached the shore of Lloyd's Neck—where Simcoe commanded, and where he stood waiting for the expected prisoner.

"Yes"—was the reply.

"Have you lost any men?"—inquired Simcoe again.

"No"—said the captors.

"That's well"—commented at once the licentious British Colonel, in the true tory style of detraction—"Your Sillimans are not worth a man, nor your Washingtons!"

Father and son were at once ordered to the guard-house—an indignity, however, from which the General's remon-

* Gold Selleck Silliman.

strance saved him at last*—and soon, under an escort of dragoons, they were both sent to New York—and thence to Flatbush—where, carefully guarded, they worried out many months of imprisonment. Such was the consummation mation of a plot which Sir Henry Clinton himself had devised.

It was night again—about nine o'clock, November the sixth—when brave Captain Hawley, from Fairfield, with a party of about twenty-five gallant volunteers—having crossed the Sound, hidden his whaleboat in the bushes, and made his way, stealthily, through the woods, fifty-two miles—stood at Fort Neck, Long Island, in a pleasant solitude, before the door of the Honorable Thomas Jones—one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of New York. There was a ball in the house that evening. "Music arose with its voluptuous swell," and the lamps shone brilliantly "o'er fair women and brave men" assembled for the dance. The approach of the adventurers, therefore, had been unheard. Captain Hawley knocked at the door. The knock was unanswered. He forced the door open. There stood Judge Jones, immediately confronting him in the entry.

"You are my prisoner!"—said the Captain, seizing him, and drawing him out into the darkness, while others of his companions at the same time seized and bore away a young gentleman by the name of Hewlett. The party started on its return—rapidly—leaving many hearts that "beat happily" but a moment before, astounded. A small guard of British soldiers happened at the time to be posted at a little distance from their road. The captive Judge hemmed, sonorously, as they were passing it—that he might attract its attention, and be rescued.

"Do that again, and you shall die!"—was the quick exclamation with which Captain Hawley sternly forbade him to repeat the sound.

* "The prisoners were ordered to the guard-house. The General asked the Adjutant whether this was the manner they treated prisoners of his rank. The Adjutant replied, 'We do not consider you in the same light as we should a Continental General.' 'How,' said General Silliman, 'will you view me when an exchange shall be proposed?' 'I understand you,' said the Adjutant, and withdrew. These questions probably preserved General Silliman from the indignity of being confined in a guard-house."—*Dr. Dwight.*

This menace was effective. The party pushed on, thirty miles that same evening. The following day, they lodged in a forest—for the alarm had been given, and the British Light-horse were on their track. Six of their number, in fact, became victims to the pursuit. On the third night, however, spite of all perils, they reached Fairfield in safety—with their prisoners. *General Silliman and his son were avenged!*

And doubly avenged—for the wife of the captive General—with a noble magnanimity—retaliated the sufferings of herself, her husband, and her son, under the sweet law of hospitality—soon as she heard of the arrival of Judge Jones, invited him to breakfast at her own house—made her house, though guarded, his home—and soothed his imprisonment by every courtesy in her power, until the prisoner, "distant, reserved, sullen,"* as the accounts of the day state him to have been, was, with his companion Hewlett, removed at last for safe keeping to Middletown.

Here now was an opportunity, as it seemed, for the recovery of General Silliman. Himself and Judge Jones—both gentlemen of high distinction—equivalents, to all appearance, in consequence and influence—would make a fair exchange. Trumbull gladly seized the chance, and issuing a suitable commission and instructions, not only for the exchange of Silliman and his son, but at the same time for several other prisoners—he communicated his proceedings to General Washington.

The British Authorities in the case, hesitated—down till the month of May. Throw in Washburn, they then said—a tory refugee, who happened at this time to be a prisoner with the Americans—throw him in along with Hewlett and the Judge, and we will send you the rebel General and his son. The proposition was accepted. Washburn, a man notorious for his worthlessness, was included in the exchange as a kind of make-weight, and Silliman, with his son, was sent home. On his passage in a vessel up the Sound, he was met by another vessel with Judge Jones and his companions on board, going down the Sound. The two vessels

* He had been made a prisoner before—in 1776—and was then confined in the jail at Norwich, Connecticut.

paused. The General and the Judge—who seem to have been well acquainted, and aside from their political affinities on good terms—dined together—and then proceeded to their respective destinations—the latter to New York—and the former to Fairfield—where he was "welcomed with demonstrations of joy by all the surrounding country"—and by no heart more cordially than by that of him, who, with all the zeal of private friendship, as well as with all the authority of his official position, had, chiefly, been instrumental in the restoration of the General to liberty.

Thus, as now described, against surprises and captures like that of Silliman, and for the protection generally of the Connecticut Main, was Trumbull still active—and chiefly this year through the whaleboat system of defence. For the larger armed vessels of the State, though at intervals they cruised under the Governor's directions, from some causes or other—chiefly, it is probable, on account of the presence of overpowering British squadrons either at the head of the Sound, or around Block Island—did not cruise as much, or so successfully, as in some former years. Prizes were comparatively rare. A sloop from St. Kitts, laden with rum, which in March Captain Smedley, of the Recovery, took and sent into New London—a large brig, which in March again, Captain Whittlescy, of the Retaliation, captured and sent into Newport—a letter-of-marque sloop, of ten guns and twenty-one men, with among other articles one hundred puncheons of rum, and the Cornelia, a brig from Dublin laden with a very valuable cargo, which, in April and June, were brought into New London—these were the chief captures of the season.

On the other hand, naval losses were few and inconsiderable—the privateer sloop Revenue, which was driven on shore by the enemy near Hog Island, and bilged—and the brig Dispensier from New London, which was taken by a British frigate, and carried into New York—being the principal ones. And these were far more than compensated to the Governor and State by the account, in June, that the frigate Trumbull—whose construction, for Congress, at Chatham on the Connecticut River, his Excellency had himself super-

intended—nobly distinguished herself in an action "which is judged, all things considered, to have been the best contested, the most equally matched, equally well-fought, and equally destructive battle during the war."*

But little more now remains to be said of Trumbull in his military connections for seventeen hundred eighty. The campaign, towards its close, at the North, was wasted away in almost entire inaction.† Save an apprehension, early in October, that Newport would be freshly attacked—upon which occasion General Greene, then in command at Rhode Island, was empowered by Washington, in case of an emergency, to call on Trumbull for the two regiments of Connecticut that were stationed on the Sound—nothing occurred to create general alarm, or to concentrate troops upon any mili-

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* "When about a hundred yards distant," says Cooper in his Naval History, describing the contest—"the English ship fired a broadside, and the action began in good earnest. For two hours and a half the vessels lay nearly abeam of each other, giving and receiving broadsides without intermission. At no time were they a hundred yards asunder, and more than once the yards nearly interlocked. Twice was the Trumbull set on fire by the wads of her enemy, and once the enemy suffered in the same way. At last the fire of the Englishman slackened sensibly, until it nearly ceased. Capt. Nicholson now felt satisfied that he should make a prize of his antagonist, and was encouraging his people with that hope, when a report was brought to him, that the mainmast was tottering, and that if it went while near the enemy, his ship would probably be the sacrifice. Anxious to secure the spar, sail was made, and the Trumbull shot ahead again, her superiority of sailing being very decided. She was soon clear of her adversary, who made no effort to molest her. The vessels, however, were scarcely musket-shot apart, when the main and mizzen topmasts of the Trumbull went over the side, and, in spite of every effort to secure them, spar after spar came down, until nothing was left but the foremast. Under such circumstances, the enemy, who had manifested no desire to profit by her advantage, went off on her proper course. Before she was out of sight, her main topmast was also seen to fall. It was afterwards ascertained that the ship engaged by the Trumbull was a letter-of-marque called the Watt, Capt. Coulthard, a vessel of size, that had been expressly fitted to fight her way. * * In the way of a regular cannonade this combat is generally thought to have been the severest that was fought in the war of the Revolution."

The *Trumbull* was distinguished in other respects this year. With the Deane, the Confederacy, and the sloop-of-war Saratoga, she was selected by Congress to be put under the control of Washington, and employed for cooperation with the French fleet in any naval enterprises on the coast of North America—and again was selected by the national Board of Admiralty for a special cruise of six months, "without loss of time, for the protection of trade, and annoyance of the enemy."

† "We are now," wrote Washington, October fifth, "drawing an *inactive* campaign to a close."

tary enterprises. In October, the Army began to think of winter quarters—and early in December, the arrangements for their accommodation were completed—the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines being cantoned at Morristown and Pompton—the New York brigade in the vicinity of Albany—and the New England lines at West Point and its dependencies—save Sheldon's regiment of Horse, which—for a short time quartered at Colchester, Connecticut—was, upon a representation from Governor Trumbull, removed subsequently to Northampton.

The occasion of the Governor's interposition in this case grew out of the fact that a large force of French cavalry was to be quartered, it was expected, in Colchester, and it was feared there would not be a sufficient quantity of forage for both troops. Washington was somewhat discontented at the plan of sending Sheldon's regiment into Massachusetts, and so expressed himself at the time—in a letter to Trumbull—because he deemed such State interposition with his own arrangements as improper. "It was striking," he said, "at the most essential privilege of the Commander-in-chief that could be exercised." This was making rather prodigal claim. However, he submitted to the new arrangement, as he seemed bound to do, having already previously written to Rochambeau, and "very much" approved this officer's intent of quartering a portion of his troops, the second division, in Connecticut.

To carry out this intent, Rochambeau had himself carefully conferred with Trumbull. He applied to the latter for the cantonment of two regiments of his troops at New London, three at Norwich, and one at Windham—and October nineteenth, wrote him in regard to the cantonment of the Duke de Lauzun's celebrated Legion of Horse—a corps six hundred strong, and "as fine a one," said General Heath, "as I have ever seen." Rhode Island, he informed Trumbull, had "kindly prepared good lodgings" for Lauzun and his corps at Providence, but the "cupidity" of some people there, he said, had "raised forage to an extravagant price in hard money"—and therefore, having consulted with Colonel Wadsworth on the subject, he had determined to apply to

Connecticut for their winter quarters. "Good policy," he added, "would render it necessary that the corps should be in the same place, under the inspection of its chief," upon whose "honesty every way," he assured Trumbull he might depend. "I am acquainted," he concluded, "with all the zeal that your Excellency has for our common cause, and that you will do all in your power to receive that part of the French corps."

This "part," to which Rochambeau refers, consisted of about two hundred and twenty or two hundred and forty Hussars, with about an equal number of horses. And these, under arrangements speedily ordered by Trumbull, were carefully cantoned in Lebanon, a little west of the Church, on the road that leads to Colchester. The spot is known as "*the barracks*" to this day—and formed a portion of a farm which belonged to Governor Trumbull himself, and subsequently passed into the possession of his son David Trumbull. Other portions of the French corps of Hussars were quartered at Colchester, and at Windham—at the latter place, however, only temporarily*—by far the largest division of the whole being ultimately all gathered at Lebanon, and occupying, many of them, portions of the broad and beautiful village street—there "by their watchful fires"—traces of whose seat, in portions of brick ovens, still exist—to remain for about seven months—their festivities and gay parades, at times, making the neighborhood sparkle with life and activity, and their morning drum-beat making the air each day vocal with the uprousing reveille.

Trumbull's son David, and Colonel Wadsworth, were specially appointed to prepare quarters for them, by taking va-

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* Nov. 15. "Windham is fifteen miles from Voluntown. I there found Lauzun's Hussars, who were stationed in it for a week, until their quarters were prepared at Lebanon. I dined with the Duke de Lauzun," &c.—*Travels of Chastellux.*

"De Lauzun's legion was obliged, for want of provisions, to divide from its cavalry, which was sent, with the artillery, horses, and provisions, to the State of Connecticut, to occupy the barracks which had been built at the Banora for its militia. The Duke of Lauzurn-Biron, who was in command of this cantonment, rendered himself very agreeable to the Americans by his prepossessing manners, and succeeded in every transaction which he had to conclude either with the veteran Governor Trumbull, or with the other members of the Legislature of the State."—*Rochambeau's Journal.*

cant houses, by repairing some decayed buildings, and by building a series of barracks "near as possible to each other." The Duke de Lauzun—himself a highly accomplished nobleman, of great wealth, celebrated alike for the beauty of his person, his wit, his liberality, and his bravery—had his own special quarters in the house of the Governor's son David. There he was most hospitably entertained during his entire stay in the town—and there, in return for civilities often extended to himself and his officers by Governor Trumbull and other citizens of Lebanon, he often gave gay and brilliant parties—the banquet and the ball—at which the wine cup was not infrequently freely pledged, and talk

> "Rolled fast from theme to theme—from horses, hounds,
> To church or mistress, politics or ghost."

Upon one of these occasions, but a few weeks only after the arrival of the Hussar Corps—at a dinner given by Lauzun in honor of two distinguished visitors from the French Army—the Marquis de Chastellux, and Baron de Montesquieu, the latter a grandson of the illustrious author of the "Spirit of Laws"—Trumbull was present. And the Marquis—himself a highly able Major-General in the French service, of accomplished education, of a gay spirit, and of polite and agreeable manners*—has given us, in the Journal of his Travels in North America, a graphic picture of the appearance of the Governor at this time, and of a striking incident that marked his connection with the entertainment.

"On returning from the chase," he proceeds—he had been out hunt-

* He was a relative and friend of La Fayette, and quite a favorite with General Washington, who speaks of him as "a gentleman of merit, knowledge, and agreeable manners, and of literary as well as military abilities." Franklin, in a letter introducing him to Washington, says—"I have long known and esteem him highly in his several characters as a soldier, a gentleman, and a man of letters. His excellent book on "*Public Happiness*" shows him a friend to mankind, and as such, entitles him wherever he goes to their respect and good offices. He is particularly a friend to our cause. He translated into French Col. Humphrey's poem entitled "*The Campaign.*" He was a member of the French Academy. The College of William and Mary in Virginia bestowed upon him the title of Doctor of Laws.

ing squirrels*—"I dined at the Duke de Lauzun's, with Governor Trumbull and General Huntington. The former lives at Lebanon, and the other had come from Norwich. I have already painted Governor Trumbull. You have only to represent to yourself this small old man,† in the antique dress of the first settlers in this colony, approaching a table surrounded by twenty Hussar officers, and without either disconcerting himself, or losing anything of his formal stiffness, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *Benedicite.* Let it not be imagined that he excites the laughter of his auditors; they are two well trained for that; you must, on the contrary, figure to yourself twenty *amens* issuing at once *from the midst of forty moustaches,*‡ and you will have some idea of the little scene. But M. de Lauzun is the man to relate, how this good, methodical Governor, didactic in all his actions, invariably says, that he will *consider;* that he must *refer* to his Council; how of little affairs he makes great ones, and how happy a mortal he is when he has any to transact."

What a picture this from a gay Frenchman of the worthy old Governor! He is grave in carriage. His manners seem ceremonious. He is preceptive in conversation. He courts business. He is the happiest of mortals when he has any to transact. He is profoundly considerate in its execution—is heedful of comparing opinions with his Council—and, from a habit of thoughtful attention, magnifies even small affairs into "great ones." He wears the peculiar, imposing dress of his ancestors—and there over a table where doubtless waited "the brimming bowl"—in the midst of a party of volatile, laughter-loving French officers—to all of whom good-natured derision and merriment was an instinct—to all of whom, doubtless, the utterance of prayer before a meal was a solecism—the Governor, in the true old Puritan style, "*says grace*"—and with such imposing solemnity of manner, and sincerity of tone, as, for his *Benedicite*, to extort "at once from the midst of forty moustaches"—

"Vociferous at once from twenty tongues,"

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* "The Duke de Lauzun entertained me with this diversion, which is much in fashion in this country. These animals are large, and have a more beautiful fur than those in Europe; like ours they are very adroit in skipping from tree to tree, and in clinging so closely to the branches as to become almost invisible."—*Chastellux.*

† He was then seventy years of age.

‡ The Hussars of Lauzun's Legion, and the Duke himself, all wore moustaches in America.

twenty profound, complaisant Amens! Truly it was a scene for a painter.*

But we have another picture of the Governor from the same hand—one to which reference is made in the preceding extract—drawn when the Marquis met him on another occasion—and while the Marquis was for a day or two the guest of Colonel Wadsworth, whose house he found "a most agreeable asylum"—and whom he describes as then "about two and thirty, very tall and well made"—possessed of "a noble as well as agreeable countenance"—and of a name, he adds, which "throughout all America, is never pronounced without the homage due to his talents and his probity."†

"Another interesting personage was then at Hartford, and I went to pay him a visit. This was Governor Trumbull; Governor, *by excellence*, for he has been so these fifteen years, having been always rechosen at the end of every two years, and equally possessing the public esteem under the English Government, and under that of the Congress. He is seventy years old; his whole life is consecrated to business, which he passionately loves, whether important or not, or rather, with respect to him, there is none of the latter description. He has all the simplicity in his dress, all the importance, and even pedantry becoming the great magistrate of a small republic. He brought to my mind the burgomasters of Holland in the time of the Heinsiuses and the Barnevelts."

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* Upon another occasion, the French officers were invited by Gen. Jedediah Huntington to an entertainment at his house in Norwich. "They made a superb appearance," says Miss Caulkins in her History of this place, "as they drove into town, being young, tall, vivacious men, with handsome faces and a noble air, mounted on horses bravely caparisoned." After dinner the whole party, going out into the yard, huzzaed for Liberty, and, in good English, bade the people "to live free, or die for Liberty!"

† "The particular confidence of General Washington," he subjoins, "puts the seal upon his merit."

CHAPTER XLII.

1780.

THE arrest and imprisonment in London of the Governor's son—Col. John Trumbull—against all reason and justice—upon a charge of treason committed in America. The son's description of the event. Benjamin West interposes in his behalf with the King. Burke, Fox, and other distinguished men lend him their aid. He is finally liberated—goes to Holland, in accordance with particular instructions from his father, to labor for a loan of money—and then returns to America. The father's anxiety and feelings on the subject. The cruel teatment never forgotten. Death of the Governor's wife. Trumbull's grief. Her character. Extract from a sermon preached at her funeral. A cotemporaneous Obituary Notice. Her patiotric sacrifices and conduct. A scene of contribution for Revolutionary soldiers in the Church at Lebanon, in which Madam Trumbull figures conspicuously.

THE War, through whose connections with which, for 1780, we have now followed Governor Trumbull, occasioned this year one event of startling consequence, which deeply affected his own immediate family circle, and gave to himself great inquietude. We refer to the arrest and imprisonment in London of his son, the painter. Let us look at the case.

About the middle of May, in 1780, Colonel John Trumbull—partly for the purpose of managing a commercial speculation, in which himself and a few friends were interested, but chiefly with the view of pursuing the study of painting under Sir Benjamin West, in the metropolis of the British empire—embarked at New London on board the La Negresse, a French armed ship of twenty-eight guns, bound for Nantes. Previous to his departure he had taken the precaution—through his friend Sir John Temple—the Consul General of Great Britain in New York—to secure from Lord George Germaine, the British Secretary of State for American affairs, an assurance that if he chose to visit London for the purpose of studying the fine arts, no notice would be taken by the Government of his past life—and that though

"the eye of precaution" would be constantly upon him—compelling him, therefore, to shun the "smallest indiscretion"—yet that so long as he avoided "political intervention, and pursued the study of the arts with assiduity," he might "rely upon being unmolested."

Confiding in this assurance, and also in the Proclamation made by his Majesty's Commissioners in America in 1778, that all treasons committed in America prior to the second of October of that year should be pardoned—twenty months before which time he had resigned his commission in the service of the United States—he took up his abode in London.

"I had remained some time" here, proceeds the Colonel himself in his own deeply interesting narrative of the transaction—"with more prospect of success than in any place on the continent, and perfectly secure under the name of an artist, till the news of the death of the unfortunate André arrived, and gave a new edge to the revengeful wishes of the American refugees.* The arts they had for a long time used to no effect, now succeeded; and they had interest enough to persuade the ministry that I was a dangerous person, in the service of Dr. Franklin, &c., &c. The occasion united with their wishes, and the resentment of Government marked me as an expiatory sacrifice.

"On the 15th of November, 1780, news arrived in London of the treason of Gen. Arnold, and the death of Major André. The loyalists, who had carefully watched my conduct from the day of my arrival, now thought themselves certain of putting an end to my unintelligible security and protection. Mr. André had been the deputy adjutant-general of the British army, and I a deputy adjutant-general in the American, and it seemed to them that I should make a perfect *pendant.* They however took their measures with great adroitness and prudence, and without mentioning my name, information was by them lodged at the office of the secretary of State, that there was actually in London (doubtless in the character of a spy,) an officer of rank in the rebel army, a very plausible and dangerous man, Major Tyler.† In the very natural irritation of the moment, a warrant was instantly issued for his arrest. The warrant was placed in the hands of Mr. Bond of the police, and the

* American refugees in London, for the most part, were "in the incessant pursuit of personal and interested vengeance." They did very much to embitter the separation between England and America, and to precipitate the Revolution. English policy "decorated them with the name of *loyalists.*"

† Major Tyler was from Boston, and was a fellow-passenger with Trumbull on his voyage out, from New London. He had gone abroad to settle some mercantile concerns of his father—having previously served in the American Army.

additional information was given to him by the *under* secretary, Sir Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford (himself an American loyalist,) that "in the same house with the person who is named in this warrant, lodges another American, who there are strong reasons for believing to be the most dangerous man of the two—although his name is not inserted in the warrant, you will not however fail, Mr. Bond, to secure Mr. Trumbull's person and papers for examination, as well as Major Tyler's."

Mr. Bond did not fail. "My orders are to secure your person and papers, Mr. Trumbull, for examination," he said to the Colonel, as on a Sunday night, at midnight, at his lodgings near the Adelphi in London, he proceeded to arrest him.

"A thunderbolt falling at my feet," continues the Colonel—"would not have been more astounding; for conscious of having done nothing politically wrong, I had become as confident of safety in London, as I should have been in Lebanon. For a few moments I was perfectly disconcerted, and must have looked very like a guilty man. I saw, in all its force, the folly and the audacity of having placed myself at ease in the lion's den; but by degrees, I recovered my self-possession, and conversed with Mr. Bond, who waited for the return of Mr. Tyler until past one o'clock. He then asked for my papers, put them carefully under cover, which he sealed, and desired me also to seal; having done this, he conducted me to a *lock-up house*, the Brown Bear in Drury Lane, opposite to the (then) police office. Here I was locked into a room, in which was a bed, and a strong, well-armed officer, for the companion of my night's meditations or rest. The windows, as well as door, were strongly secured by iron bars and bolts, and seeing no possible means of making my retreat, I yielded to my fate, threw myself upon the bed, and endeavored to rest.

"At eleven o'clock next morning, I was guarded across the street, through a crowd of curious idlers, to the office, and placed in the presence of the three police magistrates, Sir Sampson Wright, Mr. Addington, and another. The examination began, and was at first conducted in a style so offensive to my feelings that it soon roused me from my momentary weakness, and I suddenly exclaimed, "You appear to have been much more habituated to the society of highwaymen and pickpockets, than to that of gentlemen. I will put an end to all this insolent folly, by telling you frankly who and what I am. I am an American—my name is Trumbull; I am a son of him whom you call the rebel Governor of Connecticut; I have served in the rebel American army; I have had the honor of being an aid de camp to him whom you call the rebel General Washington. These two have always in their power a greater

number of your friends, prisoners, than you have of theirs. Lord George Germaine knows under what circumstances I came to London, and what has been my conduct here. I am entirely in your power; and, after the hint which I have given you, treat me as you please, always remembering that as I may be treated, so will your friends in America be treated by mine." The moment of enthusiasm passed, and I half feared that I had said too much; but I soon found that the impulse of the moment was right, for I was immediately, and ever after, treated with marked civility, and even respect.

"Other business of the office pressed, so after a few words more, I was ordered in custody of an officer to Tothill-fields, Bridewell, for safe keeping during the night, to be ready for a further examination the next day. I had not entirely recovered from the shock of this most unexpected event; so I drifted with the stream, without further struggle with my fate, and *I slept that night in the same bed with a highwayman!*"

The next day Colonel Trumbull was brought up before the magistrates for a second examination. He had avowed the crime of which he stood accused—that of bearing arms against the King—and little else remained to be done but to remand him to prison—where, in an old, irregular building—behind Buckingham House, towards Pimlico—in a parlor on the ground floor, about twenty feet square, which he hired from Mr. Smith, the jailor, at a guinea a week, and from which two windows, secured by strong iron bars, looked upon a "pretty little garden" within the prison yard—he spent seven months in durance—"ignominiously imprisoned," he says, "as a felon."*

The moment that Sir Benjamin West heard of Trumbull's arrest, he hurried to Buckingham House for an audience with the King—and giving every assurance to the monarch that the prisoner's conduct in London had been "so entirely devoted to the study of his profession" as to have left him "no

* "The room," he narrates, "was neatly furnished, and had a handsome bureau-bed. I received my breakfast and dinner—whatever I chose to order and pay for—from the little public house, called *the tap*. The prison allowance of the government was a penny-worth of bread, and a penny a day; this I gave to the turnkey for brushing my hat, clothes, and shoes. Besides these comforts, I had the privilege of walking in the garden. Every evening when Mr. Smith went to his bed, he knocked at my door, looked in, saw that I was safe, wished me a good night, locked the door, drew the bolts, put the key in his pocket, and withdrew. In the morning, when he quitted his own apartment, he unlocked my door, looked in to see that all was safe, wished me a good morning, and went his way."

time for political intrigue," warmly pleaded for the liberty of his friend.

"I am sorry for the young man," said his Majesty George the Third—"but he is in the hands of the law, and must abide the result—I cannot interpose. Do you know whether his parents are living?"

"I think I have heard him say," replied Mr. West—"that he has very lately received news of the death of his mother; I believe his father is living."

"I pity him from my soul!"—exclaimed the King. "But, West." said he, after musing for a few moments—"go to Mr. Trumbull immediately, and pledge to him my royal promise, that, *in the worst possible event of the law, his life shall be safe!*"

A tedious confinement then, was all now that Trumbull had to apprehend—and this he softened, well as he could, with books, and with his pencil—copying and finishing, among other pictures, a "beautiful little Corregio" loaned him by Mr. West, which is now, product and memorial of his imprisonment, in the Gallery at Newhaven. Meanwhile, himself and his friends labored for his liberation—West most strenuously—and John Lee, a Member of Parliament, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke, Lord Rockingham, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Copley, and many other distinguished men, who paid him kind visits, and interested themselves deeply in his case.

"My commitment and detainer," wrote Trumbull himself to Lord George Germaine—"express no other charge than of *treason committed in America*, from which I conceive myself fully protected by the proclamation of his Majesty's commissioners, dated October 3d, 1778, which grants pardons for all treasons committed before that day in America, long before which I had quitted the American service, and ceased to act hostilely against this country. My conduct since my residence in England, I trust does now appear to your lordship to have been fair and upright. Mr. West, under whom I have regularly studied, and who has spoken and written to your lordship on the subject, can give the strongest assurance of this, as well as explain the loss I suffer from the impossibility of pursuing my studies in this place."

"Although personally unknown to you," he wrote, May tenth, 1781, to Sir Edmund Burke, giving him all the particulars of his case—"I have been encouraged by the generous manner in which some gentlemen, your friends, have interested themselves in my favor, and by that benevolence and liberality of character which I have long since learned to re-

spect in you, to solicit your attention to my unfortunate case. I have suffered six months' imprisonment, and after every reasonable effort, I find no disposition in his Majesty's servants to grant me my relief. The manner in which I have become a prisoner, and the treatment which I have received, appear to me equally singular and unworthy. Betrayed, (if I may be allowed the expression,) under the specious appearance of liberality and honor—not taken in arms—I have experienced a degree of severity which has been shown to very few of my countrymen. It merits some consideration that my *father*, (who has been for many years Governor of one of the now United States,) and family, have been distinguished hitherto for their humanity to British prisoners, and for making it their study to alleviate, as much as possible, the distresses of war. What change the treatment I receive may make in their sentiments, I am unwilling to think. Even the law, to which I would gladly have committed my cause, being shut from me by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, I am left without a hope of recovering my liberty earlier than at the far distant date of peace, except from the generous interest of yourself and your noble and honorable friends of the opposition; but from your friendship, should I be honored with it, I have everything to hope."

"Mr. Burke," adds Colonel Trumbull in a letter to his father—"called on me immediately after he had received this letter"—that from which we have just quoted—"and assured me of his hearty efforts in my favor; that he had already seen Lord George Germaine, and, from what passed in their conversation, he had hopes of effecting my discharge. Mr. Fox called on me the next day, and assured me of his entire concurrence with Mr. Burke; and, after a few days' delay with forms of law and want of precedent, a discharge was sent me from the Privy Council."*

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* The following is a copy of the discharge:—

[L. S.] "Whereas John Trumbull stands committed to your custody, charged with having been guilty of the crime of high treason, committed in his majesty's colonies and plantations in America, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided; and application having been made unto his majesty's most honorable privy Council in his behalf, to be discharged from his confinement; the said Council have thought fit to order, and you are hereby authorized and required forthwith to cause the above said person to be discharged from his confinement, he first giving good and sufficient security to appear before the commissioners who shall be appointed by his majesty, by the first commission under his great seal to try treasons committed out of the realm, at the time and place which such commissioners shall appoint for the trial thereof. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

"From the council chamber, Whitehall, this 12th day of June, 1781.

"To the Governor of Tothill-Fields,
Bridewell, or his deputy.

BATHURST, L.
SANDWICH.
STORMONT.
CLARENDON.
AMHERST.
LOUGHBOROUGH."

A bond now for two hundred pounds—with Mr. West and Mr. Copley as sureties—conditioned that within thirty days he should depart the kingdom, and not return till after peace should be restored—left Trumbull at liberty to fly from the scene of his unwarrantable persecution and thraldom—a liberty of which he was not slow to avail himself. Passing over immediately to Amsterdam, he there found important letters from his father—one of which empowered and instructed him to negotiate a loan in Holland, of two hundred thousand dollars, for the State of Connecticut. This he labored earnestly to effect. But the times were exceedingly unpropitious for such a purpose. Neither himself, nor John Adams, who was in Holland at the same time striving to secure a loan for the United States, could succeed. And so, "baffled at every point"—"this favorable gleam of hope," the loan, he says—his "original mercantile speculation"—and his "flattering pursuit of the arts"—all seeming "to fade and elude his grasp"—nothing remained for him to do "but to find his way back to America, and the quiet of home, soon as possible"—a point which he reached in January, 1782—not however without having first, in a mad gale on a lee shore, which strewed the coast of Texel Island with wrecks, encountered an imminent risk of being lost at sea.

All the facts of his arrest and imprisonment, with all the appertaining documents, he communicated, upon the first opportunity, to his father at Lebanon—and particularly in a long and careful epistle from Bilboa in Spain, to which place, on his return voyage, adverse circumstances had driven him. The history is "so complicated," he wrote, "and at the same time so interesting to the reputation and public credit of our country, as to merit a separate letter."

The event filled the Governor with grief and surprise. It distressed him that his son's career of study and improvement, under one of the master-painters of the world, should have been so abruptly terminated. It was a disappointment to his youthful ambition which the father keenly felt—for though still of opinion, in a prudential view—as in the boyhood of his son—that the art to which he devoted himself would not in his own country prove sufficiently remunera-

tive—he yet had learned to respect the passion with which the latter pursued his favorite art, and freely, though, under the circumstances of the war, with a solicitude that was somewhat trembling, consented to his foreign trip. Now, that trip had taken him—not—save but for a brief time—to the studio of Sir Benjamin West—but for many desolate months, to a barred and grated apartment in a London prison. Its expense was almost entirely thrown away. Its fruit was miscarriage and woe.

But more than all, the Governor felt the treatment of his son as an indignity on national honor—as an outrage on national faith, and a gross breach of hospitality. Going to London as Colonel Trumbull had gone, under pledges that were most sacred and inviolable, and which were freely proffered—demeaning himself in all respects there peaceably as any subject of the realm—fulfilling in fact scrupulously every obligation under which he was placed—he had yet been selected as the special object of national vengeance, and his life placed in imminent peril, just at the moment when the death of a favorite British officer* had most roused and maddened the spirit of retaliation. Upon a charge on which his own perjured accusers had themselves entered a solemn public *nolle*—a "few frivolous papers" which were found in his possession, and his own "too generous and unguarded weakness" on his first examination, being made the pretext for his commitment—denied the privilege of a trial—with no other answer from Government, for a long time, to his repeated prayers for relief, but "a contemptuous silence"—he had been doomed—"a dungeon's spoil"—to "rust in vile repose" side by side with the most atrocious convicts and villains! Truly the treatment was cruel without warrant, and faithless! Both father and son felt it as such to their dying day.

But another calamity, far more afflictive than that which we have now described, overtook Governor Trumbull the present year—that to which Mr. West alluded in presence of the King. Death again entered his household, and on Monday, the twenty-ninth day of May, snatched from him his

* Major André.

wife—a lady with whom, united in the bloom of her youth, he had passed now nearly forty-five years of uninterrupted conjugal happiness. She died at the age of sixty-two years, with a dropsical affection, which for some time previously had impaired her health, and which, upon a last sudden and severe attack, terminated her existence fatally in five days.*

Trumbull drank this bitter cup with Christian fortitude, but still with tears, "copious tears," they are reported to have been, of human lamentation. She was deeply endeared to him—as a devoted wife—devoted mother—as the most agreeable of companions—as the most valued of friends—and he was leaning upon her then in his old age, more droopingly than ever before, as a staff and comfort—as the tenderest of human props. Of her birth, education, mind, and temper—of her moral and religious principles—of her appearance, manners, habits, and conduct—of her reputation, and particularly of the affection which her condescension and diffusive benevolence won from all—we are able to present the Reader with quite a full conception, from two interesting memorials of the deceased which remain—the one a Funeral Sermon, and the other a cotemporaneous Obituary Notice.

The Sermon was preached at Lebanon upon the day of her funeral—Wednesday, May the thirty-first—by Timothy Stone, A. M., Pastor of the Third Church in the parish of Goshen, in that town—and in that portion of it which relates specially to the deceased, proceeds as follows:—

"Madame Trumbull was honorable in her birth, in her education, and in her near connections in life. She was the fifth and youngest daughter of the Reverend Mr. John Robinson, of Duxbury—possessed of a good natural understanding, of a generous and noble spirit, which being ornamented and informed by an education answerable to her family and birth, she was hereby fitted for that peculiar and exalted position in life, to which Providence raised her, and for which she was designed. She filled every station, and sustained every character of life, with dignity and propriety—the elevation of her character never raised her mind above her acquaintance, nor diverted her from the openness and familiarity that were peculiar to herself, nor to neglect the duties and necessary

* The following is Gov. Trumbull's entry, in his own family Bible, of his wife's death:—

"My wife died—Monday 29th May, half an hour after noon—1780." She was born Dec. 11th, 1718, O. S.

concerns of her family, to which she was ever peculiarly attentive. She was a kind, respectful wife, an affectionate, tender parent. *The heart of her husband did safely trust to her. She looked well to the ways of her household, and ate not the bread of idleness—her children rise up and call her blessed—her husband also, he praiseth her—she stretched out her hand to the poor, yea, she reached forth her hands to the needy.*

"She was many years a serious professor of the religion of Jesus, a very constant attendant upon the worship of God's house, and the ordinances of the gospel; which she attended with apparent pleasure and devotion. I have never had that intimate and personal acquaintance with the deceased, which should enable me to speak with knowledge concerning her internal views, and religious exercises of soul. This however I am able to say, without any air of funeral panegyrics, as praising the dead; all her acquaintance will bear witness to her uncommon benevolence and charity to the poor; this noble and exalted Christian grace, which may be called an expensive grace, and too rare in our days, was a grace which, so far as may be known from outward expressions, shined with a peculiar lustre in Madame Trumbull. She had an uncommon commisseration for the distressed, and was ever ready for, and never weary of affording relief to the afflicted and the poor. Her charities have been very numerous and very large."

The Obituary Notice to which reference has been made—bearing date June ninth, 1780—was published in the Connecticut Courant of that time, and is as follows:—

"On Monday of the last week, departed this life at, her seat in Lebanon, MADAM TRUMBULL, consort of his Excellency the Governor of this State, aged sixty one years and five months. She was a daughter of that wise and venerable minister of the gospel, the late Rev. Mr. John Robinson, of Duxbury; her pious mother was suddenly taken away while she was a child, and left her the beloved of her father; and under his wise and tender care, she received a virtuous and polite education, becoming the beauty of her person, the elevation of her mind, and the honorable station she was destined to fill. She was early married to the great and good man now mourning her loss, with whom she lived in perfect friendship and harmony near 45 years, an amiable and exemplary pattern of conjugal, maternal, and every social affection.

"Joined to most comely features, she had a certain natural, peculiar dignity in her mien and whole deportment through every scene in life—the same accompanied with a graceful modesty, condescension, and kindness, as bespoke at once the greatness of her soul, and the benevolence of her heart—and equally commanded and attracted the esteem and respectful love of all her acquaintance. But her benevolence was more than seen; she never turned a deaf ear to the cry of the poor, nor was

any kind of distress in her power to relieve ever neglected. Yea, she sought out and delighted in opportunities of doing good, and promoting within her sphere every good and charitable purpose. Her circumstances enabled her to begin early and persevere through life, in acting out the benevolent desires of her heart. The sum of her charities has been great, and the objects very many; but still she had an excellent spirit of prudence and economy, and never ate the bread of idleness. Her house and all about her was a striking exhibition of regularity and order. She was eminently qualified for, and adorned the honorable station in which Providence had placed her.

"She had many friends, and not one enemy. The heart of her husband safely trusted in her, and her children arise, and call her blessed. More than all these, she had hopefully the saving impressions of divine grace made on her heart many years since, under the ministry of that eminent servant of God, the late Rev. Dr. Williams, and she became a serious professor of religion, and devout attendant on all the worship and ordinances of the gospel, and ever maintained a fixed hope of eternal salvation through the merits of Christ alone. Without ostentation she wore the ornaments of a truly Christian spirit.

"Her health had been for several years greatly impaired, tho' by intervals she enjoyed a very comfortable state. The last return of her (dropsical,) illness was severe, and in the short period of five days unexpectedly released her from a world of pain and sorrow, to a state (we doubt not,) of everlasting rest.

"The honorable bereaved consort has received and drank this bitter cup at the hand of his heavenly father, without a complaining word, remembering all the loving kindness of the Lord, and especially his giving and so long continuing to him this so rich and great a blessing. But even Jesus wept for a friend; no wonder then if copious tears have bathed his face. But an unshaken trust in the unchanging faithfulness of God's everlasting Covenant, is his firm and solid support."*

The picture given of Madam Trumbull in the extracts now presented, we have no reason to think in any respect overdrawn—flattering though we know to be, customarily, the praise of the dead. Its genuineness is proved from other sources, and especially from the evidence of many who have heard her described by her cotemporaries. But it is deficient in two important features—which the pen of the authors

* Madam Trumbull was buried in the family vault at Lebanon, and the following is her epitaph:—

"Sacred to the memory of Madam Faith Trumbull, the amiable lady of Gov. Trumbull, Born at Duxbury, Mass., A. D. 1718. Happy and beloved in her connubial state, she lived a virtuous, charitable, and Christian life at Lebanon, in Connecticut, and died lamented by numerous friends, A. D. 1780, aged 62 years."

failed even to delineate at all. Madam Faith Trumbull, in addition to her other virtues, was a lady eminent for her decision of character, and for her patriotism. Her opinions once formed, she was not only frank, but bold to avow them. Her purposes modelled, she was not only ready, but resolute to execute them. Firmness of will gave energy to her conduct, and certainty to her plans—alike whether these plans were to operate in the sphere of domestic life—through the rounds of neighborhood benevolence—or upon the stage of the Revolutionary Struggle.

To this Struggle—in harmony with her husband—in exact fulfillment of all the duties which his high position imposed peculiarly on herself—she devoted herself, in every form in which a lady could, with unwearied assiduity. It was a cause she earnestly loved—for which she ceased not a moment to labor—for whose success she failed not ever devoutly to pray. Like Dr. Franklin's daughter—Mrs. Bache—like Mrs. Read, wife of the President of Pennsylvania—she was ever busy rousing charities, and superintending contributions, for the suffering soldiers of the Revolution—stimulating associations among her own sex to provide them with clothing—and sending them the encouragement of kind words and grateful compliments.

"The army," said Washington to Mrs. Bache and other ladies of Philadelphia, upon occasion of one of their contributions—"ought not to regret their sacrifices or sufferings, when they meet with so flattering a reward as the sympathy of your sex; nor can they fear that their interests will be neglected when espoused by advocates as powerful as they are amiable." Madam Trumbull was one upon whom a compliment like this, from the Father of his Country, would have been as fittingly bestowed as in this instance upon the ladies of Philadelphia. Like them, alike by her spirit and her efforts, she was entitled to an exalted place among those of her sex who have devoted themselves to the cause of liberty. Let the following striking example of her conduct in aid of the soldiers of the Revolution, vouch for her patriotism!

During the War—after divine service on a Sunday, or on a Thanksgiving Day—contributions were often taken in

church for the benefit of the Continental Army. Cash, finger-rings, ear-rings, and other jewelry—coats, jackets, breeches, shirts, stockings, hats, shoes, every article in fact of male attire—besides groceries in great variety—were frequently thus collected—in New England particularly, in large quantities.* Upon one such occasion in Lebanon Meeting House, Connecticut, after notice given that a collection would be taken for the soldiers—Madam Faith Trumbull rose from her seat near her husband—threw off from her shoulders a magnificent scarlet cloak—a present to her, we hear on good authority, from the Commander-in-chief of the French Allied Army, Count Rochambeau himself—and, advancing near the pulpit, laid it on the altar as her offering to those who, in the midst of every want and suffering, were fighting gallantly the great Battle for Freedom. It was afterwards taken, cut into narrow strips, and employed, as red trimming, to stripe the dress of American soldiers.

The act was one of peculiar generosity. It shed an instant lustre on her patriotism—and the example was contagious. From all parts of the congregation, donations were at once showered—and many overloaded baskets upon this occasion—as upon many other similar ones in the same place—were borne from the church, to have their contents carefully packed up, and sent away to the Army.†

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* "On the last Sabbath of December, 1777, a contribution was taken up in the several parishes of Norwich, [Conn.,] for the benefit of the officers and soldiers who belonged to said town; when they collected 380 pair of stockings, 227 pair of boots, 118 shirts, 78 jackets, 48 pair of overalls, 208 pair of mittens, 11 buff caps, 15 pair of breeches, 9 coats, 22 rifle-frocks, 19 handkerchiefs, and £258 17*s.* 8*d.* in money, which was forwarded to the army. Also collected a quantity of pork, wheat, cheese, rye, Indian corn, sugar, rice, flax, wood, &c., &c., to be distributed to the many families of the officers and soldiers. The whole of which amounted to the sum of £1400."—*Connecticut Gazette, published at New London.*

"New London, Dec. 26, 1777. On Thanksgiving Day (last Thursday,) a collection in the North Parish of New London was taken for the benefit of our soldiers in the continental army; viz., in cash £26 12*s.*, 17 shirts, 14 pair of stockings, 4 coats, 7 jackets, 3 pair of breeches, 2 pair of drawers, 20 pair of mittens, 1 pair of trowsers, 7 pair of shoes, 1 pair of gloves, 2 felt hats, and 2 linen handkerchiefs."—*Green's Gazette, New London, Conn.*

† The act too was one of picturesque beauty—a primitive parish scene of pacific, pains-taking Revolutionary service. We have caused it, therefore, to be illustrated, that the Reader may gaze upon it. Let him look then on the picture opposite!

There, near her husband—in the act of laying her cloak upon the altar, stands

J.H.Bufford's Lith.

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MADAM FAITH TRUMBULL, CONTRIBUTING HER SCARLET CLOAK TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Madam Trumbull—her dress a rich one of the day, and her mien imposing and noble. On the left, and adjacent, is a young woman holding in her hands a bundle of supplies, which she is about to present. A basket, heaped full, is just before her, on the floor, near the altar. To the right is a young lad, bearing a pair of boots. Behind him is a little girl, with a small shawl on her arm, which she intends to give—and near her is a little lad, with a cheese in his hand, which, his mother tells him, *he* may give "to the poor soldiers." Just behind Governor Trumbull is a young lady, with her head leaning, in the act of taking a ring from her ear for contribution. Others of the congregation, in the gallery and elsewhere, are busy producing the various donations which they design to make, or are gazing with a pleased and anxious interest on the scene—which is also overlooked, from his pulpit, with great satisfaction, by the clergyman of the parish. They are all ready to contribute, each something, *after the wife of the Governor* shall have placed her gift on the altar, and retired. The donations are received by a Committee, of which a Deacon of the Church is supposed to be one, and the Chairman of the Town Committee of Inspection and Correspondence is the other. The whole forms a scene, which carries the beholder vividly back, in thought and feeling, in fear, hope, and joy, to the great events and struggles of our American Battle for Independence.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1781.

General view of the Campaign of 1781. Theatre of war chiefly at the South. Again a starving army. Washington writes Trumbull of its distresses, and sends on Gen. Knox, and afterwards Gen. Heath, to explain them personally. A letter from Knox to Washington describing his interview with Trumbull. Trumbull's measures for supply. A letter from Gen. Heath describing his interview with the Governor. New supplies forwarded Some officers in the Connecticut Line discontented because of not receiving their full pay. They complain to Washington, who writes Trumbull on the subject. Trumbull responds, explaining the circumstances, and vindicating his State. The officers continue their complaints. Another letter from Trumbull, rebuking the malcontents, and again vindicating Connecticut. Great dearth of money. Trumbull, in conformity with instructions from the General Assembly, strives, but in vain, to negotiate a loan in Holland. Great demand upon Connecticut for money. Notwithstanding its exceeding scarcity, Trumbull continues hopeful—and at last procures funds enough to pay the officers and soldiers of the Connecticut Line.

The year seventeen hundred eighty one—save that radiance from Morgan's deadly fire at the triumphant battle of the Cowpens—opened upon the American cause with gloom. The French Army were still blocked up at Newport. The Main American Army, on and around the Hudson, were, as usual, wretchedly weak in numbers, ill-fed, ill-clothed, almost wholly destitute of pay, and alas too, most fearfully riven by mutiny in its Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines. Lord Cornwallis was in possession of South Carolina, and Georgia, and overrunning North Carolina. Arnold and Phillips were overrunning and ravaging Virginia. A union between these three commanders, for a seemingly irresistible march of conquest northward, was in near prospect. British hopes ran extravagantly high—those of America low. Congress was disposed to relax American claims, and—against the voice of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and North Carolina alone out of

all the Thirteen States—was even consenting, for the sake of securing active cooperation from Spain, to relinquish a most important part of the navigation of the Mississippi. Such is the dark picture which American affairs at this time present, almost until the year upon which we now enter, reached its meridian.

Then broke a light, almost from every quarter, auspicious to the United States—save from those flames, which, in September, left New London, much of it, a charred and smoking ruin. The intrepid Greene had returned into South Carolina, and to his victorious arms—to himself, and to his country's Sumpter—to their Marion, their Lee, their Colonel Washington, their Watts, their Williams, their Gaines—post after post of the enemy, from the High Hills of Santee, through the battle ground of Eutaw, down to the sea-coast, had yielded—until the whole country between Cooper River and the Edisto was covered by the champion troops of freedom—until at last the little Neck of Charleston, and a few adjacent islands, held all that was left at the South, of Lord Rawdon and British domination, from the Roanoke to the waters of the Savannah. Meanwhile La Fayette with his phalanx of twelve hundred chosen men, joining the defence in Virginia, had pressed Cornwallis, like Rawdon in Carolina, down upon the sea-coast. And Washington and Rochambeau, having united their arms on the banks of the Hudson, had marched for the Chesapeake. Yorktown was invested. Earth, sea, and air reverberated its doom. The last decisive blow for American Independence was struck, and was crowned with brilliant success. Cornwallis fell.

The theatre of bloody strife thus at this time, as in the year 1780, lying chiefly at the South, Governor Trumbull was, of course, again relieved somewhat from those superior anxieties and cares which had pressed upon him in previous years, when War stood, as it were, by his own door. Troops, however, were yet to be raised, supplies furnished, and the frontiers and coasts of Connecticut to be defended—as usual—for still a frowning British soldiery occupied New York—still menacing British armaments rode upon the Sound.

The first matter which occupied Trumbull's attention, at

the outset of the year, was—as the Reader will readily anticipate—a *starving army.* Its "aggravated calamities and distresses," wrote Washington, January fifth, to him—as at this time also to the Governors of the other New England States—"that have resulted from the total want of pay for nearly twelve months, the want of clothing at a very severe season, and not unfrequently the want of provisions, are beyond description." And the Commander-in-chief sent Brigadier-General Knox to the Governor, personally to explain the condition of the army, and enforce his application for relief.

"I have already," he wrote again, May tenth, to Trumbull—as also again to each of the Governors of New England—"made representations to the States, of the want of provisions, the distress of the army, and the innumerable embarrassments we have suffered in consequence; not merely once or twice, but have reiterated them over and over again. I have struggled to the utmost of my ability to keep the army together, but all will be in vain without the effective assistance of the States. I have now only to repeat the alternative which has been so often urged, that supplies, particularly of beef cattle, must be speedily and regularly provided, or our posts cannot be maintained, nor the army kept in the field much longer." And this time the Commander-in-chief sent on General Heath to explain and enforce his dispatch.

Here is the old picture of suffering in the army reproduced—in colors almost as dark as ever—and reproduced too, as it happened, just upon the heel of the alarming revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, and at a time when in the country generally there was an extraordinary dearth of money, and great and almost universal discontent among the people at the new system of public contributions—impressments, alas, having been but too frequently rendered necessary. How now in this new, yet too painfully familiar exigency, did Trumbull conduct? A letter, February seventh, from General Knox to General Washington, describing his interview with the Governor at Hartford,* upon the mission to which we have referred, will explain it in part.

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*1781. "Jan. 31st. Set from home—Gen. Knox overtook me at Whites [Bolton]—came together into Hartford.

"The Legislatures of Connecticut and Rhode Island," proceeds Knox, after stating that he had visited all the New England States with his dispatches—"unfortunately, were not sitting. The Governor of the former State, by having the powers of the Assembly in the recess, respecting the exigencies of the war, delegated to him, jointly with a certain Council, supposed that it would be unnecessary to call the Legislature on the matter of my mission, and that his Council would be competent to do everything necessary on the occasion; for which purpose he proposed to call them together the next day after I had the honor of conversing with him, which was on the 11th ultimo. Governor Trumbull fully coincided in sentiment with me, in respect to the gratuity of three half johannes, in preference to any pay in paper money, as a matter that would be more efficacious to quiet the minds of the troops, and render them happy; and also as a measure which the New England States could execute with as much ease, under present circumstances, as the three months' real pay in paper. He was clearly of opinion, that to attempt to obtain both the gratuity and the three months' pay, would be to attempt more than could be performed consistently with their present exertions in order to put their finances on a tolerable footing. *The Governor pledged himself* to exert his utmost interest to have the gratuity and deficiency of clothing given to the troops immediately; and requested me to impress on the Governors and official gentlemen in the other States, the necessity and propriety of New England adopting similar measures. I believe the Governor *religiously performed his part*, and I am happy to believe I did not fail in mine. * * The Council of Connecticut determined upon nothing final, but appeared to intend to follow the example of Massachusetts. They were to meet at Hartford the 5th instant, on this business. The Governor informed me he had but little doubt that they would adopt similar measures to Massachusetts. But, if they should decline, he would immediately call the Legislature, when he presumed the matter would be made certain.

"I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, that all ranks of people, as well unofficial as official, from the private farmer up to the Governor, in the four States through which I passed, appear perfectly well-principled in the contest, and fully determined to make every sacrifice of property and personal ease to insure the happy termination of the war. The universal sentiment was, that the army ought to be supported, and should be supported, at every reasonable expense."

Thus far Knox. Trumbull—redeeming the pledge of effort which Knox represents him as having made—convened

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"Feb. 1st. Entered on business with the Treasurer and Pay Table. Gen. Knox left."—*Trumbull's Diary.*

This *Diary*—exceedingly succinct—extends over a few months only. We shall have occasion to recur to it again—for some important facts. It is in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society.

his Council the very next day after his interview with the American General—and Knox was present, and fully explained the object of his visit. An order was given thereupon, the succeeding day, for the sale of a large number of the confiscated estates of tories, for the purpose of procuring specie for the Connecticut Line of the army. These estates were actually sold for this purpose. Twenty-one thousand pounds, in State bills, were assigned to Colonel Champion for the purchase of cattle. Ralph Pomeroy was appointed a Deputy Quarter Master General for Connecticut, under Colonel Pickering, and there was renewed activity in forwarding supplies of every kind to the North River. The General Assembly was specially convoked by the Governor to meet in January—speedily—and it met and passed an Act for collecting a tax of two pence half-penny on the Grand List in gold and silver. These facts—and an advance by the Governor, in April, on his own responsibility, of seven hundred and seventy-three pounds, twelve shillings, in hard money, to those of the Connecticut officers who were then going southward—prove that Trumbull—as General Knox says he believed he would do in the crisis upon which he visited him—"religiously performed his part" towards effectually conciliating the minds of the soldiers, and making them quiet and happy.

But look at him again in May, on the same matter when visited as we have stated by General Heath.

"I arrived here yesterday afternoon,"* writes the General at this time, in a letter from Hartford to General Washington, May fifteenth, and also in his Memoirs—"found the General Assembly sitting, and presented your letter to Governor Trumbull, together with a representation containing the spirit of my instructions. * * This venerable patriot gave assurance of his immediate attention and exertions, and accordingly laid the dispatches from General Washington before the Legislature, who also discovered the same noble patriotism. They inquired into the state of the Treasury, and finding it was destitute of money, except a sum appropriated to another purpose, they ordered this money to be taken, and directed to Colonel Champion, one of their number, immediately to purchase and forward on to the army 160 head of cattle, and 1000 barrels

* May 14. M. Gen. Heath—brings Gen. Wash's letters de distress for provisions."—*Trumbull's Diary.*

of salted provisions from their stores, and resolved to make every other exertion in their power to comply with the requisitions of the Commander-in-chief, as they respected both fresh and salted provisions, by appointing a Committee for a general arrangement of supplies."

The exertions made by Trumbull and the Legislature for meeting the wants of the army, it is thus plain from the testimony of General Heath, were zealous and unremitted. Yet about this time there were officers in the Connecticut Line, who—discontented, and even embittered by the fact that full provision was not at once made for their own arrearages of pay—gave the Governor on this point much anxiety, and subjected him to the necessity of replying to their claims and remonstrances in a manner which deserves particular mention here.

They had sent on a Committee of their number to settle with the Legislature its accounts with the Connecticut Line. Before, however, this settlement could be completed as regards the detained rations of the officers—but yet not until their accounts for pay and wages, and for those also of the soldiers, were adjusted—the Committee returned to their duty in the army—whither they went—themselves somewhat soured by disappointment—to sour also, by their news of a mission not all quite fulfilled, the minds of others. Many officers now complained in bitter terms of the negligence and wrong, as they charged, of the Connecticut Assembly. We have no justice to hope for from the State, they said, unless our accounts are at once closed, and our wages and subsistence secured before the period arrives when the country shall have no farther occasion for the services of the army. Some of them appealed to General Washington on the subject, and so aroused his sympathies in their own behalf, as that—towards the close of June—the Commander-in-chief himself wrote Governor Trumbull on the grievance—urged him to remedy it—and, if necessary, to call the Legislature together to effect it. To this letter, Trumbull, July ninth, made reply—one full of heartfelt sympathy for the sufferers—and yet vindicatory of Connecticut.

"Your feelings of distress," he said to Washington—"excite a sympa-

thy in my breast, and a readiness to do all in my power to remove the occasion. That the Committee from the Connecticut line of the army did not accomplish a full settlement, was to me a matter of sorrow, and fear for its consequences. The veteran troops who faithfully served, and bravely endured so many distresses in defence of their own and their country's righteous cause, in the unhappy contest with the British King and Ministry, and continue therein to the end, will be rewarded, acknowledged, and remembered with love and gratitude by this and future generations. Surely, none will forsake it, or cause disturbances at this time, when in near view of a happy home. Those who do, will meet with reproach and regret.

"The country, universally," Trumbull goes on to say—extenuating any apparent tardiness or negligence in satisfying any arrearages of pay to the complainants—"has had many, very many embarrassments, and great difficulties to encounter and struggle through; enemies secret as well as open; no permanent army raised; soldiers to be hired into the service for short periods, at extravagantly high prices; no magazines of provisions; an army to be fed from hand to mouth; finances deranged; public credit abused and ruined; a rapid depreciation of the currency; the army not paid or clothed; the force and pernicious policy of a cruel and inveterate enemy to be met and avoided; heavy taxes; unreasonable jealousies; with a train of other grievances more easily conceived than expressed.

"I do sincerely wish," he concludes—referring to that happy time when America would have no farther need of an army—I do sincerely wish for that period, and will then, and ever, exert myself to obtain justice for the officers and soldiers of our line, as freely as I have done so to bring the war to a happy close. A full settlement was agreed on for the pay and wages of our line. The subsistence of the officers was the only matter unsettled. It was proposed to give them eight pence half-penny per ration, not from the first of April last, as mentioned in the letter, but from the first of April 1780, the residue to lie open for the determination of Congress.

"The Legislature of this State is not setting. To call it to meet at this season, when every other business, public and domestic, calls for the attention of the members, will cause discontent and uneasiness. You may depend on my giving the subject as early a consideration as may be found convenient, and consistent with other circumstances. A sum of money for our line of the army, as much as can be collected, will be forwarded soon."

This soothing letter of explanation must, we think, have fully satisfied the mind of Washington on the subject to which it refers. Everything in fact had been done by Connecticut, and was still doing, towards paying its own Line in

the army, which under the circumstances was possible. Not only had its Assembly made the settlement to which Trumbull refers—not only assigned the eight pence half penny per ration to the officers—but to meet the emergency, and for procuring supplies generally, had laid a farther tax of two pence on the Grand List of the State—had ordered the sale of confiscated estates to the amount of no less than one hundred thousand pounds—had kept Committees everywhere incessantly active, Trumbull at their head, to gather up all the gold and silver that could be found—had even once formally entertained the project of recommending Congress to require the coinage of family plate, through the country at large, in order to satisfy the arrearages of army pay—and, through its Chief Magistrate, to whom specially it confided the important task, had laboriously striven to procure from Holland a loan of no less than two hundred thousand pounds.

Notwithstanding all this, some of the Connecticut officers remained still discontented, and both to Washington and to Trumbull renewed their complaints. To the latter, once in July, they renewed them in a letter "filled," he says, "with severe remarks and reflections." To their complaints, therefore, Trumbull again gave heed, in a letter to Washington, July seventeenth. And in this letter he again explains the action of Connecticut, and to the discontented officers administers such reproof as shows that he knew how—well and pointedly—to vindicate his own and the honor of the State over which he presided.

"I wish," he proceeds—"to do the things that make for peace with both officers and men of the Connecticut line of the army, consisting of our own people, raised for defending and securing the rights and liberties of the whole, embarked in the same common cause, and to return to citizens again when the contest with the British King and Ministry is ended; to prevent, if possible, discord and division, so very dangerous in our situation, and hazardous to our present operations. Surely the officers do not desire to inflame the soldiery with apprehensions that the Assembly deny them that justice which was done them the last year, with which they were satisfied, when the Committee from the line know the whole accounts of pay and wages were gone through, and ready to be closed on the same principles, and that nothing remained in question

but only the detained rations of the officers. This was not agitated, till it became time for the Committee to return to their duty; when there was scarcely time for the members of so numerous a body to deliberate on the subject. Eight pence half-penny per ration was offered from the first of April, 1780. Many were of opinion, that by the time of payment that rate would be more than sufficient for the same. Others proposed to secure a specific payment. As to what was done before that 1st of April, 1780, it naturally lay open for the direction of the Honorable Congress.

"In the midst of these deliberations, the Committee left us unexpectedly. I observed no design to deny justice to the officers; to the soldiery there could be none. The accounts were fully agreed, prepared, and ready to be closed. I choose to forbear any recrimination. Yet suffer me to inquire, why the Committee from the line did not bring on the settlement for detained rations earlier. They knew it must require time for deliberation, when they well knew the principles for settlement of pay and wages were agreed on the last year. Do they mean to press for more than justice, from the necessity of their present services, and the fears of fatal consequences if denied? The whole line know and ought to consider their pay and wages are secured in full value, while the depreciation operates as a heavy tax upon the rest of the people. The officers may likewise consider, that their pay was raised by Congress, fifty per cent. above what the State agreed with them for. The maxim adopted by the enemy is that old one of *divide et impera*. Shall we suffer avarice to divide and ruin us and our cause, and give them opportunity to exalt and triumph over us?

"Providence hath and doth smile propitiously upon us and our cause, and calls aloud for union, vigorous exertions, patience, and perseverance, and to endure hardship as good soldiers, that the end may be peace. Justice and peace ride together in the same chariot. It will be my constant endeavour that peace may be obtained on just and honorable terms, and that justice be done to them that jeopard their lives in the high places of the field, in defence of, and to secure the blessings of freedom for ourselves and posterity.

"I wrote yesterday to the Treasurer, to inform me this week, what sum of hard money is and can be immediately collected for the army, which shall be sent forward without delay. The measures directed, and orders given for raising and marching our troops to the army, are now diligently carrying into execution."

Thus at a critical period—just after revolt had actually and most dangerously disorganized two Lines of the American Army—and when its spirit, subjugated but yet not extirpated, was still silently and almost imperceptibly working, to some extent, in the heart of other Lines—did Trumbull labor

to soothe, subdue, and sever this spirit from the bosoms of that soldiery with which he was himself most closely connected—the soldiery from Connecticut. What a hardship that he had to contend at such a time against such a dearth of money! What a pity that loan from Holland, to which we have referred, was not then in his hands! It had been ordered by the General Assembly at the close of the preceding year—to be negotiated by himself in Holland, or elsewhere—and he had at once sent on proper instructions to effect it to his son Colonel John Trumbull. He had enclosed these instructions under cover to his correspondents De Neufville and son at Amsterdam—gentlemen who, "from their knowledge, connections, and real attachment" to America, were "unquestionably" and peculiarly "worthy the confidence of the State"—whose "assistance and counsel" in the matter, as well as the aid also of Dr. Franklin in Paris, he had earnestly solicited—and solicited too in a noble tone of confidence both in the ability of Connecticut to redeem her pecuniary obligations, and in the success of that great cause for which the succor was sought.

"As our prospects [for a loan,]" he wrote his son upon the occasion—"principally centre in Holland, I can wish this letter may find you there, and that you will pay your first and most assiduous attention to that quarter. Give me the earliest information of the way and probable expense of getting the money in specie here, and of whatever else you may judge needful for me to be advised. This loan is not sought on the principles of despair, but to put our finances on a better footing. The spirit of the country remains firm and steady; men for three years or during the war, will fill and complete the army. I hope to get the finances of the State upon a sure and good footing."

But Trumbull's hopes of a loan abroad were destined to disappointment. The public credit of the United States had been injured in every part of Europe. It was indeed sadly low. St. Eustatia had been lately captured, and the loss to America was supposed to be very great. Capitalists, therefore, were "slow and fearful of advancing" funds to her aid.*

* "The public credit of the United States," wrote Col. John Trumbull to his father, July 20th, 1781, "has been injured in every part of Europe by the mismanagement of her affairs in that department; in so much that it is at this day very

The loan consequently failed. And it failed too—be it marked—at a period, for Trumbull, truly most inauspicious. For just then—in addition to taxes for ordinary State purposes—he had the weight upon his shoulders of one quota for the army of no less than three hundred and fifty-one thousand and twenty-two dollars, which Congress had demanded from Connecticut within the first three months of the present year—and of still another quota of nine thousand eight hundred and fifty-five dollars, which the State was to furnish, either in specie or in bills of exchange on New York, for the use of American prisoners in that city, and upon Long Island. Yet with all this depressing weight upon his shoulders—and spite of the failure of the loan—still Trumbull—more hopeful even than Washington himself at this time, who deemed the United States incapable of extricating themselves "by any interior exertions" from their then existing difficulties*—persevered in his task of collecting funds, until, as regards specie for the troops, success at last, beyond expectation, crowned his efforts. "A sum of money for our line in the army will be forwarded soon"—we have just found him writing to Washington, July ninth. Hard money,

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low even in France; and consequently the people of this country, judging from what they see there, are slow and fearful of advancing to our aid. The loan on account of the United States, opened by Mr. Adams, at first promised great success, and nearly the whole sum was subscribed for, when the news of the capture of St. Eustatia, partly by the alarm which it occasioned here, partly by the prevailing idea that the loss to America was very great, but more by the increased demand for money to repair the losses sustained there, produced quite a stagnation, and put an entire stop to its success. It still rests in that state, and until some change in the political system of this country, or the arrival of news of great success on the part of America, it will remain impossible to succeed. So long as the United States find so great difficulty in procuring credit, there is no probability that any individual State can have better success. To make the attempt might prove injurious to the general interest, and by its failure, for it would almost inevitably fail, would add to the difficulties in future."

* "The efforts," said Washington, in January, 1781, in his letter to Col. Laurens, when the latter was about starting on his mission to Europe to procure a foreign loan for the United States—"the efforts unavoidably made in the prosecution of the war had *greatly exceeded the natural* ability of the country, and it had now become impossible for the United States, by any interior exertions, to extricate themselves from their present difficulties, by restoring public credit, and furnishing the funds required for the support of the war. According to the best estimates, any revenue which the States were capable of raising, would be found inadequate to the expenses of the war, and would leave a large surplus to be supplied by credit."

we find him again writing, July seventeenth, "shall be forwarded without delay."—"Three thousand five hundred pounds collected"—he enters in his Diary, August sixth. "Norton and Brown prepared to carry the deficiency of the month's pay to the army"—he enters August twenty-ninth. So that light now broke from the clouds. That justice to which, as regards military compensation at the period now under consideration, Trumbull had pledged himself—"freely," he said, as to everything which tended "to bring the war to a happy close"—was at last obtained for the officers and soldiers of the Connecticut Line.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1781.

Gen. Washington, on his way to Newport, to meet Count Rochambeau, stops at Hartford, and consults with Gov. Trumbull. In Hartford he orders a Court Martial for the trial of Alexander Mc Dowell, a deserter—who is hanged. A report that Washington, on his way to Newport, would be intercepted and seized by the enemy. Trumbull's precautions in consequence. Another meeting between Washington and Rochambeau, Trumbull, and others, in regard to a plan for combined military operations—held at the house of Joseph Webb, in Wethersfield. Ex tracts from Trumbull's Diary illustrative of the event. A dinner given the Generals at the public expense. The plan of that campaign which terminated in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and the final triumph of the American arms, was concerted at this interview in Connecticut. This plan. Washington, to execute it, calls for more troops. Trumbull responds to the call. He sends a pressing Message on the subject to the General Assembly. Its favorable results. The French army marches through Connecticut to join Washington on the banks of the Hudson. The attention and entertainment it received on its way. Lauzun's Legion of Hussars leaves Lebanon, highly delighted with the hospitality they had received. Trumbull's humane feelings illustrated by the case of a deserter, who, at Lebanon, was condemned to be shot. A French officer's reminiscence of Trumbull.

We turn now to Trumbull's other connections with the War during the present year.

It was the middle of summer ere at the North any active military operations commenced. But early in March, Washington began to plan them—chiefly against New York—and for this purpose, in company with his aids and Major General Howe, left his Head Quarters at Windsor to visit Count Rochambeau at Newport, Rhode Island. On his way he met and consulted closely with Governor Trumbull, at Hartford, where the latter was sitting with his Council, and contriving for the public exigencies.

"March third—Saturday," says the Governor in his Diary—"Warm. Maj. Gen. Howe dined with me, Col. Wyllys, Col. Dyer, Col. Trumbull [Jonathan Jr.] &c.

"March fourth. D. Dom. General Washington came with his aids Col. ——, Col. Tilgham. The Gen[l] left an order for a General Court

Martial for the trial of Alexander Mc Dowell for desertion—set out for Newport—M. Gen. Howe with him. Col. Trumbull accompanied them to Lebanon.

"March seventeenth. Saturday—[at Hartford.] Dined at Mr. Platt's with Gen. Washington, and spent the afternoon—he came to my lodgings—communicated Mr. Southwick and Com. General's letters—conversed on various subjects.

"Lord's Day—March eighteenth. General Washington came on Friday night [from Newport]—went out this morning.

"March twenty-first—Wednesday. Alexander Mc Dowell hanged. Mr. Eels pr. a sermon in pres. of condemned and a large assembly. Rom. 2: 2. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them who commit such things."

An execution at Hartford—under the eye of Governor Trumbull and of an immense crowd—on the top of Rocky Hill, probably, just where the Farmington road winds over its brow—made the visit of Washington to which Trumbull refers, long memorable in Connecticut. But it was even more memorable for a peril which, it was feared, would beset the Commander-in-chief on his journey at this time, and which gave to Trumbull himself no little anxiety.

"Intelligence had come from New York," says Sparks, "that three hundred horsemen had crossed over to Long Island and proceeded eastward, and that boats at the same time had been sent up the Sound. It was inferred, that the party would pass from Long Island to Connecticut, and attempt to intercept General Washington on his way to Newport, as it was supposed his intended journey was known to the enemy. La Fayette suggested that the Duke de Lauzun should be informed of this movement as soon as possible, that he might be prepared with his cavalry, then stationed at Lebanon, to repel the invaders." The information, as suggested by La Fayette, was transmitted, not only to the Duke de Lauzun, but to Trumbull also, and every suitable preparation was made by each to ward off the catastrophe supposed to be impending. Fortunately it did not occur. And Washington—instead of finding himself in any melee of danger, surrounded and protected by brave French Hussars and Connecticut militia—passed through the country in perfect security—stopping on his way, March fifth, time

enough—on the village green at Lebanon—with great satisfaction alike to himself, the French, and crowds of spectators—to bestow on Lauzun's imposing legion the compliment of a stately review.*

At Newport, the Commander-in-chief made such arrangements with Rochambeau for the operations of the campaign as the existing state of affairs would warrant. They resulted in the departure of the French fleet, under Chevalier Destouches, with eleven hundred French troops, grenadiers, and chasseurs, for the Chesapeake—there to cooperate with the Marquis La Fayette for the dislodgment of the enemy from Virginia. But this expedition—though it was marked by a formidable naval combat, which was highly creditable to the French Commander for "the gallantry and good conduct displayed through the whole course of the engagement"—yet failed in its principal object. Other operations, therefore, had to be concerted. Another meeting between Washington and Rochambeau became necessary. And this took place on the twenty-first and twenty-second days of May, at the house of Joseph Webb, Esquire, at Wethersfield, Connecticut—Washington upon this occasion being attended by General Knox and General Duportail, and Rochambeau by the Marquis de Chastellux—De Barras, the French Admiral, on account of the appearance of the British fleet, under Arbuthnot, off Block Island, not being able to be present.

For this conference, as for that held the preceding year at Hartford, Trumbull made every suitable provision. The Commanders, with their respective suites, became as before the guests of the State. Five hundred pounds were appropriated by the General Assembly for their entertainment. The Quarter Master General of Connecticut—Ralph Pomeroy—was appointed to superintend the disbursement of this hospitable reception-fund. Governor Trumbull welcomed the illustrious guests with every mark of distinction—and

* Washington seems to have felt no alarm for himself upon the occasion to which reference is made in the text. "I do not think it very probable," he wrote to La Fayette at this time—"that three hundred dragoons will trust themselves in the heart of Connecticut, with a superior regular corps and the force of the country to oppose them, but I have nevertheless given the intelligence to the Duke de Lauzun."

as on a former occasion, so now, was at once admitted, as of course, into their confidence, and leaned upon for advice—as the following interesting extracts from his own and the Diary of General Washington at the time, show:—

"Had a good deal of private conversation with Governor Trumbull," writes Washington, May twentieth—"who gave it to me as his opinion, that, if any important offensive operation should be undertaken, he had little doubt of obtaining men and provision adequate to our wants. In this opinion Colonel Wadsworth and others concurred."

"Lord's Day, May twentieth," writes Trumbull—"Went with Capt. Fred. Bull in a carriage to Wethersfield—attended divine service with General Washington per tot diem. Mr. Marsh preached. Mat. 7: 3—blessed are the poor of spirit, for their's is the Kingdom of Heaven.

"Monday, twenty-first. Fair—invited to Col. Chester's.

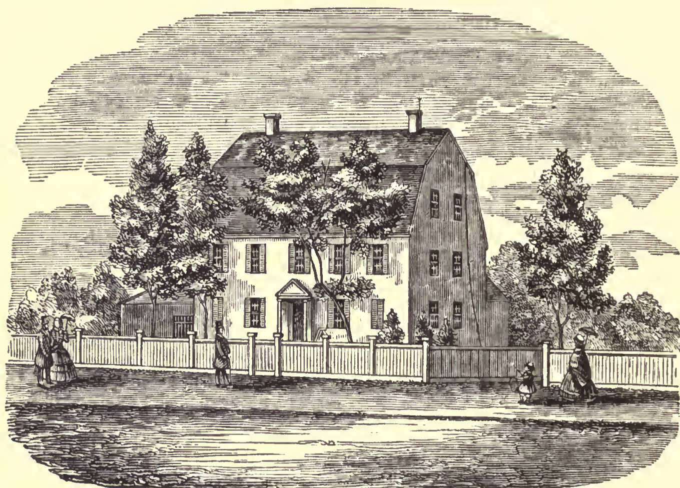
"Tuesday, twenty-second. Fair—dined with General Washington, Rochambeau &c, at Stillmans.

"Wednesday, twenty-third. Fair—dined at Colyer's with the Generals—supra public expense. Guards. Artillery."

Accurate observance, in each other's company, on a New England Sabbath Day—"*per tot diem*"—of religious service, on the part of two of the noblest of Revolutionary patriots—abundant and gracious hospitality from a sweet village on the Connecticut River—State entertainment at the Capital City of the State—amid the parade of Governor Trumbull's own Guards, and with the voice of artillery to speak the toasts that at the entertainment may have been consecrated, in the sentiments of those who uttered them, to Freedom—such are the circumstances which—socially and ceremonially—mark, in the extracts now given, Washington's visit in May 1781 to Connecticut, and the handsome reception, by Trumbull and the State, of the Father of his Country.

In a military view, however, this reception is marked by other and grander results. It is marked by that plan of the Southern Campaign, which, before the bastions of Yorktown, crowned America with immortal honor, and with liberty. This plan, there is every reason to believe, was first concerted in that mansion—the Webb House in Wethersfield—a picture of which the Reader here can see—Trumbull present and rendering zealous aid—Trumbull, as Washington testi-

fies, firm in confidence that all "adequate provision" could be made for "any important offensive operation" which superior generalship could devise. The web, in fact, which at last caught and held inextricably that proudest and most daring of British Generals in the field—Lord Cornwallis—and which put an end to the American Revolutionary War—was here projected.



The Webb House in Wethersfield.

The French Army was to march soon as possible, and join the American forces on the North River. In order to divert the enemy from the South—to force them to recall large detachments from that quarter—and thus afford immediate and important aid to Virginia and the Carolinas—the City of New York, in the first place, was to be seriously menaced, and if circumstances should justify it, attacked. Should it not be recovered—soon as the hot season, then coming on, should have passed away, and the existing difficulty in transporting troops, artillery, and stores, for a southern operation have ceased—the combined armies were to march upon Cornwallis, and make a grand effort for his entire overthrow.

In pursuance of this plan, Washington, at Wethersfield, at once prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England States—calling on them to

complete their battalions, and provide means of transportation, and full and prompt supplies—and on Connecticut and Massachusetts particularly, he called for a fresh loan of powder.* In Connecticut three regiments for the Continental Army had already been ordered in March. Now fifteen hundred men, for three months' service with Washington, were specially demanded—while Sheldon's Regiment of Dragoons, by particular request of Congress, was to be remounted, and a portion of the militia of the State was to be kept in constant readiness to aid, if necessary, in the defence of Rhode Island upon the departure of Rochambeau.

To these calls Trumbull, as usual, gave immediate attention—as the following Special Message to the Legislature of Connecticut, June eleventh—a good specimen alike of his promptness, anxiety, ardor, and hope in the great cause in which he was engaged—abundantly shows.

"The Governor," he proceeds, "presents his most respectful compliments, and takes leave to ask, that, considering this session is drawn already to a great length, and the business of the public as well as the particular concerns of gentlemen who constitute this Assembly require a speedy close, and a return to our respective homes, that therefore your attention be given to the great and important matters which respect our preparations for the campaign now opening. It is necessary that our troops to fill the army should be immediately forwarded—that clothing, tents, &c., be provided and sent on—that money should be sent, so far as is possible, to pay our soldiers, and prevent difficulties and murmuring among them—as I perceive the Army Committee are generally without a settlement of their accounts with the State, which may occasion uneasiness in our line. Every exertion in our great important cause is now of the utmost necessity, and what remains for this Assembly to do lies before you. I wish those things which promote such exertions as are proportionate to the truly critical situation of the affairs of the United States, may be thoroughly pursued by this State.

"The plan of operations for the present campaign was concerted on the principle of obliging the enemy to abandon their possessions in every part of these States. The demand of Congress for provisions, men, and money, is what at present we have to attend to. Every State's punctual compliance gives a pleasing prospect of putting a speedy and happy issue

* Washington set out from Wethersfield on the 24th of May for his Head Quarters at New Windsor—which he reached on the 25th, "about sunset." Rochambeau started for Newport on the 23d of this month.

to the War, by driving the enemy from their present possessions in every part of these States—but at all events to confine them to the sea-coasts. Let us not be negligent or behind our sister States in making the most vigorous exertions on our part, that so we may not hereafter blame ourselves, or be chargeable by them for any neglect. Let us, therefore, laying aside all other business of lesser concern, apply ourselves to make the most strenuous exertions to accomplish the great object before us—the independence of these United States in all its parts—that in case a negotiation for peace should be offered, we shall be found, by great and timely exertion, to have sufficiently reduced the power of the enemy now operating in our country. Should languor and inactivity, on the other hand, subject us to the contempt of the Negotiators, all the consequences will be chargeable on ourselves."

This appeal was not without its immediate fruit in increased vigor of preparation for the Campaign, throughout Connecticut. "The measures directed, and orders given for raising and marching our troops to the army, are now diligently carrying into execution," wrote Trumbull to Washington, July seventeenth.

Meanwhile, in June, Rochambeau marched to join Washington on the banks of the Hudson. His troops came, in four divisions, from Providence to Connecticut—magnificent in appearance—superb in discipline—

> "A brave choice of fiery voluntaries,
> Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs,
> To make a hazard of new fortunes here."

Rochambeau himself, with the sparkling regiment of Bourbonnois, into which he had recently incorporated four hundred fresh recruits from France, brought up their rear. On they came, through Plainfield, Windham, and Bolton, to Hartford—from whence—after having stopped awhile to repair broken wagons, and refresh artillery horses and oxen—they started again in four divisions—a part by the way of Newtown and Woodbury, and a part by the way of Middletown, Wallingford, and North Stratford—to unite, July sixth, with the American Army, to the left of Dobb's Ferry, on the hills reaching to the Brunx River—there to receive for the "unremitting zeal" with which they had prosecuted their march, the public thanks of the Commander-in-chief, and

his own grateful acknowledgment of "the long-wished for junction," as an event which afforded "the highest degree of pleasure to every friend of his country," and from which "the happiest consequences" were to be expected.

During the whole of their march through Connecticut, these troops, through the provident care of Trumbull, received every attention which their wants required, and more-over were warmly welcomed by the inhabitants generally. Barrack-masters, appointed by the Governor and Council, waited upon them at every important station. Some of these masters, by especial direction of Trumbull, accompanied them on their march—as did, particularly, Dr. Joshua Elderkin of Windham, with great satisfaction to Rochambeau, all the way from the point where the troops first touched Connecticut on the east to their encampment on the green meadows at Hartford. Refreshments both for man and beast were added, at frequent intervals, to the stores which they brought along with them from Rhode Island. Ripe fruit from many orchards and gardens often regaled their taste. The apple-presses of the farmers yielded them hearty quaffs of cider—the brown jugs and oaken casks of the farmers' wives, frequent libations of excellent home-brewed beer.

Were their slow ox-teams, as once or twice happened, late in bringing to their encamping ground their tents and baggage—or at times, when wearied with a long day's march beneath the broiling sun, or with severe labor in cutting away trees, or removing stones for the passage through some defile of their heavy trains, did the troops court repose? Fresh horses and oxen from neighboring farms, freely loaned, hurried up their missing equipage—while many a comfortable bed in private dwellings was hospitably offered to those officers—of whom there were many—who, thoughtful of the spirits of their companies, encouragingly marched with them on foot, sharing with them in all hardships by the way—hardships, we are well assured, such as by the whole army, alike men and officers, were "borne patiently, and with perfect good humor."

Or, unwearied by the exertions of the day's march, and witched with the beauty of damsels whom on the road they

saw either pressing around their tents on some village green, or clustered near some mansion where they had their temporary quarters—did some officers of the strange army—following the impulse of natures proverbially and irresistibly gay—seek to wake each active power to the brisk measures of the dance? "Fair, charming Connecticut girls," as de Warville describes them about this time—girls "adorned with complexions" whose brilliancy mocked those of the sunny South—who were "dressed in elegant simplicity"—who were safe under the protection of their own conscious innocence, and of high-toned public morals—who were "so complaisant and so good," as the French traveller expresses himself*—tripped with them "the light fantastic toe."

"The Frenchman, easy, debonair, and brisk,
Found quick his lass, his fiddle, and his frisk"—

while many a hearty Connecticut lad, of strength sinewy enough to handle a firelock—"fired with martial courage" by the imposing Gallic display—volunteered at once for the

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* De Warville travelled through the United States in 1788, and the following passages taken from a manuscript translation of his work, by Joel Barlow, which is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, fully justify the text above, and will be found interesting to our Readers—the fair ones particularly.

"Newhaven yields not to Wethersfield for the beauty of the fair sex. At their balls during the winter it is not rare to see a hundred charming girls, adorned with those brilliant complexions seldom met with in journeying to the South, and dressed in elegant simplicity. The beauty of complexion is as striking in Connecticut as its numerous population. You will not go into a tavern without meeting with neatness, decency, and dignity. The tables are served by a young girl, decent and pretty; by an amiable mother, whose age has not effaced the agreeableness of her features; by men who have that air of dignity which the idea of equality inspires, and who are not ignoble and base, like the greatest part of our tavern keepers.

"On the road you often meet those fair Connecticut girls, either driving a carriage, or alone on horseback, galloping boldly, with an elegant hat on the head, a white apron, and a calico gown—usages which prove at once the early cultivation of their reason, since they are trusted so young by themselves, the safety of the roads, and the general innocence of manners. You will see them hazarding themselves alone, without protectors, in the public stages—I am wrong to say *hazarding;* who can offend them? They are here under the protection of public morals, and of their own innocence; it is the consciousness of this innocence which makes them so complaisant and so good, for a stranger takes them by the hand, and laughs with them, and they are not offended at it."—*Letter V.*, 9*th Aug.*, 1788.

wars—and, his steps right onward—erect his form and movement—thinking to wear the plumed helmet with a grace—accompanied the regiments of Rochambeau on their march to the grand American camp.*

Conspicuous in the French Army, as we have already had occasion to state, was the Duke de Lauzun's Legion of Hussars, which now for seven months had been quartered in Trumbull's native town—directly beneath his own provident eye, and in the enjoyment, therefore, of comforts such as rarely fell to the lot of the soldiers of the day. Their conduct, during their stay in Lebanon, had in the main been very exemplary. Save in the loss, now and then, of a few trees, and a little fallen wood, and occasionally of a sheep, or a goose, which some of their number—more careful than the rest for their own warmth of body, and more disposed to the luxury of an extra ration—took by stealth from Dr. Williams, and from a few other inhabitants†—the town was remarkably free from those depredations in which troops at winter quarters are apt to indulge—for Lauzun himself was ever active to preserve the strictest discipline and good order in his corps.

He had occasion, however, once during his stay in Leb-

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* Cothren, in his History of Woodbury, page 213, speaking of the French Army in that town on their journey to join General Washington, says their encampment there "extended all the way from Middle Quarter to White Oak, a distance of nearly three miles." That part, he adds, which encamped "near the house then occupied by David Sherman, and since by the late Gideon Sherman, eat for him, with his consent, twelve bushels of apples, as is related, and drank seven or eight barrels of new cider at his mill. During the evening they had a dance, in which some of the Woodbury damsels joined with the polite French officers, in their gay uniforms, while others looked on. Multitudes of the inhabitants pressed about the tents of those patriotic foreigners, who had come so far to fight the battle of freedom for a suffering people, and destined to act so distinguished a part in bringing the long and bloody contest to a close. * * Fired anew with martial courage by the fine display of the French troops, a considerable number of soldiers volunteered on the spot, and marched with them on the following morning." An illustration—these facts—of the statements in the text.

† A letter, March 13th, 1781, from Wm. Williams to the Duke de Lauzun, complains that some of his Hussars stole "thirty or more trees," besides "fallen wood," from Dr. T. Williams, and from some other inhabitants "fences, sheep, and geese." "One sheep," says the letter, "they killed yesterday," in the lot of Dr. Williams, "and skinned in his lot, and carried away the meat." Against such maraudings the active interposition of the Duke was invoked—and it was readily granted.

anon, to punish one of his soldiers for desertion. This punishment was that sternest one known to military law—death by the murderous bullet. It is a striking illustration both of Trumbull's well-known humanity, and of his influence, that the facts in this case were sedulously concealed from his knowledge, until all was over. The Court Martial which tried the deserter, was held in the guard room *after nine o'clock at night*, and the poor victim was executed *before the morning light*—such was the apprehension that the Governor, if aware of his condemnation, would interfere to save his life.

Lauzun left him, with his Legion, on the twenty-third of June*—highly gratified with the never-failing hospitality he had received at his hands—and looking forward with hope to some propitious moment in the campaign now about to open, when the Hussars who at Lebanon had so long been happy guests, might win laurels that would allure the blessing of the venerable patriot of the "Charter Oak State"—a moment which in due time arrived, when, with Sheldon's Regiment of Connecticut Dragoons—at the siege and surrender of Yorktown—Lauzun triumphantly restrained the enemy, and guarded the important passes around Gloucester Point.†

The provident courtesy with which Trumbull treated—not only Lauzun and his Legion at Lebanon—but the officers of the French Army generally, wherever he was thrown into their society, or called upon to supply their wants—and his intelligence, and patriotism—left an indelible impression on their minds. They carried his name and his fame back with them when they returned to Europe, and did not forget long to sound his praises. A remarkable instance of this is related by his son Colonel John Trumbull—who, late as 1794, during the French Revolution, when at Mulhausen on the

* "June 23d. Duke de Lauzun marched early—went to Pine Swamp—near Col. Champion's."—*Trumbull's Diary.*

† The career of this distinguished nobleman, after he returned to Europe, was stormy. He quarreled with the French Court—became a partisan of the Duke of Orleans—was accused of favoring the Vendeans, and for this reason was condemned and executed on the last day of the year 1793. Two brothers in his corps of Hussars at Lebanon, the Dillons, one a major, the other a captain, and both distinguished for their fine personal appearance, suffered death afterwards, it is said, by the guillotine.

Rhine, found this village, near sunset, full of French troops, and the yard and entrance of its inn crowded with French officers. Fearing that he should be obliged to pass the night in his carriage, outside the walls, he appealed to the innkeeper for a bed, and thus describes the result:—

"'I am afraid that will be impossible,' replied the innkeeper. 'Hostilities are about to be renewed; the head quarters of the commanding general are established at my house, and it is entirely occupied by him and his suite; but come with me, and I will do as well as I can.' I followed through a crowd of young officers, and at the door met the old general coming out. The veteran looked at me keenly, and asked bluntly—'who are you—an Englishman?'—'No, general, I am an American, of the United States.'—'Ah! do you know Connecticut?'—'Yes, Sir, it is my native State.'—'You know then the *good governor Trumbull?*'—'Yes, general, he is my father.'—'Oh, *Mon Dieu, Que je suis charmée;* I am delighted to see a son of Governor Trumbull; *entrez, entrez;* you shall have supper, bed, everything in the house.' I soon learned that the old man had been in America, an officer in the legion of the Duke de Lauzun, who had been quartered in my native village, during the winter which I passed in the prison in London, and had heard me much spoken of there. Of course, I found myself in excellent quarters. The old general kept me up almost all night, inquiring of everybody, and everything in America, especially of the people in Lebanon, and above all the family of Huntington, with whom he had been quartered."

CHAPTER XLV.

1781.

TRUMBULL spends several days, with his Council, at Danbury. Hints from his Diary of his journey and occupation there. At Hartford he hears of Arnold's memorable attack on New London. This attack. He sends for careful statements of all its material circumstances. His letter communicating the event to Gen. Washington. He at once restores the defences of New London—sends thither an additional force—writes for a part of the French fleet to be stationed there for the winter—and communicates with Gov. Greene of Rhode Island, and with Washington again, for the purpose of putting Connecticut, and the Northern States generally, in a reliable posture of defence.

THE main American and French armies—now in July of the year on which we dwell—have effected their combination, and lie stretched along the North River. For the purpose at this time of being near the Grand Encampment, at the eventful opening of a campaign which was destined to be the most decisive of the American War—and for the purpose also, particularly, of consulting more conveniently with the officers of the American Line in regard to their own and the comforts of their troops—Trumbull in August determined to spend several days with his Council at Danbury. Previous to his departure, however, for this quarter, he collected at Hartford quite a sum of hard money for the soldiers. He took fresh measures to expedite its farther collection, and the collection generally of State taxes. He wrote also to Dr. Franklin at Paris, to his own son, and other correspondents at Amsterdam, urging again the supply of means from abroad. Having done this, he started, attended by his body-guard, and by several members of his family, for the western frontier.

Of his journey, of a dangerous exposure by the way, and of his occupations at Danbury, he gives us some hints in the following passages in his Diary:—

"Thursday, 9th. Set out for Danbury—Mrs. Trumbull and Faith

with me. Step^{n} Brown to wait on us—Capt. Norton, with Wild, two Olmsteads, and Goodwin, Guards. Lodged at Esqr Hopkins at Waterbury.

"Friday 10th. Way bad. Dined at Col^{l} Mosely's, Southbury. Thence P. M. to Col^{l} Chandlers—tarried there. The Guards at Baldwins.

"Saturday, 11th. Came to Danbury. Lodgings provided for me at Rev. Dr. Rodgers'. Daugh^{r} and Grand Daugh^{r} lodge at Deac^{n} Knaps—Mrs. Ann Dibble there. Went to Col^{l} Cooks. Observed the ruins occasioned by Tryon's incursion there. At Newtown one said *he would kill me as quick as he would a Rattle Snake.*

"Dies Dom., 12th. Rev. Dr. Rodgers, Gal. 4: 4 & 5. Near Even^{g} Col^{l} Sheldon, Col^{l} Trumbull, Capt. Watson, came from Head Quarters. Began to rain at even^{g}, and continued a heavy rain in the night.

"Monday, 13th. Above Gentle^{n} visit at the Doctors. Dined at Deac^{n} Knaps. Col^{l} Davenport came in.

"Tuesday, 14th. Fair—cool—Guards set at night.

"Wednesday, Aug. 15th. Fair pleasant weather. Col^{l} Chandler, Mr. Strong came in—no council.

"Thursday, 16th. No Council. Col^{s} dined at Dr. Rodgers'.

"Friday, 17th. Capt. Hillhouse came—P. M. Council—orders given, for Gov^{s} Guards &c. Capt. Cook came in.

"Saturday, 18th. A. M. Council. Col^{l} Trumbull returned. Mr. Cook went with Orders, to officers of Gov^{s} Guards, Hartford.

"Dies Dom, 19th. Dr. Rodgers. Ephe. 5: 1, 2, 3. On duties of Parents to Children, and of Children to Parents. P. M., eodem textu—subject continued—reproof to Sunday whispering. In the evening much rain—Countersign, Hartford.

"Monday, 20th. Mrs. Trumbull and daughter set out for Fairfield—Brown accompanied them—to go to Hartford. No quorum. Col^{l} Cook, Col^{l} Chandler, and Capt. Hillhouse, present. Judges of the Superior Court did not come in till the Evening. Countersign, Cambridge.

"Tuesday, 21st. Fair, pleasant. Judges of the Superior Court came into Danbury—held a Council.

"Wednesday, 22nd. Held Council. Mr. Hopkins came to us—Col^{l} St. John, Col^{l} Fitch, Capt. Job Bartram.

"Thursday, 23rd. Morning concluded to return. P. M. 3 o'clock, left Dr. Rodgers'—came to Col^{l} Mosely's at Southbury. Gave Mrs. Rodgers a dollar to give the servant.

"Friday, 24th. Dined at Esqr Hopkins—came to Farmington—lodged at Capt. Cowles. Called on Mr. Robinson on my Return.

"Saturday, 25th. Set out at 8 o'clo.—came into Hartford at 10 o'clock from Farmington. L^{t} Bull of Gov^{s} Guards and Brown came with me. Capt. Jonth Bull met us on the way.—Capt. Norton escorted me out and back.

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"Thursday, 6th. Council intent on defence of N. Lon^{n} & Sea Coasts—orders given &c.

"Friday, 7th. At sunrise Mr. Gay came express from Col[l] Williams—That N. London attacked by 2000 men, 3 ships, and in the whole 30 sail. Mr. Mumford left us. M. Gen. Spencer sent. Orders given for one Troop—Capt. Selah Norton &c., & Col[l] Chapman & Terry to send 2 Co's each &c. Lodged at Wethersfield. No farther intelligence.

"Saturday, 8th. Came from Wethersfield. Col[l] Rodgers' letter received—the enemy withdrawn. At attack of Fort Griswold, 73 killed—Col[l] Ledyard murdered, and other Officers—20 or 30 wounded—The infamous Arnold commanded. N. Lond[n] burnt, and on Groton the buildings by the water. Letters from Gen. Spencer. A letter wrote to Mr. Mumford—and Gen. Spencer. A letter from B. Gen. Ward—in the Even[g] from M. Gen. Heath—point from N. York. The French Fleet at Chesapeake."

Here then—in the passages last given from his Diary—we strike the first intelligence which Trumbull received of the memorable attack on New London in 1781, and the first movements which, in consequence, he made. He was in Hartford at the time—only a few days returned from his trip to Danbury. But to make sure that the news should reach him, the Commander at New London, early in the morning of the fatal sixth of September, sent expresses also to Lebanon*—and again in the evening of the same day the Governor received the news from Colchester. "This minute"—wrote Levi Wells to him, from this last-mentioned town—at just "six o'clock, P. M."—"I am informed that the Enemy, with five hundred Lighthorse, are two and a half miles this side of New London, and that the Town is in flames—which *is plain to be seen here by Large Quantities of Smoke.* The cause of our Country calls aloud for all Possible Exertions to oppose the Enemy!"

Startling news indeed—and from a quarter which proved to be, alas, an aceldama—one of the most horrible of the American Revolution! New London—in whose harbor the navies of the world might securely ride—that from the outbreak of the war, more than any other port in the Union, had been menaced with destruction—and which more con-

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* The Governor's son-in-law, upon the receipt of the intelligence—Wm. Williams—"rode from Lebanon to New London in three hours, (twenty-three miles,) on horseback," says Miss Caulkins. "The enemy were just preparing to embark when he arrived."

stantly than any other had strained the anxiety, and tasked the care of the Governor of Connecticut—now met the fate so long dreaded by its inhabitants, and by the country at large.

It was in the very gray of the morning that the apostate Arnold, from his lurking-place on the Long Island shore—with an armament of thirty-two sail and seventeen hundred troops—appeared off the mouth of the harbor, prepared for his work of blood and fire. His debarkation in two divisions, one upon the New London, and one on the Groton side—the advance of each upon a people wholly unprepared for so formidable an invasion, yet in little groups, half-armed, from behind fences and small redoubts, resisting as best they could—the flight of inhabitants, of women and children roused suddenly from their beds, and rushing, with such valuables as they could snatch up, affrighted to the woods—the imperilled escape of shipping up the Thames—the torch first lighted at the printing office and mill of the town—applied next to the Plumb House, and to every species of combustible property on Winthrop's Neck—and then, on Main Street, Water Street, Bank Street, and the Parade, to shops, stores, warehouses, and dwellings, to the Court House and jail, to the Episcopal Church, to the Custom House, and to piles of lumber, wharves, vessels, boats, and rigging—these transactions are but too painfully familiar to the reader of History. They made the noblest harbor of the Atlantic coast, and the whole surrounding country, lurid with conflagration. One hundred and forty-three buildings were consumed. Half a million of dollars' worth of property was destroyed. New London, in large part, was left a desolation.

And so too at the same time, on the opposite shore, Groton was left—but in desolation of far more fearful aspect than that which its neighbor wore—for human life here was the chief sacrifice. Who, in this connection, does not at once recall the furious advance of Major Montgomery upon that immortal band of one hundred and fifty farmers and artisans, who, sending to the British summons the reply that they would not surrender, let the consequences be what they might, defended Fort Griswold? Who does not recall that

final overpowering of the garrison, when the enemy, swinging their caps, and yelling like madmen, rushed within the fort—that ceaseless bayoneting of the defenceless bodies of the brave American yeomen, as they retreated for shelter to the magazine and barrack-rooms, or crept beneath the parapets, or attempted to leap the walls—that ferocious, dastard plunging of the surrendered sword through the body of the heroic, fallen Ledyard—that murderous rolling of the wounded in an ammunition wagon which was sent headlong to dash upon a tree at the brink of the river—and that plundering and burning of Groton which then ensued, while a ship on fire, floating over from the New London side, bridged the two towns with a mass of flame! Who does not recall that rush of citizens now from the surrounding country to the scene of danger, armed with whatever they could seize, "from a club and pitchfork to a musket and spontoon"—that hurried embarkation then, at sunset, of the foe, while blood, the blood of those they had foully slain, aided to quench that train, which, for the purpose of signalizing their departure by a grand explosion, they had lighted to the magazine of the fort—and then at last, that wailing, torch-light march, by widows and orphans, within the garrison, for the dead of their families—who does not recall all these terrible features of the GROTON MASSACRE!

Immediately on hearing of the event Governor Trumbull sent to New London for a careful, duly authenticated statement of all its material circumstances, in order that he might adopt measures suited in every respect to the emergency.*

While thus taking measures to procure full and accurate information of the attack, Trumbull hastened to communi-

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* "Having," he wrote, September eighth, to Thomas Mumford, who was on the spot—"having this morning received by express from Col. Rogers a general narrative of the proceedings of the enemy in their late wanton and barbarous attack upon N. London and Groton, and of the unhappy fate of that gallant officer Col. Ledyard, and other brave men who fell a sacrifice to more than savage cruelty after their surrender to a superior force, as you are upon the ground where the tragical scene happened, I desire you will carefully collect and state those transactions and all material circumstances, more especially respecting the treatment of Col. Ledyard and of the unfortunate garrison, and procure the same to be properly authenticated, and forwarded to me for such improvement as may hereafter be thought proper."

cate what he had already received to General Washington at Head Quarters—as the following letter, bearing date at Hartford, September fifteenth, shows:—

"Your letter of the 21st ultimo," he proceeds—"arrived on the 5th instant, whereupon my Council being convened, amidst various accounts of the movements and designs of the enemy in New York, and some apprehensions of their hostile attack upon or invasion of this State, every exertion was made and making for its defence, by ordering the militia to be reviewed, and detachments to be sent to the sea-coasts, and valuable effects there deposited to be removed to interior parts, &c.

"But unfortunately before these preparations could be completed, namely, on the 6th instant, a party under the command of the infamous Arnold, made wanton destruction both of lives and property in New London and Groton near the harbour. Though many material circumstances, relative to the tragical scene, are not yet obtainable with such a degree of precision and certainty as might be wished, yet, according to the best intelligence I have been able to collect, it seems a number exceeding one and perhaps two thousand, chiefly of chosen British and foreign troops, landed in the morning on both sides of the harbour's mouth, whereof one division immediately marched up to, and soon took possession of the town and fortifications of New London, which were evacuated on their approach, as being indefensible, whilst, on the opposite shore, the fort on Groton bank, being attacked by six or eight hundred men, was nobly defended for a considerable time by about one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Ledyard, who bravely repulsed the assailants until they suffered about one-fourth part in killed and wounded. But, being overpowered by superior numbers, Colonel Ledyard, perceiving the enemy had gained possession of some part of the fort, and opened the gate, although he had only three of his men killed, thought proper to surrender himself with the garrison prisoners, and accordingly presented his sword to a British officer on the parade, who received the same, and immediately thrust it through that brave but unfortunate Commander; whereupon the soldiery also pierced his body in many places with bayonets, and proceeded to massacre upwards of seventy of the officers and garrison, till, by the interposition of a British officer, who entered the fort too late to rescue the gallant officers, &c., about forty of the defenceless survivors were made prisoners, and carried off, exclusive of about the like number who were wounded, and many of them dangerously.

"This heroic opposition on the part of the garrison, however, together with the increasing appearance of the militia, and small skirmishes between some scattering parties and advanced guards, prevented the enemy from fully executing their savage plan, and occasioned them to retreat on board in the evening with precipitation, after having knocked off the

trunnions of seven guns, and consumed by fire about seventy-one dwelling houses, sixty-five stores, twenty-two barns, a church, court-house, and jail, together with a number of vessels, lying unrigged, by the wharves. The rest of the shipping in the harbour was saved by running up Norwich River, and several valuable buildings, on each shore, preserved by quenching the flames.

"The loss of property by the conflagration was, however, very great, and ruinous to many individuals, as also a sensible damage to the public. Yet, what is more to be regretted, is the unhappy fate of that worthy officer, Colonel Ledyard, and those brave men (many of whom sustained respectable characters, and were esteemed the flower of that town,) who so gallantly fought and unfortunately fell with him, victims to British cruelty. I have given directions for procuring authenticated information of those transactions, as soon as the situation of the wounded and prisoners (some of whom are parolled,) will admit; which will be forwarded as soon as obtained.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Not a moment was lost by Trumbull in restoring to a proper state of defence that quarter of Connecticut whose devastation, in this letter to Washington, he so feelingly describes. To the three companies which he sent to New London instantly on hearing of the attack, he added five hundred men more, and reordered the militia of the neighborhood to hold themselves constantly ready to serve. He proceeded to repair the injury done to the fortifications in the harbor. He sent to General Washington, and procured seven hundred excellent French arms for use in case of any new alarm—and warmly urged that a part of the French naval force should be stationed for the winter in the port of New London—to aid in its security—to protect the adjacent coasts against armed vessels of the enemy—and to convey some supplies of fresh beef which he was then about to send to the General of Martinico, for the use of the garrisons and hospitals upon that island.

"While the spirits of the people are agitated and exasperated," he wrote to Mumford at this time—"will not the Commanders of the three brigantines, and other vessels in port at New London, attempt enterprises against the enemy?"

To Governor Greene, of Rhode Island, he wrote, urging

active cooperation in schemes for defending the Northern States, now that, by the march of General Washington to the southward, these States were peculiarly exposed to invasion by the enemy.

"As we cannot, I think, suppose that they will be idle in New York," he said, "while the General is carrying on operations of such vast importance in Virginia, your Excellency will therefore, I think, be with me in opinion that we ought not only to exert every nerve to furnish for the general defence all the regular and militia aid required, with the greatest possible dispatch, but that these Northern States ought to afford all the mutual aid to each other which shall be in their power, in case any of them are attacked. You may, Sir, in such circumstances, expect the friendly aid of this State, and I doubt not but that it will be reciprocal, if it shall be necessary—for which purpose I have conversed with my Council of Safety, and am taking the necessary measures for putting this State into a posture of defence."

"Your Excellency," he wrote to General Washington again, from Lebanon, November sixth—"has been made acquainted with the destruction lately committed upon New London and Groton, by a considerable force of the enemy under the infamous traitor, whose name and memory should rot. A force much more considerable has been kept there since. They have done much to repair the injury done to the fortifications; and particularly that on Groton side, which entirely commands the town and harbour, is already in much better condition than before, and the work is still going on. And, as I take it for granted that part of the naval force of his most Christian Majesty will remain on the station during the winter, I would take leave to offer to the consideration of your Excellency, that they may be stationed at the port of New London, which I conceive would be attended with advantages superior, with respect to themselves and the country, to any place they could choose. The harbour is very sufficient to contain any number and size of ships; is peculiarly safe from the injuries of winds or storms. Its immediate connection with the main renders it accessible by the militia in case of need; and, adjoining to a country, through the favor of Providence, at present abounding with every kind of provision they can want, will render their supplies much more easy and safe than at the Island where they last wintered, and where they received great part of their supplies by water from New London, exposed to loss and capture, and which actually did, and must always, happen in some instances.

"I have very lately received a pressing request from his Excellency, the General of Martinico, for large supplies of fresh beef from this State, for the use of the garrisons and hospitals there. I purpose to permit and encourage private adventurers to furnish it, which must be shipped from that port. The lying of a fleet there would greatly secure and protect

the coasts, for a considerable distance, against the armed vessels of the enemy, who will doubtless get knowledge of the design, and be engaged to intercept vessels with such cargoes. And, for their more effectual protection, I must also request a convoy of a frigate, armed sloop, or something adequate for any number of vessels which may be ready to sail, and ask your Excellency's direction in that respect also; and on the assurance of which, I doubt not, a full and speedy supply might and would be afforded; and without it I fear it will fall short.

"Permit me to add, in favor of the town which has so severely suffered, that a fleet stationed there would also afford relief and help to many of the distressed inhabitants, who have lost their all; and would be a protection to as much property, taken from the enemy, as perhaps is brought into any port standing in need of such protection.

"On the whole I submit these, and other reasons which will readily occur to your Excellency's wisdom and candor."

Washington, in response to this letter,* assured Trumbull that he should be happy to promote his scheme of stationing some of the allied ships at New London, if circumstances would have permitted—but that Admiral De Grasse had taken almost all his vessels of war with him, and "except a frigate or two left in York River, for the security and aid of the French troops," not a ship of force was left upon the American station. The provident plan of Trumbull, therefore, for the protection of the New England coast, could not be carried into effect.

* From Philadelphia, November 28.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1781.

Forays upon Connecticut. Hostile ships in the Sound. Trumbull's continued vigilance. An attack upon tories at Lloyd's Neck—and upon other points of Long Island. Loss of the frigate Trumbull—and of the Confederacy. Another crisis of want among the troops on the North River—and relief afforded by Trumbull. He hears of the triumph at Yorktown. The joy it gives him. His letter to Washington on the victory. Extract from Washington's reply. Trumbull, however, still continues his preparations for another campaign. He proclaims a Thanksgiving.

On the last day of August the enemy made a marauding expedition to Newhaven, West Side—and carried off sixteen prisoners, besides a number of cattle and horses. In July, a gang of refugees came over from Lloyd's Neck in seven boats, and surprised and captured, at Darien, the Reverend Moses Mather, together with forty of his congregation, while they were in the very act of worshiping within the Meeting House.* But save these attacks, and the memorable one

* "They took also about forty horses belonging to the congregation," says Barber—"mounted them, and marched their prisoners to the shore, and thence conveyed them to Lloyd's Neck on Long Island. From this place they were soon after conveyed to New York, and confined in prison. Some of them never returned; these probably perished in prison; others were parolled, and some returned after having suffered severely by the small pox." In prison they were treated most severely. Dr. Mather, particularly, was insulted almost daily by the Provost Marshal, that execrated Cunningham, who "took a particular satisfaction in announcing to him, from time to time, that on that day, the morrow, or some other period at a little distance, he was to be executed." The mother of Washington Irving is said to have kindly ministered to his wants while he was in prison. "Full forty of us were confined"—writes Peter St. John, one of the prisoners, who has given us a poetic version of the affair:—

"So cruelly they were inclined,
In a small room, six days complete,
With very little food to eat,
Full eighteen days, or something more,
We fairly were exchanged, before
Of the exchange they let us know,
Or from that place of bondage go,
That of the number twenty-five
But just nineteen were left alive,
Four days before December's gone,
In seventeen hundred eighty-one."

on New London already described, Connecticut remained quite free from hostile ravages during the present year. Trumbull, however, kept up carefully its defence. Besides strengthening the New London quarter, after the assault there, he also again strengthened the western frontier—sending General Parsons there to take command, with directions to call out the militia of the second, fourth, and fifth brigades, or such part thereof as he should judge necessary, and employ them both to repel invasion, and for enterprises against the enemy either by sea or land.

Though, in the first part of the year, the British squadron, which was employed in blockading the French fleet at Newport, lay near Connecticut—one ship of ninety guns, four of seventy-four, three of sixty-four, one of fifty, and two or three frigates, anchored along in a formidable line between Gardiner's Island and Plum Island—yet this squadron ventured upon no enterprises against the Connecticut Main. Trumbull, in February, had the satisfaction of hearing that one of the ships composing it—the Culloden, a seventy-four—was driven by a violent storm on a reef near Gardiner's Island, and lost—and at the same time that another seventy-four—the Bedford—her masts having been carried away, and her whole upper tier of guns thrown overboard—floated almost a wreck off New London.

He was not the man, of course, to have mourned had the whole armament been swamped. As usual, however, he kept close watch upon its movements—and the armed vessels of the State, by his orders, continued busy cruising—busy in checking illegal trade, and all unlawful correspondence with the enemy. As usual, he commissioned privateers, and some whaleboats*—and had the pleasure, during the year,

* "1781. Jan'y 25th. A whaleboat Commission, &c., dd' Capt. Joshua Griffiths.

"Feb. 26th. Commissions granted for schooner Weasel, and Capt. Hale's Whale Boats, to cruise agst the Enemy and Illicit trade, under direction of Capt. Wm. Ledyard.

"March 24th. Granted liberty of Commission for Whale Boat to Abner Ely.

"April 4th. Common Commission for Whale Boat—given John Waterman—sent by Mr. Torrey—p'd £3.

"May 10th. Gave commission to Capt. Elisha Hart—sloop Restoration—10 guns."—*Trumbull's Diary.*

of finding quite a number of valuable prizes brought into New London—particularly, among others, about September, two large victualing ships, taken by the Young Cromwell—and the Hannah, an exceedingly rich merchant ship from London bound to New York, which was captured a little south of Long Island by Captain Dudley Saltonstall of the Minerva privateer. It was the loss of this ship, which, "more than any other single circumstance exasperating the British, is thought to have led to the expedition against New London."

In June, the Governor planned an attack upon the tories on Lloyd's Neck—a scheme which, in April, Major Tallmadge, of Connecticut, had contemplated, but had not been able to accomplish. For this purpose he wrote, by the Duke de Lauzun, to Count de Barras, the Admiral of the French fleet, soliciting the use of some armed frigates—which, aided by a force from Connecticut, were to make the attack.* The frigates were sent, together with two hundred and fifty land troops. They were joined by several boats from Fairfield with American volunteers and pilots—and the attack was made—but, from ignorance, on the part of those engaged, of the true point to be assailed, and the want of cannon, it was unsuccessful. Fort Franklin, which was supposed to be without any heavy guns, in fact had them, and with its grape shot from two twelve pounders, compelled the French to retire.

A descent also on Long Island, in May, by several whaleboats from Horseneck, was likewise unsuccessful. It was intercepted by the British, and thirty-nine of the party were made prisoners. So, unsuccessful also, was another descent upon the same island, in September, by Captain Hart of the sloop Restoration. Driven on shore on a point of land near Hempstead by a hostile frigate, and there attacked by five companies of soldiers, he was compelled to come to terms, after a brave defence, and return home parolled. To the losses now stated, is to be added, this year, that also of the beautiful frigate named after the Governor himself, whose

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* "June 6th. Wednesday, 12 o'clock, Duke de Lauzun at my lodgings [at Hartford.] Wrote by him to La Compte de Barras de sends a frigate to Lloyd's Neck."—*Trumbull's Diary.*

construction, at Chatham on the Connecticut River, it will be remembered, he had with peculiar interest superintended. The Trumbull—after having been placed by Congress under the direction of the United States Superintendent of Finance—Mr. Morris—for such service as he might judge necessary—August eleventh was "carried into New York by one of the King's ships"—on the very same day that three thousand of the King's mercenary German troops arrived in that city.*

But the disappointments upon Long Island were more than compensated by numerous successful descents upon that quarter. There was one in November, for example, by Lieutenant Hull, who boarded nine vessels which lay in Musquito Cove, near Hempstead, and made prisoners of sixteen men. There was another in December, when some Connecticut whaleboats seized some valuable craft in Oyster Bay, and running a vessel of the enemy on shore at Oak Neck, set her on fire. There were many made at different times by Captain John Fitch, who, in June, was specially commissioned by the Governor to go over to Long Island, and "break up the barbarous tory nests there."

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* Off the capes of the Delaware—"in the midst of rain and squalls, in a tempestuous night, with most of the forward hamper of the ship over her bows, or lying in the forecastle, with one of the arms of the foretopsail yard run through her foresail, and the other jammed on deck, and with a disorganized crew," her commander, Capt. Nicholson, was compelled to strike to two British cruisers of superior force—the Iris, and the General Monk. In this action, remarks Cooper in his Naval History—"none but a man of the highest notions of military honor would have thought resistance necessary. To say nothing of the ship, the Iris [Hancock,] was one of the largest ships built by the Americans in the Revolution, and the Trumbull was one of the smallest. The Monk was a heavy sloop-of-war for that day." The Iris, when known as the United States ship Hancock, had been captured by Sir George Collier in the Rainbow of forty-four guns. In the end she fell into the hands of the French in the West Indies. The Monk, formerly the American privateer *General Washington*, having fallen into the power of General Arbuthnot, had been taken into the King's service. It is a pleasing fact that the Monk was recaptured, and restored to the American Marine. Capt. Barney, in a brilliant action at the mouth of the Delaware, retook her.

Trumbull had also to regret, in 1781, the loss of another ship belonging to the Continental Marine. It was the *Confederacy*, whose construction at Norwich, Conn., he had himself overlooked. While on her return from Cape Francois, in June, with clothing, and other supplies on board, and a convoy in charge, she was compelled to strike to a superior force of the enemy, consisting of a large ship and frigate.

The interval from the attack of New London down nearly to the close of October, was passed by Trumbull in sessions with his Council, or with the General Assembly—and, so far as the war is concerned, in providing supplies for the army. One more crisis of want occurred about this time, which, as usual, called for his special exertions, and was promptly met. It was upon the North River. They had not cattle enough there, General Heath wrote him, to serve the troops more than two days—and one of the large contractors for that quarter—Mr. Phelps—on account of an alarm at the Northward, was unable to furnish the troops on the Hudson with his customary number. "Upon a punctual supply of beef cattle," urged Governor Trumbull immediately in a Message to the Legislature—"not only the army on the North River, but that under the immediate command of General Washington, to whom General Heath forwards one hundred head per week, depends." The four pence tax for providing live cattle, he informed them, was now nearly exhausted, and it would be necessary to provide them on a two and sixpenny tax which had been laid for furnishing barrelled beef. The matter should be taken into consideration, he said, "soon as possible." The cattle should be "most punctually sent on." And so they were, under the stimulus thus given to effort.

On the very day on which this Message was sent to the General Assembly—in a coincidence that is somewhat remarkable—in a contrast between past and present army support, and that which would be required in the future, which was most heart-cheering—on this day—October nineteenth—Lord Cornwallis—his works in every quarter sunken under the fire of the besiegers—the guns of his batteries, nearly every one, silenced—his shells expended—the second parallel of the assailants about to open again, from an immense artillery, a resistless weight of fire—in this situation—his catastrophe inevitable—Cornwallis "submitted to a necessity no longer to be avoided, and surrendered the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, with the garrisons which had defended them, and the shipping in the harbor with their seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France."

"Friday, October 26th," entered Trumbull in his Diary, commemorating his first reception of the news—"about 7 o'clo. in the even^{g} rec^{d} the hand Bill from D. Govr Bower, of the surrender of L^{d} Cornwallis & his Army—9000 men, seamen included—quantity of Warlike Stores—one 40 gun ship—1 frigate—about 100 Transports. Praised be the Lord of Hosts!

"Saturday, 27th," he adds—"sent Torrey* to Hartford with the news.

"Monday, 29th," he continues—"the surrender of L^{d} Cornwallis 17th or 18th instant confirmed.

"Wednesday, 31st," he concludes—"night follow^{g} came Letters with the Articles of Capitulation with L^{d} Cornwallis."

With what unbounded satisfaction—with what patriotic exultation—must Trumbull have received this glorious news! "Praised be the Lord of Hosts"—he exclaimed, in a thanksgiving to God that was doubtless spontaneous, exuberant, and profound.

His son, Colonel Jonathan—who was then at Yorktown, as private Secretary to General Washington†—wrote him at once confirming the accounts, and describing fully the concluding scenes of this eventful siege. He told him, particularly, of the completion, with indefatigable toil—in the face of a tremendous fire from the beleaguered garrison—through embrasures which the enemy constantly opened out—of the famous Second Parallel. He told him of that impetuous, irresistible rush of parties under Baron Viomenil and Colonel Hamilton, upon the two British redoubts which flanked this parallel—of the noble refusal by Hamilton upon the occasion—under all the deeply-seated irritation engendered by the then recent carnage at Fort Griswold in Connecticut—to retaliate this example of barbarity, and, as had been sug-

* Torrey was a farmer and a taverner in Lebanon, and lived at a place called Liberty Hill, in the northern part of the town—on the road from Lebanon to Hartford.

† He was appointed by Washington, April 16th, 1781, as the successor to Col. Hamilton. "The circle of my acquaintance," says Washington, writing him on the subject—"does not furnish a character that would be more pleasing to me as a successor to him than yourself. I make you the first offer, therefore, of the vacant office, and should be happy in your acceptance of it. The pay is one hundred dollars a month; the rations those of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, which in fact are additional, as the value thereof is received in money. No perquisites appertain to the office. The secretary lives as I do, is at little expense while he is in my family, or when absent on my business, and is in the highest confidence and estimation from the nature of his office."

gested, put every man in the redoubt which he had won, to the sword. He told him of the repulse of Abercrombie in his brave, yet forlorn sortie upon two American batteries—and of the attempt of Cornwallis to retreat by the Gloucester shore, which Lauzun and Sheldon guarded against, and which the wind and the rain stormed upon in fury, and thwarted. He delineated the preparation then which was made to open, within three hundred yards of the British foe, the whole terrific fire of a line of batteries that must inevitably, if employed, have within but a few hours, leveled Yorktown with the dust. He described that parley then which the British Commander was compelled to beat—his proposition next for a cessation of hostilities—his terms for capitulation—their modification by Washington to suit the patriot triumph—the surrender—that marching out at last by the enemy from their once stronghold, with their colors cased—and that grounding of their arms, while General Lincoln received the sword of their commander, upon the field in front of their own outworks, and near the quarters of those French and American regiments of artillery that had battered those outworks down. All these stirring facts of the closing contest of the American Revolution, his son described to the Governor of Connecticut—as did also his son-in-law General Huntington and others—with graphic particularity, from the very spot in which they transpired.

"The very interesting and important news of the surrender of General Lord Cornwallis," wrote Trumbull then from Lebanon, November sixth, to the Commander-in-chief of the American Armies—and he expressed similar sentiments in a letter also to Rochambeau—"with the British army, shipping, &c., &c., under his command, reached me on the 26th ultimo by a vessel from the Chesapeake to Rhode Island; and the full confirmation a few days since by a letter from my son. My warmest and most sincere congratulations await your Excellency on an event so honorable and glorious to yourself, so interesting and happy to the United States;—an event, which cannot fail to strengthen the impressions of the European powers in favor of the great and good cause, in which you have so long and so successfully contended, and go far to convince the haughty King of Great Britain, that it is in vain to persevere in his cruel and infamous purpose of enslaving a people, who can boast of Generals and armies that neither fear to meet his veterans in the high places of the field, or pursue them to their strongholds of security, and for whose

help the arm of the Almighty has been made bare, and his salvation rendered gloriously conspicuous;—an event, which will hasten the wished-for happy period, when your Excellency may retire to and securely possess the sweets of domestic felicity and glorious rest from the toils of war, surrounded by the universal applauses of a free, grateful, and happy people.

"The very important assistance and powerful cooperation afforded by the fleet and army of our illustrious ally, the King of France, demand the most grateful acknowledgments. The gallant and intrepid conduct of the Commander and Officers of both has acquired them great glory, and entitles them and their army to the warmest thanks of America."

"I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 6th instant," wrote Washington to Trumbull in reply, November twenty-eighth—"and to thank your Excellency with great sincerity for the very cordial and affectionate congratulations, which you are pleased to express on our late success in Virginia. I most earnestly hope that this event may be productive of the happy consequences you mention."

And the Commander-in-chief proceeded to express the conviction, that its good effects could not fail to be very extensive, unless, under a hope that the contest was now really brought to a close, "a spirit of remissness should seize the minds of the States." This hope, he thought, might, after all, prove delusive. European negotiations—however to be brightened in favor of America by the late victory—were yet a precarious dependence. Still therefore, in his judgment, vigorous preparations were to be made for "another active, glorious, and decisive campaign." Wisdom dictated them. They would render the country "secure against any event."

So reasoned, and in conformity with such views so acted Trumbull during the last two months of the year whose termination we now closely approach. To the future possible demand for more men and stores he looked with prudent forecast. He ordered new detachments of troops for the defence of New London and Groton. He sent for some Continental companies to be stationed for the winter at Horseneck, or near, for defence in that direction—and thoughtful of those under his government who had sustained losses by the wanton incursions, in past days, of the now humbled foe, he superintended carefully the execution of estimates of damages done at New London and Groton, at Newhaven, at Fair-

field, at Norwalk, at Horseneck, and at Danbury. He caused them to be duly authenticated*—that so the sufferers, all, might be remunerated—as they in fact were—from time to time in part, as funds could be improved for the purpose—and finally in full, in 1792, by a magnificent grant from the State of *five hundred thousand acres of land* in Ohio, on the then untouched and fertile border of Lake Erie.

It must have been with a heart full of happiness, that—in conformity with a recommendation from Congress—the venerable Governor of Connecticut rounded off his labors for the year 1781 with a Proclamation for a Thanksgiving†—that Almighty God might be acknowledged and worshiped for the many signal interpositions of his Providence, the twelvemonth past, in behalf of those engaged in the important struggle for liberty—interpositions clearly perceived in his preserving and securing the union of the States—in his keeping a powerful and generous European ally firm to their side—in his causing an abundance of the fruits of the earth, to supply their armies, and give comfort to their people—and finally, and conspicuously, in his causing the counsels of the great foes of freedom to be confounded, and a British general of the first rank, with his whole army, to be captured by the Allied Forces under the direction of the American Commander-in-chief.

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* "Enclosed," he wrote to Secretary George Wyllys, Nov. 11th—"are a number of depositions relative to the behaviour and barbarities of the enemy at New-haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, with an abstract of the buildings burnt in said towns, and Sir George Collyer and General Tryon's declarations. You have in your custody estimates of the damages done in each of the said towns. I have to desire you to make out copies of such damages and of the enclosed affidavits, abstract of buildings burnt, and the declarations, and fix the public seal of the State, with your attestation, to which also I will set my hand. Wish you to have it done soon as convenient. The Committee appointed to estimate the damages at New London and Groton, and the affidavits relative to the cruelties and barbarities there, are to be made up hereafter distinct. You will please to add the estimate of the damages at Danbury and Horseneck—which you have in custody."

† On the thirteenth of December.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1782.

MILITARY events of the year. England inclined to peace. The United States, however, continue their military preparations. Trumbull in this connection again—and in connection with war debts, confiscated estates, refugees, and deserters. He superintends a new census of the State—prepares the Susquehannah Case for trial—and arranges a celebration in honor of the birth of a Dauphin of France. Prisoners, and his negotiations for their exchange. He remonstrates against the course taken by the enemy in this matter, and counsels retaliation. Naval matters and illicit trade. He is still active in Home Defence, although this year there are no material depredations. His measures for suppressing illicit trade bring upon him the slanderous charge, from a few worthless traders and tories, of being himself engaged in it. His Memorial to the General Assembly on the subject. He is thoroughly vindicated. Maritime prizes and losses this year. Not deluded by any prospects of peace, he maintains the little navy of Connecticut with unabated interest.

THE Battle of Yorktown closed in fact the American War. The period of 1782 carries with it hardly a trace of blood. A few skirmishes around Savannah—a few with British foraging parties in South Carolina—and that little, gallant fight in New Jersey between Captain Huddy and a party of British refugees, constitute the chief and almost the only armed struggles of the year. The signal success of the American troops at Yorktown satisfied Great Britain that the United States could not be subdued by force of arms. Negotiations for peace commenced. They were protracted through the year. And they terminated in a Provisional Treaty, November thirtieth.

But though hostilities, in consequence of the victory in Virginia, were suspended, preparation as usual was made by the United States for another campaign. Men and money, in the judgment of those at the head of American affairs, were still to be raised.

To all appearance at the beginning of the year, Great Britain would persist in the war. The Speech from the

Throne, in November, following the surrender of Cornwallis, breathed hostility, and the answer of both Houses of Parliament was in accord. True—soon after—the Commons resolved that the contest ought no longer to be pursued for the "impracticable purpose," they said, of reducing America to obedience by force—and yet again they resolved—in terms now more decided than before—that all who should advise, or by any means attempt its continuation, should "be considered as enemies to their king and country." But all this was short of that vital concession without which it was certain that America would fight to the last gasp. It did not yield independence—nor had the King or Shelburne a thought of yielding this.

"The point next my heart," said the former most earnestly—"and which I am determined, be the consequences what they may, never to relinquish but with my crown and with my life, is to prevent a total, unequivocal recognition of the independence of America." Make such recognition, responded Lord Shelburne, and "the sun of England's glory is set forever." Let us have peace—if peace we must have—said other leading British statesmen—but not on the footing of equality. Let us profess pacific intentions, and if we can, carry them out. And so the English Cabinet did. But were these intentions sincere? Even though they were, thought and reasoned the United States, with Washington, and as Washington expressed it at the time—"it will undoubtedly be wisdom in us to meet them with great caution and circumspection, and by all means to keep our arms firm in our hands, and, instead of relaxing one iota in our exertions, rather to spring forward with redoubled vigor, that we may take the advantages of every favorable opportunity, until our wishes are fully obtained. No nation ever yet suffered in treaty by preparing, even in the moment of negotiation, most vigorously for the field."

These were the sentiments also of Governor Trumbull. So again, for another year, he moved on in a round of war measures—raising troops, raising supplies, paying troops, quickening taxes, guarding Connecticut, and laboriously aiding to guard the Continent.

A new act for filling up the quota of Connecticut in the Continental Army, passed the General Assembly early in January, and large Committees were appointed in each County to aid in carrying it into effect. A new regiment of foot was ordered for the defence of Horseneck, and the whole western frontier of the State. The Governor was to see it raised, and to send three hundred men to Stamford. Nine thousand one hundred and ninety pounds were appropriated for the service of the several towns upon the Sound, to enable them to support coast-guards for the year. The Governor was to look to the proper distribution of this fund.* In May again, eighteen hundred and thirty-six men were to be specially raised for the Continental Army. The Governor labored to collect them. In the same month a new act was passed for regulating and conducting the whole military force of the State. It was crowded with directions, and required careful superintendence. The Governor was to see this act also executed, and accordingly he addressed every Brigadier General of the State on the matter. Let each one, he said, in his own command, enforce the new arrangements—that the militia of Connecticut "may be in readiness to act on every necessary occasion."†

To support all these military measures, fresh taxes, of course, were necessary. The United States Superintendent of Finance wrote Trumbull for money—Congress wrote for it—Washington sent repeated circulars for it. A quota from the State of eight millions of dollars for the current year was wanted. The Governor, therefore, by direction of his Council, was charged with the duty of stating the several taxes that remained unpaid—particularly those for specific articles,

* Exhausted as Connecticut had been by the war, it was more difficult for her now than formerly to support both her troops in the Continental line, and those employed for home defence. Her expenses had been, she said, "an insupportable burden." The Governor was therefore directed by the General Assembly to ask Congress for payment of ten of the companies raised for the State, and "to inforce his request with such further reasons and observations as his Excellency should think proper." The application was made, but did not avail.

† "You will hear," he added in his instructions to the generals—"and grant liberty to such officers whose circumstances may require a dismission from service, for reasons to be assigned in the orders for a new choice, in which the General will be careful not to dismiss on slight grounds."

and a three pence tax, and a twelve pence tax that had been laid for the national service—the collection of which he was to "invigorate," as the record expresses it, and the money, when collected, to transmit to the Treasury of the Nation. The gathering of these and other taxes—orders on towns for their respective quotas of provisions—the making up, in numerous private instances, the depreciation in the wages of officers and soldiers—the adjustment of old debts and of arrears of debts—and measures with regard to refugees, confiscated estates, and to the apprehension of deserters from the army—figure at this time in the Records of the Council of Safety, as the matters which chiefly and constantly occupied his attention.

"Wednesday 9 Jan^ry 1782," he wrote in his Diary—making a few succinct entries which will give the Reader some idea of his employment at three important periods of the year—"set from home with Col. Williams. At Alvords* met President Wheelock and Mr. Pomeroy—signed the recommendation of Dartmouth College. Passed the ferry—got to Mr. Caldwell's at 8 o'clock in the evening—exceedingly hard riding—much worried.

"11th. Opened the Assembly. Speech & Letters before dinner.

"12th. Attended Assembly.

"From Tuesday to Saturday had public hearings. Benjamin Payn, Esq., at meeting last Sunday, died Wednesday 23rd about 9 o'clock in the Evening. Funeral attended on Friday, 3 o'clock P. M. Rev. Mr. Perry made a very pertinent prayer in the Meeting House, when the Corpse was brought, on this Solemn and Melancholy Occasion.

"Friday, 10th. Dr. Stiles opened the Assembly by prayer.

"Tuesday, [June] 4th. Enemies fleet of 20 sail, including two Frigates, passed Fairfield—off N. Lond^n Harbour—6th joined by 4 Frigates—7th went to the Eastward—from Block Island steered S. E. This occasioned an Alarm—Tyler's & Douglass's Brigade.

"Saturday, June 15th, 1782—6 o'clock P. M. The General Assembly finished the Sessions.

"Monday, June 17th—8 o'clock A. M.—came from Hartford.

"Wednesday, 26th. Sent Mr. Wm Lisk Express from hence to Stamford, to carry Proclamations and Letters, and gave an Order to Pay Table to settle his acc^o, and draw on the Treasurer for payment.

"Saturday, July 13th. Mr. Jesse Brown went for Philadelphia. Sent by him Letter to Office of Foreign Affairs—acc^o of Losses—to Office of Finance sundry inclosures—Delegates—Secret^y Thompson, Bonds, and for Blank Commissions &c.

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* Bolton Hill.

"Oct. 9th. Came with Col. Williams to Hartford.

"10th. Assembly opened. 10th & 12th appointed Committees &c.

"Thursday 17th, and Friday 18th. Reports of Commtees de Taxes—both negatived in l. h.—approved in up. h. Mr. Law Comtee on diff.

"Friday & Saturday 19th. Col. Canfield here—finished for him.

"Friday, Oct. 25th. The Session of Assembly finished."

To the business to which reference has now been made as occupying Governor Trumbull the present year, is to be added that of superintending a new census of the State, which he was to transmit to Congress. He had also to regulate the export of surplus provisions, particularly to the Havanna. He had to prepare the Susquehannah Case for trial before a Committee of Congress, and upon this he now corresponded much both with National Delegates, with the Counsel for the State,* and with gentlemen in England. He had to adjust proceedings upon occasion of the birth of a Dauphin of France. He had still to look after the exchange of prisoners—regulate cruisers in the Sound—and prevent illicit trade.

As regards the Dauphin—that son of whom "the queen, our most dear spouse, is just now happily delivered," as Louis of France, October twenty-second, wrote to Congress—that child, as the Honorable the French Minister announced to the same Body, who "will one day be the friend and ally of the United States, and the guarantee of their freedom"—Trumbull received notice of his birth in May, from Robert R. Livingston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs at Philadelphia—with a request that the event should be duly celebrated in Connecticut as elsewhere. By direction of the General Assembly, therefore, he ordered his own Guards, and the Matross Company at Hartford, to parade on a stated day—which was accordingly done—and, at five o'clock in the afternoon, amid crowds of spectators, a rousing *feu de joie* emphasized the annunciation that a Dauphin was born—while "the good people of this State," says a record of the event, "partook in the general joy which was diffused on receiving the happy intelligence." France had not then become that whirlpool

* The Counsel for the State were Eliphalet Dyer, Wm S. Johnson, and Jesse Root—whom his Excellency duly commissioned for the purpose.

of revolution—that arena for bloody civil convulsions—which soon afterwards she did become. Generosity towards America, even though selfish, was in her disposition. She had already given us blood and treasure. By all the ties of consistency, as well as by her own mortal hate of England, she was bound, if necessary, to give more. Courtesy, if not gratitude, was her due. Well then might Trumbull—as did the Congress of America—put up the prayer that the newly-born son might, with the throne, "inherit the virtues" which had acquired to his Majesty the father "so much glory, and to his dominions so much prosperity"—and which would be "the means of cementing and strengthening the union so happily established between the two nations." The demonstration of joy which he ordered was well-timed.

As regards prisoners the present year, there were no additions to their number in Connecticut, for there were no contests to win them—but Trumbull, from time to time, happily negotiated important exchanges with the British at New York, and released many of his suffering countrymen, to his own and their great joy, from cruel confinement. The long negotiations at this period respecting captives, between British and American Commissioners, attracted his close attention, and when they failed, drew from him warm remonstrances. That the enemy should deny, as they did, that upon a general settlement of accounts for the maintenance of prisoners, in past times, any large balance was due from themselves to America—or that they should strive, as they did, in their plan of exchanging land prisoners for seamen, to provide a constant source of reinforcement to their own ranks—did not surprise or disturb the Governor of Connecticut. But he felt pained particularly, that they refused to comprehend the American captives in England within the terms of a general cartel—and that the meeting of the Commissioners, for this reason, more than for any other, should have been dissolved, and thus one of the most benevolent of purposes frustrated.

When Captain Huddy, therefore, of New Jersey—whose case attracted universal attention—was summarily hung by the enemy from a tree, he gave vent to his feelings in no

measured terms. The blood of that captive, he thought—barbarously murdered—called aloud for atonement. The sorrowful case too of other Americans, who, refused a passage home, were drearily wasting away their lives in a foreign land, demanded requital. Trumbull, consequently, wrote to Washington, and wrote to Congress, counselling retaliation—that the enemy who to all appearance would not be persuaded, might be forced into the practice of humanity. "I had the honor," wrote Washington in reply, May eighth—"to receive your Excellency's letter of the 24th of April, enclosing a copy of your letter to Congress on the subject of American prisoners confined in England, with your sentiments on the necessity of retaliation. I have the honor to concur in sentiment with your Excellency on the subject." And the Commander-in-chief proceeded to inform the Governor that Captain Huddy's case would "bring that matter to a point"—and that nothing but the surrender of the principal perpetrators of his horrid murder, would stay his own resolution of carrying the retaliatory principle into full effect.

As regards naval matters and illicit trade, the present year, Trumbull—relieved somewhat from that round of anxious duty which he had traveled in former years—had yet something to do. That hostile fleet—to which in his Diary he refers as off the Connecticut coast in June—passed by, it will have been observed, without attempting to land, or in any way annoy the Main. And so did all the British cruisers this year, though occasionally they were very alert and threatening. Connecticut, fortunately, was free from any material depredations—but yet, at all times, from her proximity to New York, was greatly exposed to them, and in consequence, as has been suggested, was compelled to maintain carefully her coast defence. The system too of predatory descents from Long Island was less active the present than in any year before during the war, and by October—on the evacuation at this time by the enemy of their frowning post on Lloyd's Neck—was entirely abandoned. Intercourse between the two shores in fact—soon after peace began to be seriously contemplated, and Carlton and Digby, the British Commissioners, commenced promulgating overtures for rec-

onciliation—became so pacific, as to induce many persons in Connecticut—contrary to law—to renew traffic with the British and tories upon Long Island—and consequently exacted at the hands of Governor Trumbull even more than ordinary pains to check the unlawful intercourse.

His efforts in this particular direction—interfering as they did with the private interests of gain-loving traders—brought upon him the particular aversion of this class of persons—some of whom—together with certain emissaries of the enemy who availed themselves of the public odium in which traders of this description stood—circulated against Trumbull himself the slanderous charge, that *he* too was engaged in the illicit traffic. The British foe, it was believed at the time—failing to subjugate this country by force—resorted to every species of artifice to effect their purpose, and particularly to the scheme of traducing—through secret incendiaries, tories, and apostates—those Americans whose patriotism and distinguished services have rendered their names immortal. Among these, especially, was the "Rebel Governor" of Connecticut.

"They all know him," said a writer of the day*—"to be a fast friend to the Liberties and Independence of these States. They consider him as one of the Pillars of our new Constitution. They are well acquainted with the peculiar enmity he bears the Illicit Trade—with his spirited and unremitted exertions to prevent it. Their plan has evidently been to ruin the character of so formidable an enemy, in order to promote the interest of their unjust cause. To effect this they have been attempting to convince his countrymen, that he himself is concerned and benefits by the same Illicit Trade; and with this view they have exposed large trunks and packages of goods, in New York, addressed to him in fair and legible characters—[with not the least design, however, that they should ever reach him]—and they have been frequently seen to send them publicly on board vessels bound eastward, in so much that our officers in captivity among them have been induced to believe his Excellency was actually concerned, and many were not undeceived, till they were exchanged, and came out, and enquired into the truth of the matter."†

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* In the Hartford Courant of April 2nd, 1783. He signs himself "*A Republican Whig.*"

† "If facts are as they insinuate," continues the writer quoted in the text—"why has there never a single instance been found out? Could these people prove what they affirm, instead of sneaking privately about incog., and telling it

In pursuance of the scheme unfolded by the writer now quoted—at Enfield once, in Connecticut—one day in January—a stranger from Middletown, as he represented himself to be, but whose name does not appear—while passing through the town, reported to quite a large assemblage of persons at a tavern there, that "a vessel which belonged to his Excellency the Governor, and which was employed in carrying on the illicit trade, had been lately taken coming from the enemy loaded with goods, and that she was brought into one of the ports of Connecticut for condemnation." This account, added the stranger, "may be depended on as undoubted truth"—and he passed on his way, journeying up the Connecticut River.

The story which he told, becoming at once the general topic of conversation among the people of Enfield, was listened to with amazement. The governor was soon informed of it by letter—and nothing could have startled and pained him more. It was a galling wound indeed to one to whom his own character, his good name, and his country, in truth were dearer than all the "wealth of Ormus or of Ind"—one who, far more intensely than most men, felt that

> "The purest treasure mortal times afford,
> Is—spotless reputation—that away,
> Men are but gilded loam, or painted clay."

And he felt also that the attack was not altogether aimed at himself as an individual, but was "an intended injury to the State, and indeed to all the United States through one of their confidential servants." He immediately, therefore, transmitted the letter containing the charge to the General Assembly, accompanied by the following painfully eloquent Address—and left it with this Body to take such action as it might itself choose in vindication of the honor of the Chief Magistrate of Connecticut, and of their own.

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in small circles, they would publish it on the house-top, and thunder it through the State in exultation. Only tell them that Burgoyne and Cornwallis are made prisoners, and they will hang down their heads like the bulrush. There are a set of people, whose mouths would not be stopped, should Gabriel himself descend to administer the government among us."

"To the Honorable General Assembly now sitting.

"A member of the honorable House of Representatives handed to me a letter of the 21st instant, which is herewith offered for your Observation, and opens the occasion of this address.

"Perhaps no person in the United States was earlier apprised than myself of the origin and insidious design of our enemies to set on foot, and carry on a trade and commerce with this and the other States for the manufactures and merchandise of their country, or more deeply sensible of its dangerous and pernicious effects—and I am persuaded no one has been or could be more active and vigilant to prevent the execution of that ensnaring and ruinous project; and during my administration my whole time has been devoted to and intent upon the Salvation of my Country, and the defence of its inestimable rights against the open force and more dangerous secret fraud of our restless and implacable enemy. My character and conduct in these respects, I am happy to believe, meets the approbation of all the true Friends in this State in proportion to their knowledge and acquaintance with them, and are not unknown through all these States, and in Europe. Pardon me, Gentlemen, I am far from boasting; I have not done more, but less than my duty, and it is my highest temporal wish to do much more good to my State and Country, and to see its Liberty and Independence established on a firm and immovable basis.

"But who can stand against the secret and malignant whispers of envy and falsehood, which like the pestilence walk in darkness. My Character is dearer to me than all worldly instruments, or the remains of a life so far spent and exhausted in the service of my country. For several years past, accumulated and increasing slanders, similar to the present, have been whispered and directly spread and propagated concerning me by the radical Enemies of our Country's cause, by deceived or malicious people, or all, as I must believe. Conscious innocence and integrity have enabled me calmly to bear them;—and in my circumstances I have not thought it prudent to seek a legal redress, although in some instances, I could easily have traced the Slanders to their Authors—and my neglecting to seek such redress has to my knowledge been construed as an acknowledgment of Guilt. If indeed I am guilty, or have any connections with a conduct so contrary to the Laws and interests of my Country, and which I profess from my heart to detest and abhor, is it not high time it was known, and for me to be spurned from your confidence and trust? The author of the present report may be brought to your View—the way is open for it.

"Permit me to ask, if I am and have been thus guilty, whether *your* honor, wisdom, and integrity, or all are not also affected, while by your suffrages I hold a station too important for even a suspected person to fill—whether under all the circumstances, it may not become the Honor and dignity of this Virtuous assembly to inquire into and investigate the truth or falsehood of the facts alledged, and let my guilt, if it appears,

be fully exposed? It is my wish—but is cheerfully submitted to the Wisdom and justice of the Honorable Assembly by their faithful, obedient, humble servant,

"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

"Hartford, January 29th, 1782."

The desired investigation was immediately made. A Committee was appointed for the purpose. General Silliman, Mr. Canfield, Mr. Southworth, and Colonel Talcott, from the House of Representatives, with Oliver Wolcott as Chairman from the Upper House, formed it. They found the facts with regard to the origin and circulation of the charge as already narrated, and reported that they could not discover the least reason even to suspect "that ever his Excellency the Governor gave the least countenance whatever to illicit trade with the Enemy, much less that he ever had any concern with it himself. Your Committee are of opinion," they added, "that all Reports of that kind respecting his Excellency are false, slanderous, and altogether groundless; and that they most probably originate from the Partisans and Emissaries of the Enemy that are secretly among the people, and that those kind of Reports, tho' intended to injure his Excellency's private character, are designed principally to embarrass Government, and sow the seeds of Jealousy and Distress in the minds of the People, with a View to remove out of the Way a Character so firmly opposed to every Measure that is favorable to the enemy. And tho' we have not been able to discover the author of this slanderous Report, we are inclined to believe him to be an Emissary of the Enemy."

This Report—thus triumphantly vindicating Trumbull, and placing him in the clear sunlight of innocence—was at once accepted and approved by both branches of the Legislature, and ordered to be lodged on file in the office of the Secretary of State. It was balm to his wounded heart. Not the faintest stain of an attaint longer touched him. The contemptible detraction had no effect but to rally friends enthusiastically to his defence, and to make him in the general bosom reign more loftily than ever. And he went on with his labors in the naval department, heart-whole, and with increased efficiency—commissioning whaleboats, still to check

the unlawful trade—giving to the captors of craft engaged in such trade all the booty they should take—as was at this time allowed—and continuing privateers and other armed vessels in service, to attack the enemy, and make what prizes they could.*

And he had the satisfaction of finding the naval affairs of Connecticut, at the end of the year, relatively on as good a footing as ever before. Quite a number of prizes rewarded the seamen of the State—though not so numerous or so valuable, of course, as in former years—for there was the calm, most of the time, of an expected peace—while, on the other hand, one brig from Norwich,† another small brig from New London,‡ and the privateer sloop Randolph, Captain Peck, also from New London—which was captured and carried into New York—were the only losses of much account which Connecticut suffered in her Marine during the entire period upon which we now dwell.

Trumbull, as ever before—deluded by no prospects of peace, however flattering they seemed—anxious, up to the moment until a treaty for this great object should seriously commence, to present a bold aggressive front to the foe—and win advantages, if he could, that might give a favorable color to the position of his own beloved country—maintained his little navy with unabated interest—until, in August, official assurances came that Mr. Grenville was at Paris, fully empowered by Great Britain to confer with all the parties at war, and that negotiations for a general peace had already

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* When will talkers refrain from evil speaking? "Calumny will sear virtue itself"—no greatness escapes it. It attacked Trumbull in 1783 again—in a manner somewhat similar to that described in the text, and by the General Assembly was as promptly met. One Seymour, alledged that the Governor took a bribe of one hundred guineas from one Richard Smith, a petitioner for a confiscated estate—on condition that he the Governor should give his influence and his vote in favor of the said Smith. Whereupon Seymour was arrested, by order of the Assembly, for "his false and contemptuous conduct." He at once prayed forgiveness both of the Governor and the Assembly, most sincerely—stated that he was old, infirm in memory, and that in his "cooler moments," he felt "fully convinced" that he "had not sufficient ground" for the declaration he had made. So he was pardoned.

† She was commanded by Capt. Elisha Lathrop, and when captured was carried into Bermuda.

‡ She was commanded by Capt. Latham, and was laid up by the enemy at St. Thomas.

commenced. The British commander in America—Sir Guy Carlton—confirmed the news—formally declared that he could no longer discover any object of contest between England and America—and openly disapproved of any farther hostilities either by land or sea. The curtain, therefore, fell upon the Revolutionary naval warfare of Connecticut.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1782.

NEGOTIATIONS for peace. Trumbull's views of their basis. These views shown particularly by a letter which he addressed to Silas Deane. Explanation of the circumstances under which this letter was written. Deane in Europe at the time—and has heard of nothing but disasters, severely fatal to the American cause. He therefore sends over propositions for a reconciliation with Great Britain. His letter falls into the hands of foes to America, and is materially altered from its original shape. The alterations. As changed, Trumbull receives the communication, with a request that the plan it contained should be laid before the General Assembly of Connecticut. Trumbull replies, as if to propositions from an alien enemy, in a firm, patriotic, and indignant strain. The sentiments he expresses are inwrought into all the negotiations for closing the war. The French Army marches from Virginia for Boston, to embark for the West Indies. Trumbull provides again for their passage through Connecticut. The American Army goes into winter quarters. Everything indicates a speedy end to the war. Trumbull proclaims a Thanksgiving.

THE intelligence that negotiations for a general peace had commenced, was indeed welcome to Trumbull. He had watched all the preparations for putting an end to the war, with intensest interest. No negotiations, with a tithe of his approbation, could have taken place short of those which were to recognize, as their unalterable basis, the entire freedom and independence of the United States. And of this he gave signal proof at this time, in a letter which he wrote to Silas Deane at Ghent, in the spring of the year with which we are now concerned—in reply to propositions from the latter for a reconciliation with Great Britain. It is a letter, which, under all the circumstances, is one of the most striking memorials on record of a great and patriotic man.*

Rightly to understand it, these circumstances must be explained. They will reward the Reader's attention.

At the time when Deane made his propositions—which

* The author is indebted for the letter to J. Deane Alden, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut—himself a descendant of the distinguished gentleman to whom it was addressed.

was in 1781—the aspect of American affairs, both at home and abroad, was most unpropitious. The whole State of South Carolina had been overrun by the British, and in effect conquered. Charleston, its capital city, had fallen. Three out of four hundred American troops under the brave Colonel Buford, had been hewn in pieces at the battle of the Waxhaws. General Gates, with his four thousand troops, had been overpowered near Camden by a force of but two thousand under Lord Cornwallis—and seven hundred and thirty-two Americans killed or captured in this eventful struggle—against only half that number lost by the British—told fearfully in favor of the enemy—while Tarleton's surprise and complete rout of Colonel Sumpter, which soon succeeded, served vastly to deepen the gloom which events threw over the American cause.

Nor were there any American victories at the North, at this period, of force enough to lift and counterbalance this gloom. On the other hand, Arnold's devastating expedition to Virginia—his horrible successes at New London—and the plundering and burning of many villages in New Jersey, by Knyphausen—these and other instances of British vengeance—magnified a thousand-fold by British newspapers, and British emissaries—reached the ears of Deane in his seclusion at Ghent. With them came overwrought pictures of the feebleness of the Americans, and false allegations of a prevailing disposition among them to accommodate their differences with the Mother-Country—allegations which were trumpeted far and wide, and were very widely credited.

Deane, from his residence abroad, knew well the deep discredit into which the American cause, and American credit, had fallen on the continent of Europe, and sincerely believed the majority of his countrymen no longer desired to continue the war. The opinion which he entertained at its outbreak, that England could not long maintain it, had been changed. "Six years' experience," as he wrote Trumbull—"in three of which France and Spain had been engaged with us against Great Britain—had convinced him of his mistake." He believed too, as he adds—that "independence in the three great articles of Legislation, Taxation, and Commerce, contained

all the essentials of liberty, and that the title and honors of sovereignty can by no means balance the losses and the expenses of blood and treasure unavoidable in the acquisition and support of them." He was satisfied too in his own mind that self-interest was the ruling motive both of France and Spain in their adoption of the American cause—and that by binding this cause irrevocably, as the Treaty with France was supposed to do, to this Power, we virtually became "the military slaves and vassals of France and her allies." Under all these circumstances—not having heard either of the battle of Yorktown, or of the then recent brilliant achievements, in the West Indies, of the French arms—Deane ventured to recommend to Trumbull—and through him to the General Assembly of Connecticut—a plan for reconciliation with the Motherland. Let Great Britain, he proposed, "renounce all claim or pretence to legislate for or to tax America, in any case, or in any shape whatever." Let this power to legislate and tax, "forever, and in the utmost extent of it, remain in our own hands, and we still continue united to and a part of the empire of Great Britain, under one common sovereign, and let our commerce be placed on the same equal and free regulations as the commerce of the other parts of the Empire, and under the common protection of the whole."

Unfortunately for Deane, his letter containing these propositions fell into the hands of foes to America—probably British foes—and was substantially and sadly changed from its original shape. He was made to propose—in the letter as received by Trumbull—a return on the part of America to her allegiance upon the basis of the state of things as they existed at the time of the Pacification of Paris in 1763—a basis which, however acceptable it might have been, and was to the Colonies, almost if not quite down to the day when, at Lexington, the first blood of the Revolution was shed, yet at the period when Deane wrote was utterly out of question—for it sacrificed everything for which the States, for six long and distressing years, had struggled tirelessly and gloriously.*

* Of the alteration made in his letter, Deane subsequently wrote to Governor Trumbull, and in the following terms:—

"You say that my sentiments appeared to you so very singular as to merit your

Deane did not, in fact, offer this basis for consideration at all. The enemy offered it for him. His letter, therefore, having been materially altered by inimical hands—having been made to express sentiments and opinions which he never entertained—which he disavows—which by no implication from his life can be made to appear as ever having been his own*—so far as an entire return of America to her old colonial state is concerned—is to be considered, in great part, as the letter of an alien enemy to the American cause—just as much so as the Proclamation from Howe, and the Communication from Tryon, to which we have already given Trumbull's replies. The reply we are now about to give—longer than either of the preceding—the Reader will find calm, yet firm in all its reasonings—inflexible and exalted in its expression of love for country—and determined, and even indignant in its defence of plighted faith, and plighted hopes. It is as follows:—

"HARTFORD, 16th May, 1782.

"SIR: I duly received your letter dated at Ghent the 21st of Octr last, by Capt. Trowbridge, and have paid that attention to your sentiments therein expressed, which their singularity appeared to me to merit.

"At the time when you wrote, the Decisive Event of the last campaign in this country was not known to you. You was unacquainted with the noble part which France acted on this occasion, and you could not foresee that this blow would reduce the British Parliament to confess themselves

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attention. Permit me to say that yours appeared no less singular to me, nor can I account for many of the expressions contained in your letter, but by presuming that mine must have undergone some material alterations, in the hands of those who took the liberty of opening and of copying it before they permitted it to be sent on. I am the more induced to think that this must have been the case, as several of my letters have suffered in the same manner in Philadelphia, and still the more so, as the substance of yours is in reply to positions and principles which I never either entertained or expressed in my letter to you, or in my letters to any of my correspondents, nor even in conversation with my most intimate friends. I know not indeed what Rivington may have published, but I know to my cost that he is not the only printer on the Continent who is always ready to publish everything which will serve his own, or the purposes of his party; but such have been the retirement and obscurity in which I have lived for the last twelve months, that I have seen none of his publications. I never proposed we should return to the state in which we were in 1763, but to one every way preferable."

* Deane, though in exile, and under a cloud, felt for his country still. Her interest, he wrote at this time to Trumbull—"is, and ever will be my sole and first object."

unable to prosecute a future offensive war in this country. You could not foresee that the trifling and indecisive campaigns in Europe were to be soon followed by the most important successes in other quarters of the world—that St. Eustatia, St. Martins, St. Kitts, Penobscot, Nevis, and Minorca, were destined to crown the glories of Yorktown. Great Britain is declining fast towards the evening of her glory, yet I view her decline without feeling any fears of France or Spain. It should be the first article of every man's political creed, that no Nation will ever assist another, but with a view of advancing her own interest. I am sensible how important the humiliation of their ancient enemy is to France and Spain, and I would not that any country should have received their favors, unless she could propose to them at the same time an adequate reward. I am sensible that France will ever have just demands upon our gratitude, and Heaven forbid we should ever so far forget the principles of virtue and honor as to withhold our acknowledgments. Yet France, if not too generous, is at least too politic to follow in those steps which have led her rival to ruin. She knows our rapidly increasing importance too well not to wish to cement our present friendship by a series of noble and spirited actions.

"You observe that we shall be too deeply in debt to her for monies actually borrowed, and supplies of different kinds—but shall we repay those debts with perfidy and ingratitude? Shall we basely desert her, shall we unite with her enemies, and turn against her the resources which we derive from her, in the very War which she has undertaken for our service? France has a body of troops in our country—very true—they have served us faithfully and effectually, but I extremely doubt their having any idea of augmenting their number to thirty or even twenty thousand men. The debility of our enemy does not leave her a pretext for such an augmentation, even if she wished it; and I trust we have too much wisdom to admit the proposal, were one made even in an hour of distress, to that purpose.

"As to the Treaty which guarantees our Independence, I do not suppose it will exist longer than it shall mutually appear to be the interest of the parties that it should exist; and I rely with more confidence on the good sense, the bravery, and virtue of my countrymen for the preservation of our liberties, than upon any foreign aid. It is we ourselves who are interested in their preservation, and as long as we shall possess virtue to merit, so long we shall undoubtedly enjoy the invaluable blessing. And whether Spain, Holland, or any other Power upon earth formally acknowledge the Independence of the United States of America, or not, is in my politics, a matter of indifference. They are independent in fact, and the name is a bauble.

"Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived a few days ago at New York, has made similar propositions for Peace, in the name of the King of Great Britain, with those which you pointed out as attainable.

"You have painted the consequences of a continuation of the war—

permit me to view the consequences of such a Peace. The object proposed by the Treaty subsisting between France and America, is declared to be the acknowledgment of the independence of the latter by Great Britain, and in a subsequent resolution of Congress it is declared that even this object being gained, neither Party is at liberty to conclude a separate peace, without the express consent of the other in accepting the terms now proposed by the King of Great Britain to his "revolted Colonies in North America." We must therefore break through every obligation of National Honor to dissolve this Treaty. If the offer were of Independence, the words of the Treaty might furnish us with a slender pretext for accepting it, though even then our own explanatory declaration would forbid the step. But should we basely stoop to return to the state in which we were in the year 1763, which is the proposal of the enemy, we have not even words to shelter us from the contempt of mankind—and surely nothing but madness can lead us to a breach of faith as consummately infamous as it is important.

"Yet let us suppose that America possesses fortitude sufficient to brave the insults of the world—in that moment the object of Great Britain is accomplished. The present war will soon be terminated, and she will then be at leisure to renew her oppressions in this country, without a fear of the interposition of any foreign power—there is not a nation upon the earth that would not exult in seeing a race of such perfidious, ungrateful, dastardly wretches, oppressed, harassed, extirpated. France would for once forget her national enmity to Great Britain, and rejoice heartily in the acceleration of our ruin.

"And let no one object to these ideas the generosity of the British nation. This war has given us full experience of what we are to expect from their generosity. Grant that the continuance of the war for a few years will add to our public debts and taxes; but tell me what ease we are to gain by a reunion with a People who are sinking under the pressure of their own debts—and whose necessities will join with their resentments in the resolution to load us, not only with our own, but a large share of their burdens.

"No. I will sooner consent to load myself, my constituents, my posterity, with a debt equal to the whole property of the country, than consent to a measure so detestably infamous, and I doubt not but my countrymen in general will choose with me to preserve their liberties, with the reputation and the consciousness of preserving virtue, even though poverty be the consequence.

"That there have been injudicious expenditures of the public monies, and that the same may happen again, is to be expected in this country, as it has been evidenced in every other—for we are not perfect more than all those who have gone before us; but extravagance is not the predominant vice of republics, and we shall endeavour to guard against it.

"That our public officers, at home and abroad, have in some instances deviated from their duty, and while they have been expensive, proved

also useless or unfaithful servants, cannot be denied; and yet we have seen as little of treason and corruption as times of public convulsion have commonly exhibited.

"From the information which I have of the politics of Europe, I apprehend nothing hostile at present from Russia. Letters from Petersburgh of as late date as November last, declare that "the temper of that Court is not unfriendly to America," and Holland, if not our friend, will at least not be our enemy.

"I shall lay your letter, together with the answer, before a General Assembly of this State. You will therefore regard these sentiments on the subject of Peace, not only as mine individually, but the general voice of the Representatives of the People. They will afterwards remain in my public files, as you request. I am Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JONTH TRUMBULL."

The sentiments on the subject of peace which Trumbull so warmly expresses in the letter just quoted, he had the satisfaction of seeing inwrought, indissolubly, into all the negotiations for putting an end to the war which now soon followed at Paris. In vain every attempt of Great Britain to thrust America from the position and claims which he so eloquently advances and defends. In vain her efforts to treat with the American Negotiators under the title of "Commissioners of Colonies or Plantations," instead of "Commissioners of Thirteen Independent States." Useless the labor of Sir William Jones, with his celebrated "Fragment from Polybius," to convince Dr. Franklin that the States of America, like the Colonies of Athens, should treat their Motherland—if not "as a parent whom they must obey"—yet "as an elder sister whom they could not help but love, and to whom they should give *pre-eminence of honor and equality of power.*" Vain the attempt, with the aid too both of France and Spain, to bereave our own cis-Atlantic Republic of the country west of the ridges of the Alleghany, the home for future millions of her population—or to deprive her of her fisheries, as the price of peace—or to make her pledge herself for the restoration of the confiscated estates of American refugees.

With a perseverance that knew no check—with a courage of purpose that was ready to brave another Seven-Years

War rather than make a single unworthy concession—the American Commissioners stood their ground—and Peace—a Provisional Peace, soon to be made definitive—spread light and sunshine over the closing year. The tide of British oppression was stayed by the iron barrier of American Independence—and King George the Third—forced at last to put off the trappings of pride for the winding-sheet of humiliation—was, "with all convenient speed," to withdraw his armies, his garrisons, his fleets, from every portion of that magnificent domain which he had so long, with a death-clasp, struggled to retain, and had so fearfully dyed with blood.

In anticipation of this result, the French Army, early as July, had marched from their station as a *Corps de reserve* in Virginia, to join General Washington on the banks of the Hudson. From hence, in October, after having aided awhile to watch against the British forces in New York, they proceeded on to Boston, thence to embark for the West Indies—the American Army meanwhile retiring to winter quarters at New Windsor—Charleston and the whole South being evacuated by the foe—and everything, the country through, wearing the air of military repose, and indicating a speedy end to the great War of the American Revolution.

Trumbull, therefore, with the closing months of the year, had no armed struggles longer to exact his attention, and vex his repose. It was a much more grateful duty for him at this time to hail—as he had occasion to do, during the last week of October—the returning corps of Rochambeau, as, on its way to temporary barracks at Providence, it marched again through the whole of Connecticut. By a public Proclamation then to his fellow-citizens—the injunction of which, according to the testimony of the French Commander himself, was "generously obeyed"*—he provided for "the cheap

* "The French corps passed through the whole of Connecticut. Governor *Trumbull* and his Council issued a proclamation, urging their fellow citizens not to raise a single cent the price of provisions during the passage of the French troops. The inhabitants obeyed this injunction so generously, that each mess were able to add, every evening, to the common allowances, every kind of provision at a very low price."—*Memoirs of Rochambeau.*

October twenty-ninth, the first division of the French Army arrived at Hartford—November fifth, the second. They encamped at East Hartford. Rochambeau, writing to Washington from Hartford, Oct. 30th, says: "I have resolved to

and comfortable passage" through the State of the veteran French Grenadiers, and the Chasseurs of Saintioge—again of the regiments of Bourbonnois, Soissonnais, and Royal Deux Ponts*—and to Rochambeau in person, doubtless, communicated the sense of Connecticut, then lately expressed by her General Assembly, in favor of a strict adherence on the part of the United States to all the obligations of their Treaty with France.

Grateful also the duty to Trumbull at this time—in conformity with another periodical recommendation from the American Congress—to proclaim, as he did, to the inhabitants of Connecticut another Thursday† for solemn Thanksgiving to God, because of the existing "happy and promising state of public affairs"—because of "the signal interpositions of his Providence" in behalf of the United States during the year that had passed—because of "the perfect union and good understanding" which continued to exist with our powerful allies, the French—and because of the acknowledgment of American Independence by another European Power, whose friendship and correspondence would redound, it was believed, to "the great and lasting advantage" of that new Republic, upon which the westward-turning Star of Empire now for the first time began to shed a steady, though as yet but an infant illumination.

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stay here four days longer—then to go as far as Providence by very short journeys, where I shall stay until the fleet be ready."

* Lauzun's Legion, which had been so hospitably entertained at Lebanon, had remained at Baltimore, and finally embarked from the Capes of Delaware on the twelfth of May.

† November thirtieth.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1783.

Arrival of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, and Proclamation for a Cessation of Hostilities. Trumbull receives the Proclamation from Congress. Accompanying testimony of Eliphalet Dyer to his services. Testimony also to the same point of President Stiles of Yale College, in his Anniversary Discourse before the General Assembly of Connecticut. Trumbull directs the due publishment of the Proclamation. The ceremonies at Hartford upon the occasion. Celebrations elsewhere in Connecticut. Trumbull relieved from further military preparations. He secures the arms and military stores of the State, and protects the public property generally. He attends to the liquidation of war accounts. He receives intelligence of the Ratifications of a General Peace, and of the contemplated discharge, in November, of the Army of the United States. His letter to Henry Laurens on the event of peace. He writes letters congratulatory on the event to Edmund Burke, Dr. Price, David Hartley, Richard Jackson, Baron Capellan, and others. The tone of these communications. Extract from his letter to Dr. Price Now that the war is over, he advocates solid harmony with Great Britain. A remarkable letter from his pen to the Earl of Dartmouth, in this connection—in which, particularly, he introduces and pleads the case of the Hon. John Temple.

The Provisional Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States—that welcome harbinger of repose from the storms of war which beautified the going down of the year we have just left—was followed, in January of the new year upon which we now enter, by those Preliminary Articles of Peace—concluded and signed between England, France, and Spain—without which its own vitality, as its constitution required, was to remain suspended for an unknown time.

Twelfth of March, in the morning, and Captain Barney, in the *Washington*—packet of happy name—brought this news to Philadelphia from L'Orient. Twenty-third of March, in the afternoon, and the Chevalier de Quesne, in the *Triumph*, another vessel happily baptized—a French armed corvette that had been selected by the chivalric La Fayette himself

"by way of compliment on the occasion"—brought the same news up the Delaware from Cadiz. Official confirmation soon followed. Congress at once recalled their armed cruisers from the ocean—and prepared their Proclamation for a Cessation of Hostilities, both by sea and land. And *April Nineteenth*—just eight years from the day when the green sod at Lexington drank the first blood of American martyrs to the Revolution—with the consecration of prayer*—with the outpouring from multitudes of voices, and from instruments of music, of the magnificent anthem of "*Independence*,"† and with rending huzzas—the Proclamation was announced by the Father of his Country to the American Armies on the banks of the Hudson, as "the morning-star, which promised the approach of a brighter day than had ever hitherto illuminated the western hemisphere.‡

April twentieth, and Jonathan Trumbull—in common with the Governors of all the States—received this important document, in a letter from the national Secretary of Foreign Affairs—Robert R. Livingston—with a request that he should make it known. Within a few hours of the same time, he also received it in another letter, long and admirable, from the Honorable Eliphalet Dyer, then in Congress—who specially congratulated the veteran Chief Executive of Connecticut on the grand result, and made noble mention of his past services.

"I heartily rejoice, Sir," wrote Dyer upon this occasion—"that in the laborious part you have taken in your advanced years, in the important station which Providence has assigned you—in which, with unwearied application, you have exerted your utmost abilities, with patience, hope, and perseverance, in the cause and service of your country, and in the greatest trials and darkest hours of our conflict, with a firm and unshaken reliance on Divine Providence—that God has supported and continued your valuable life at length to see the joyful day of her Deliverance.

"Rewards you will not too much expect here, except in conscious rectitude, but wait with patience for those superior, with which God will abundantly reward his faithful servants. I know your Country owe you their esteem, their respect, and their gratitude—whether they make you that remittance, or forbear the just tribute which is your due."

* By Rev. Mr. Ganno. † From Billings.
‡ See his General Orders on the occasion.

"Yours of the 3rd instant," wrote Trumbull in reply, April twenty-first, from Lebanon—"is received—and yesterday morning I received from R. R. Livingston, Esq., a letter of the 12th, inclosing a Proclamation for the cessation of hostilities, which I have this morning sent to Hartford for publication.

"This event of divine Providence is truly marvelous in our eyes, and demands our highest gratitude and praise to Almighty God. It relieves us from the distresses of war, and affords the fairest prospect of the future happiness and prosperity of the United States of America. I do most sincerely congratulate you on this great event.

"I have the peculiar satisfaction to see the cessation of hostilities, and to enjoy pleasing hopes of a good national character. May the supreme Director of all Events give wisdom and prudence to all concerned in establishing and building up this rising Nation. Union, and Harmony, Justice to creditors, and the security of Public Credit, are objects worthy the attention of all concerned in government."

"We account ourselves happy, most illustrious Sire"—said President Stiles about this time, May eighth, in the usual Anniversary Discourse before the Legislature—also congratulating his Excellency on the termination of the war, and commemorating his services—"we account ourselves happy that, by the free election and annual voice of citizens, God hath for so many years past called you up to the supreme Magistracy in this commonwealth. * *

"Endowed with a singular strength of the mental powers, with a vivid and clear perception, with a penetrating and comprehensive judgment, embellished with the acquisition of *academical*, *theological*, and *political* erudition, your Excellency became qualified for a very singular variety of usefulness in life. * *

"An early entrance into civil improvement, and fifty years' service of our country, with an uncommon activity and dispatch in business, had familiarized the whole rota of duty in every office and department, antecedent and preparatory to the great glory of your Excellency's life, the last *eight* years' administration at the head of this commonwealth: an administration which has rendered you the *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of your Country, and our *dulce decus atque tutamen.*

"We adore the God of our Fathers, the God and father of the spirits of all flesh, that he hath raised you up for such a time as this; and that he hath put into your breast a wisdom which I cannot describe without adulation—a patriotism and intrepid resolution, a noble and independent spirit, an unconquerable love of *Liberty*, *Religion*, and our *Country*, and that grace by which you have been carried through the arduous labors of an high office, with a dignity and glory never before acquired by an American Governor. Our enemies revere the names of *Trumbull* and *Washington.* In honoring the State and councils of Connecticut, you, illustrious Sire, have honored yourself to all the confederate Sister

States, to the Congress, to the Gallic Empire, to Europe, and to the world, to the present and distant ages. And should you now lay down your office, and retire from public life, we trust you may take this people to record, in the language in which that holy patriot, the pious *Samuel*, addressed *Israel*, and say unto us—*I am old, and gray-headed—and I have walked before you from my childhood unto this day. Behold here I am, witness against me before the Lord:—whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it to you again. And they said thou hast not defrauded nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught of any man's hand. And he said unto them, the Lord is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, he is witness.*"*

The Proclamation for the Cessation of Hostilities to which allusion has been made—according to one of its provisions, and as requested by Secretary Livingston—was to be made public by "all Governors and others, the Executive Powers of these United States respectively, to the end that the same might be duly observed within the respective jurisdictions." Trumbull, therefore, early in May transmitted the document to the Secretary of Connecticut, with directions to the Sheriff of Hartford County duly to publish the same, with appropriate ceremonies, in the metropolis of the State—which accordingly was done.

On a Memorable Wednesday—at ten o'clock in the morning—his own Guards, and the Artillery Company of Hartford, fully armed and equipped—in uniform rendered specially neat and glittering for the occasion—paraded in front of the Capitol—and from the summit of a high platform erected for the purpose—before a large crowd of spectators—the Secretary of State, venerable George Wyllys, the Author-

* "May you receive a reward," he concludes, "from the supreme Governor of the Universe; which will be a reward of grace. For although your Excellency might adopt the words of that illustrious governor, *Nehemiah*, and say, *think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people*, yet your ultimate hope for immortality will be founded in a more glorious merit than that achieved by mortals, in the most illustrious scenes of public usefulness. May the momentary remnant of your days be crowned with a placid tranquillity. And, when you shall have finished your work on earth, may you be received to the rewards of the just, and shine in the general assembly of the first born, through eternal ages. Amen."

ities of Hartford, and very many of the clergy, figuring among them—the Sheriff proclaimed the welcome tidings—while "every bosom," says a cotemporaneous account, "glowed with joy, and uttered their expressive plaudit in loud huzzas." The troops present then formed into platoons, and from the midst of their hollow squares poured out upon the whole surrounding region the voice of their cannon and their musketry.

"May God Almighty," pronounced the Sheriff—"ever be the guardian and protector of the just rights and liberties of the United States of America!"

"May good order and government," he pronounced again, after an interval allowed for another discharge of guns and field-pieces—"useful learning and true piety, by divine favor be maintained and flourish throughout the United States of America, until time shall be no more!"

"May the great blessing of health," he pronounced in conclusion, after another discharge from the troops—"plenty, and peace, from the Father of mercies, be the happy portion of the United States to the latest generation!"

Again guns shook the air. Huzzas were repeated. And then the whole assemblage, formed into an imposing procession, marched to the Meeting House of the town—from whence—after an appropriate Psalm and Anthem had been sung, and an Oration, adapted to the occasion, had been delivered by the Honorable Chauncey Goodrich—it filed off to participate in a bounteous dinner—which, says the Hartford Courant of the day, "was served at two o'clock, and the afternoon was spent with every demonstration of sociability, and a grateful remembrance of those who had, under the divine auspices, wrought the happy deliverance of America." An illumination of the public buildings, and of many houses in town, in the evening, and a display of fireworks, rounded off the proceedings of the day "to the perfect satisfaction of all."* Celebrations in numerous other towns and villages in

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* After the celebration at night, an accident, of some importance, occurred, which is thus narrated by the Hartford Courant:—

"At about half after eleven the same night, the town was alarmed by the discovery of fire on the top of the State House near the Lanthorn, but by the favor

Connecticut, similar in most respects to this in the metropolis, marked the general joy of the people upon the cessation of arms. The charge in the Proclamation "to forbear all acts of hostility, either by sea or land, against his Britannic Majesty or his subjects," was nowhere received with greater thankfulness, and nowhere better observed, than here in a State whose blood and whose treasure—more it is believed, in proportion to its population and its means, than those of any other State in the Union—had been drained and expended in the great American Battle for Freedom.

Trumbull, therefore, it is manifest from the state of things now described, had nothing to do, the present period, which wore the aspect of preparation for another military campaign. Possibly, as it seemed at the beginning of the year—from the extravagant demands of France and Spain—from a hope in the one Power of securing greater acquisitions in the East, and in the other of adding to her territorial strength in the West Indies, and upon the Mediterranean—or from the insincerity, perhaps, of the English Cabinet—obstacles might arise to a general peace. But the appearance of these soon vanished. The Provisional Treaty of November did not dazzle to lead astray, but proved itself a prelude to general repose—and soon—early in January even—such was the universal confidence that peace would be re-established between all the belligerent Powers, that Congress resolved it would be inexpedient to determine upon any plan, or to make any expensive preparations, for another campaign. The federal troops then in service, without any further additions from

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of heaven, and the manly exertions of the inhabitants, aided by gentlemen from a distance, to whom many thanks are due, it was finally extinguished. The next morning many public spirited gentlemen generously contributed, and by the advice of the Honorable County Court convened, directed an immediate repair of the building for the accommodation of the Honorable Assembly, soon to be convened, until their further direction may be had. Upon the strictest enquiry made of this unhappy event, it appears that great care was taken to prevent it—that more than an hour after every exhibition had ceased and all had retired, Capt. George Smith, the overseer, carefully examined every part of the house and secured the same. After all, every candid mind will admit that demonstrations of joy and gratitude upon such great occasions, are practiced and approved by all Christian people, though at the same time Providence may direct unforeseen events contrary to human expectation and the most careful attempts to avoid them."

the States, were, in their opinion, ample for all existing purposes.

So Trumbull had no more soldiers to bring into the field—no fresh guards and garrisons to establish upon the sea-coast of the State—no more of the material of war to provide. Just at the opening of the year, it is true—to guard the western frontier of Connecticut against any possible incursions from little wandering British parties from New York—it was ordered that a new blockhouse, "if expedient," should be erected on Byram River. But no occasion seems to have arisen which required its construction.

And at the beginning of the year too, trade with the enemy, still declared to be illicit, continued to call for Trumbull's circumspection. But the zeal and activity of Major Tallmadge of Connecticut—whom General Washington had placed, with the infantry of Sheldon's legion, on the southern borders of Connecticut, "for the purpose of interrupting on that side the trade with New York"—soon relieved the Governor almost entirely of responsibility in this direction—a responsibility which, so far as he was himself concerned, was still farther relieved by a Proclamation from his pen, late in April, which terminated the restraints, between Connecticut and the enemy, as regards the passing of neat cattle, and the transportation of beef and provisions of every kind.* The acts of the General Assembly, and the proceedings of the Council of Safety, down to their close in the month of October, no longer in fact breathe the notes of military preparation at all. On the other hand, they embrace transactions, which, so far as the war with England is concerned, look exclusively to the termination of that contest.

These transactions, soon as the spring opened, gave Trumbull occupation quite the reverse of that which in preceding years had monopolized his attention, and which was far more grateful. In preparation to retread the flowery paths

* "The enemy's armed vessels in the Sound were carrying on and protecting an illicit trade with the inhabitants along the coast. A privateer of this description, mounting eleven large carriage-guns and four swivels, was boarded by a party sent by Major Tallmadge in a fast sailing vessel, and after a short but sharp conflict was captured. Major Tallmadge represented the enterprise as conducted with great courage and gallantry on the part of the assailants."—*Sparks.*

of peace, he had now to take off from Connecticut the helmet, and unbend the bow of war. Through various agents, appointed either by the State, or by himself and his Council, he had to secure her remaining military stores, her arms, her ordnance, her camp equipage, her camp utensils, her clothing, her beef, pork, salt, flour, and other provisions, scattered as they lay in the hands of numerous receivers in different garrisons and towns. These he had to see stored at particular points. For the disposition of many of them at private sale, or at public vendue, he had also to provide.

Accordingly we find him—now in April preparing for the evacuation and dismantling of the posts at and about Stamford, and appointing Lieutenant Colonel Canfield, with ten or twelve men, to secure and guard the public property there "until the confirmation of peace should arrive"—now ordering the sale of broken cannon at New London—and now assigning persons to protect from embezzlement the ordnance and munitions of war at Stonington. Now, in June, we find him commissioning Ebenezer Ledyard "to take care of the Guard House at Groton," with liberty to the supervisor—strange dissimilitude of use indeed, in contrast with that which but two years before had spattered and grained its floor and walls with blood—to employ it "*for a school-house*"—and "to hire out the Barracks on the Hill" for such rents as could be obtained. In similar employment at other points—in that also, almost constantly, of settling the thousand accounts of the war, upon memorials, and otherwise—in urging national measures for paying the national debt, and for the restoration of public credit—and in quieting the popular discontent which these measures occasioned—the Governor of Connecticut spent his time until, in September, news of the Ratifications at last of a General Peace reached our land—and Congress—announcing by a formal Proclamation that this Peace would be "permanent and honorable," and that "the glorious period" had indeed arrived, when "our national sovereignty and independence were established"—gave to the Army of the United States, which had been by furlough gradually disbanding through the summer, a final and absolute discharge "from and after the third of November next!"

"That superintending Wisdom, Sir," wrote Governor Trumbull at this period from Lebanon, October fifth, to Henry Laurens—"which governs human affairs, has brought to a happy termination our arduous contest. It has brought these United States to be named among the nations of the earth, as a free, independent, and sovereign people. The same indulgent Providence has given you and me the privilege of citizenship in this newly rising empire. Suffer me to congratulate you on this great event—an event which, at the same time that it astonishes almost the world, has been accomplished even beyond our own expectations. So great a Revolution undoubtedly is the work of Heaven, and as such, claims our utmost gratitude and love to the Supreme Disposer of all events.

"The conspicuous part you, Sir, have acted in this great Drama, with the peculiar sufferings you have experienced through the course of various scenes—the imprisonment of your person—and what in your situation as a parent, is infinitely more trying, the loss of an invaluable son—have justly drawn upon you the patriotic attention of your fellow citizens, and demand their deepest veneration and acknowledgments. I offer you my thanks and condolence, Sir, with the warmth of a grateful and tender heart, which has experienced feelings not very dissimilar to yours—a heart big with gratitude and love for the glorious prospects now before us.

"May the same kind hand which has been hitherto so propitious to our country, establish her in the full enjoyment of that Peace, Independence, and National Glory, the foundations of which have been so happily and nobly laid!"

"It is with heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction," wrote the Governor to John Adams, on the same day with this letter to Laurens—"that I improve so good an opportunity as that of my son's going to London, to congratulate you on the happy return of Peace, and the glorious establishment of the Independence and Sovereignty of the United States of America. The conspicuous part which you have acted in the procurement of this great event, justly endears you to all the virtuous citizens of our rising empire, and demands the warmest acknowledgments of every American. I offer you from the bottom of my heart, Sir, my best thanks, and wish you to accept them with all that cordiality with which my sincerest gratitude dictates them.

"So great a Revolution as ours, doubtless ranks high in the scale of human events, and when we view it effected in so short a period compared with its magnitude, and consider the apparent incompetency of American power to the great undertaking, and reflect on the many, very many embarrassments and peculiarity of circumstances under which we have struggled, it must be acknowledged the work of superior Agency, and claims our utmost gratitude and love to the Supreme Disposer of all events. May the same Almighty Wisdom which has hitherto so conspicuously directed our councils, still continue its gracious superintend-

ence, that we may be led to make a happy use of the precious opportunity committed to our improvement—that the superstructure committed to our building, may be reared with the same glory and splendor in which its foundations have been laid. Some unhappy ruffles in the minds of the people, with some other disagreeable circumstances, for the present moment cast a shade on the bright aspect before us—but the same confident faith which has supported me through various trying scenes in the course of the War, still supports my mind, and gives me an unfailing hope that we shall yet surmount the present unfavorable prospects."

Sentiments congratulatory on the Peace, similar to those which he expresses to Laurens and to Adams, were addressed by Trumbull to numerous other correspondents both at home and abroad—and abroad particularly to Edmund Burke,* and Dr. Price, David Hartley, Richard Jackson, and Baron Capellan. Few of his letters, however, on this subject, are in our hands—but we have no doubt that they all breathed the same spirit of patriotic joy with those from which we have already quoted—the same calm, yet profound sense of deliverance from danger—the same grateful ascription of the American triumph to the special guiding hand of Providence—the same heartfelt yet anxious hope for the future exalted welfare of his country, and the same unfaltering reliance on the gracious interposition of the Almighty hand to mould its destinies for the best.

One trait of the Governor of Connecticut at the period now under consideration, deserves special mention here—for it was one truly noble. We refer to the fact, that, though America had every reason to indulge in the language of triumph—though, as a victor in the grand Olympic game for Independence—her glory having taken root, and unfolded itself—she would have been justified in putting on the trappings of pride—yet not an ostentatious word escaped the lips of Trumbull, or betrayed itself in his correspondence. While—more profoundly than most men did, or could—he felt the success of that cause to which he had so long and so untiringly devoted himself, and justly gloried in the realization of his past prophecies with regard to the event of the

* "I had the honor to congratulate you upon the termination of the late war in May last."—*Trumbull to Burke, Oct.* 1, 1783.

contest—yet no impassioned exultation marred the wise composure of his spirits—beaming though his country stood in the full radiance of victory. Not a feeling of gratified revenge, not one spark of malice, had a place in his bosom.

On the other hand, his was the exalted wish and effort to smother the angry passions which War had engendered—to pour the oil of peace into all the wounds of the past—and make the relations between the two long contesting countries—though no longer united under a common sovereign—amicable, intimate, and cordial. He no longer now knew

> "that Englishman alive,
> With whom his soul was any jot at odds."

And so he strove earnestly for reciprocal conciliation and harmony—labored to reconstitute, and draw now more closely than ever—on the footing of a mutual and manly independence—the bands of social, literary, and commercial intercourse.

"That superintending Providence," he wrote to Dr. Price, December first—"which influences the affairs of men, has severed that intimate tie which once, so happily for both, connected the people of this country with those of your Island, under one common sovereign, and has given to these United States an independent rank among the nations of the earth. Shall this event produce a total disunion between us? I trust not. Forbid it policy! Forbid it wisdom! Although the relation of fellow subjects is dissolved, other bonds will unite us. Similarity of manners, character, and disposition, natural consanguinity, mutual interests and wants, supported and interchanged by commerce, must yet connect us. Resentments, however, and a sense of injuries, must have time to subside—and the most conciliatory policy must be applied to heal the wounds which have been too liberally given."

"The unhappy contest between your nation and the United States being terminated," wrote Trumbull again to David Hartley, the same day with his letter to Dr. Price—"and the die of separation being cast, it remains for both to study an accommodating spirit of conciliation; that the mutual affection and interests of the two people, cemented by other ties than those which heretofore cemented us, may be secured on a happy and lasting foundation."

In such manner, now that war was over, did Trumbull plead for solid harmony with Great Britain—and in no letter

more strikingly than in one we are now about to introduce. It is a letter which, October first, he addressed to his old correspondent and friend the Earl of Dartmouth, to whom, at the outset of the Revolution, as the Reader has seen*—and particularly in reply to Dartmouth's official admonition to the Governors of America against sending deputies to a General Congress—Trumbull had often written, pleading for his country, and warning against the consequences of ministerial measures. To this correspondence Trumbull refers in what follows, and keenly yet courteously claims, that, had the truths which he "frankly made known" at the beginning of the contest been regarded, England and America would still have remained "in a mutual happy connection." But the die of separation being cast, there ought now to be, he urges, a return of cordial intercourse between the two countries—and particularly on the part of England, honorable reparation for injuries, especially those which she has inflicted upon any of her former officers in America, whom she dismissed from lucrative employments because of their honest attachment to the American cause.

In this connection he dwells on the case of the Honorable John Temple—a gentleman of high ability and reputation—who to the posts of Lieutenant-Governor in one of the former Provinces of America, and of a Councillor at the Board of five other Provinces, had added the office of Surveyor General of the Royal Revenue in America, and afterwards of Surveyor General of the Customs in England—and who, on account of his attachment to the United States, had been thrown out from all employment under the Crown. For his reinstatement in office, and compensation, Trumbull pleads with all the warmth of private friendship, and with the sincerity of one who fully believes that his restoration to royal favor would powerfully tend towards renewing that "good humour" between the two countries, for which he expresses himself so cordially solicitous.

"It may somewhat surprise your Lordship," he proceeds—"to receive a letter from a Governor of one of the United States of America, and at

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* See page 170.

a time too when your Lordship has ceased to hold a ministerial office, which formerly gave me occasion to write officially to you. I however flatter myself that you will not take it amiss, my thus trespassing a few minutes on your time.

"Your Lordship will recollect that I had the honor of writing frequently to you at the beginning of those troubles which brought on a war between Great Britain and this country; and that I took the liberty, as I thought it my duty, to offer my sentiments with freedom upon the occasion.

"The letter of ——— in particular, I had great faith would have done some good in setting aside the false representations which had from time to time been made against this country. That letter, my Lord, was dictated by a faithful, honest heart, unless I am deceived in it. How far I foretold what would be the event of Britain's persevering in her plan, your Lordship is as well able to judge as any other person. Had the truths I then frankly made known to your Lordship for the mutual good of both countries, been attended to, what blood and treasure might have been saved on both sides! What friendship and affection have been preserved!—and the two countries have remained long in a mutual happy connection! But the die is cast. It is therefore of no purpose to look back further than to make past errors subservient, as they sometimes may be made, to wiser and better conduct in the future.

"As it appears to be now the sincere wish and desire of the Ministry and People of England to recover as far as may be the friendship and commerce of this country, may I suggest to your Lordship, that every act of justice and reparation for injuries, where they shall evidently appear to have been done, will tend not a little to further those wishes; and in particular, suffer me to mention the singular case of Mr. Temple. He and Dr. Franklin are the only Crown Officers of Rank who were dismissed from any lucrative and honorable employment for their attachment to this their native country, or rather for their firmness in not falling in with all the other Crown Officers in the misrepresentations which so fatally deceived your nation. Dr. Franklin has been employed, and amply honored and rewarded by his country, and would not accept, if offered, any reparation. Mr. Temple is therefore, as I said, singular in his sufferings. The British Ministry have repeatedly acknowledged that he was, as a Crown Officer, both able and faithful in office, but that his attachment to his country rendered it necessary to remove him from the several employments he sustained. Experience dearly bought must have convinced that same Ministry, Mr. Temple's sentiments and representations concerning this country were founded in truth, while those of his enemies, who sought his overthrow, were founded in fatal falsehood.

"Should Mr. Temple (who writes me he is about going to England,) meet with honest and honorable reparation for his past sufferings, it would be pleasing to his friends and connections, (who are neither few

nor insignificant in these States,) and would no doubt tend to create good humor between the countries. He was Lieutenant Governor of one of these Provinces, had a seat at the Council Board in five other Provinces, was Surveyor General of the Royal Revenue in America, and afterwards Surveyor General of the Customs in England. He was also a Commissioner part of the time that incendiary, wicked Board acted in this country—in all which stations he acquitted himself, as I have always heard, with honor and reputation in the eyes of the Ministry; except that he was, as they are taught to think, improperly friendly to this country. He could have had no views in being friendly to this country but what he must have thought for the general good, for he could have expected nothing, in emolument, from this country, equal to what he enjoyed under the Crown—for it is not the intention of these States that great emoluments shall accrue to any, be their stations what they may.

"I have written this letter not more to serve Mr. Temple (if peradventure it may be of service to him,) than to show your Lordship that I also cordially wish for a sincere and lasting return of intercourse, friendship, and commerce between the two countries, and therefore have taken the liberty to suggest the line of conduct most likely to produce the same.

"My son, who, in the cool hour of reflection, I dare say, it will be thought was cruelly imprisoned and ill-treated in England, will have the honor of delivering this letter to your Lordship. He goes to England to improve his natural turn to the Pencil, which his countryman, the celebrated artist Mr. West, considers as equal to any of the present day.

"I have not even the least pretension to ask any favors of your Lordship, but should my son meet with any degree of spontaneous countenance or protection from your Lordship, I should think myself very much obliged, and should be happy to render your Lordship any services that may possibly be in my power on this side the water. I am with great respect &c.

"P. S. As through a multiplicity of business the letter I wrote your Lordship on the ——— may be lost, I have taken the liberty to enclose you a copy, only that you may see the sentiments I entertained at that period, and how precisely affairs have turned out as I wrote your Lordship I was persuaded they would turn out."

CHAPTER L.

1783.

The new policy of Congress for funding the national debt, and restoring public credit. Commutation money for the officers of the army a part of it Public opinion on this subject divided. Trumbull upon it brought into collision with a majority of his constituents. The reasoning of the opponents of this policy—particularly against commutation. Their public action thereupon, and the public ferment. Reasoning of Gov. Trumbull and others in favor of this policy. He commends the whole national system to the General Assembly of Connecticut, and urges them, by taxation, to provide for the establishment of public credit, and do justice to creditors. The People jealous of a Federal Government with powers within itself competent for its own support. Trumbull in favor of such a government. The National Arm, in his view, ought to be strengthened.

Peace brought with it a new and eventful policy on the part of the United States—which, strangely agitating the country from one end to the other, and no part of it more than New England, gave to the Governor of Connecticut, during the present year, peculiar anxiety, and not a little personal trouble. We refer to the policy of Congress for funding the national debt, and for the restoration and support of public credit. Forty-two millions of dollars, the amount of this debt, with an annual interest of about two and a half millions—about one-quarter of which was to be raised by a duty on imports, and the residue in such manner as the States themselves should judge most convenient—were to be provided for out of the resources of the country. It was a startling sum, as it seemed to the people generally—specially burdensome now that they were just emerging, stricken and impoverished in purse, from a long and painful war—and included an appropriation—that of five millions of dollars, commutation money for the officers of the army—which to great numbers appeared entirely unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive.

Congress has no power to make such an appropriation, under the Confederation, or otherwise—reasoned large num-

bers of the inhabitants of Connecticut. And we shall state their reasoning somewhat fully, because Trumbull was brought upon this matter—for the first time in his life, and decidedly—in collision with the opinion of a majority of his constituents—and with quiet courtesy, and profound good sense, outfaced the public clamor.

The appropriation, continued its opponents, introduces that evil system of pensions—European and monarchical—against which the country has just fought and bled. It is entirely inconsistent with that equality which ought to exist in free and republican States—for it is calculated to exalt some citizens in wealth and grandeur, to the injury and oppression of others. It is therefore subversive of the first principles of liberty. We want no such badges of British tyranny in our midst as these pensions. They are detestable. And how would our officers look accepting a pay "contributed to by the widows and orphans even of those soldiers who have bled and died by their sides—voted in every House of Assembly as the drones and incumbrances of society—pointed at by boys and girls with the remark—there goes a man who every year robs me of my pittance!" Strange, when the infancy and poverty of the country is taken into consideration—a country loaded down already with taxes, and involved in debt—strange that Congress should at this time assume obligations so novel and unnecessary as this commutation debt of five millions of dollars! *

And then the poor soldier is utterly neglected in the plan. Who, pray, has performed the duty and drudgery of the army? Is it the officer or the soldier? Who has been the

* Such was the aversion to half-pay in Connecticut, that the General Assembly, the year preceding that with which we are now engaged, in 1782, even when it vested Congress with power to levy certain duties in the State, clogged the grant with the condition that the monies raised by impost should be applied to the Revolutionary debt, and "not for half-pay, or the payment of any pensioner or pensioners." Massachusetts, late as July eleventh, 1783, addressed Congress, refusing to grant the power of levying duties at all, because of the system of half-pay and commutation. She entitled the grants and allowances which Congress had thought proper to make both to the civil and military officers, "extraordinary," and "extremely opposite and irritating," she said, "to the principles and feelings which the people of some eastern States, and of this in particular, inherit from their ancestry."

gentleman and who the servant? The plan neglects too the militia of the States, which, as well as Continental troops, has been called to face danger and death on the field of battle. It pays no regard either to many thousands of citizens, who, though not in the ranks of war, have yet suffered for their country—great numbers of whom, in fact, have lost their all in the contest, and escaped but with their lives. If losses are to be indemnified, all ought to participate. Are the revenues of the country to be heaped on officers alone? If they have obtained independence for their land, still the soldier, the militia, and the citizen, have each obtained independence for the officer in return, and all will equally share it. The stated wages of these officers are a full and adequate reward for their services, and have been liquidated by Committees appointed for the purpose. Why then give them gratuities? See how at ease they look—most of them—at the present time! Their countenances are "fairer and fatter" now than before the war. Would that their hearts were so too—then the dispute would be ended at once!

And they have not acted equitably in securing their commutation. They extorted the recommendation of it from General Washington, in a season of infinite peril to the country, by misrepresentations, craft, and tumults. Some Members of Congress—who too are feasting their imaginations with the prospect of future pensions for themselves—and many public creditors also—have conspired with them to fasten the alarming measure on the country. Confederacies are forming, we fear, which, unless immediately checked, will prove the destruction of American liberty. Members of Congress do not account as they should to their constituents. There are individuals among us who have grown too lusty by being fed on too much power. There are harpies in our midst, "with whetted beaks and piercing eyes," who watch incessantly to prey on the revenues of the country. The country in fact seems about plunging into a gulf. The glory of an eight years' war, in which we have faced death a thousand times, seems about "to sink into shame and ignominy." Officers stand ready to tarnish the fame of all their exploits. It is high time then now "for that patriotic fire which has

so often blazed forth, to the confusion of our adversaries, to flash again with redoubled violence!" Let us have then the speedy and effectual interposition of towns to avert the impending catastrophe! Can any one, they exclaimed, think us "such dastards as tamely to submit to bear oppression from individuals among ourselves—court favorites, pensioners, and placemen that would be—tenfold greater than ever was imposed by foreigners?" Let us remonstrate—let us petition—let us work, day and night, against the insupportable measure!

And so great portions of the people did—in Town Meetings, as at Hartford, Farmington, Southington, Canaan, and Torrington—and in Conventions, as in September of twenty-eight towns at Middletown. They sent forth volleys of resolves. They petitioned. Essays on the great grievance filled the papers of the day. Half-pay and commutation—together, to some extent, with the proposed duties on imports—which, on account of the supposed inequality of their operation, and the fear that they might be applied towards the payment of perpetual annuities, or exorbitant salaries to civil officers, or render Congress too independent of the people, were objectionable to some—formed the burden of their conversation. Their minds were in a ferment the whole year.

And to this ferment Governor Trumbull—aided by many other leading men in Connecticut—gentlemen of ability and of broad national views—opposed the whole weight of his talents and his influence. He led the way in throwing broadcast over the State, views of the policy adopted by Congress—and especially of the Commutation Scheme—that were widely different far from those which prevailed among the people at large, and which had exasperated many of them into the opposition we have described.

He was himself satisfied that the powers of the National Council, under the Confederation, so far from deserving to be the object of watchful jealousy and of restraint, were in fact too feeble, and needed enlargement—and that without better support than Congress was then receiving, the Federal Arm would soon become paralyzed, and the country be disgraced.

He was deeply convinced too, on every principle of justice and of honor, that adequate and permanent means ought to be established—nationally and not state-wise—for the purpose of paying all the expenses of the Revolutionary Struggle, and satisfying every public creditor. And he became, in consequence, a strenuous advocate for funding the whole public debt on solid Continental Securities—admitted the commutation money awarded to officers as a part of this public debt—and cordially assented to impost duties for the use of the United States. In short, in every respect as regards the war—the army—the common defence and general welfare—and the powers of Congress to make ample provision for all these objects—he was a National, and not a State politician. He looked to the Sovereignty of the Union, and not to that of Thirteen Independent Jurisdictions.

As regards half-pay, or its equivalent, commutation, he had no doubt of the power of Congress to grant it. He feared no untoward effect from it on the liberty of the country—and considered the nation, now that it was granted, as under the most solemn obligation to provide for it. With Congress, he looked to the circumstances in which it originated—to that critical period in 1778 when the finances of the country were dreadfully embarrassed—the troops sadly distressed—the officers discontented—and resignations so general as to threaten the dissolution of the army. To save a corps on whose military experience the public safety then, in the judgment of the Commander-in-chief "greatly depended," half-pay had been granted to the officers—and experience had shown that it had most essentially "contributed to the stability of the army, to its perfection in discipline, to the vigor and decision of its operations, and to those brilliant successes which hastened the blessings of a safe and honorable peace."

For this half-pay now, commutation was the equivalent. It had been fixed on just and established principles—and a breach of the national faith—now pledged to it completely and irredeemably—would, in the judgment of Trumbull, have been the grossest perfidy. The officers of the army

had fully complied with the conditions of the grant—had performed the services required—and Congress had no right to alter or repeal the contract without their consent. It was not they, in fact, who had solicited for half-pay. Washington had solicited for them—Washington, who—feeling as a patriot and a general should feel who had an empire to preserve with but a handful of men—had recommended it as the only means of preventing a total dereliction of the service.

And were not these officers themselves a most meritorious and illustrious band of citizens? Trumbull believed that they certainly were. In his view, they had patiently borne the privation of their stipends at a time when the public distress disabled the country from furnishing them with support. They had not as yet, in truth, received but one-fourth part of their stipulations—while the common soldiers in the Continental Line—through bounties, in multitudes of instances, of seventy, eighty, and in some cases of one hundred and twenty pounds, in specie, for three years' service, in addition to the regular pay and clothing which they drew—and through another bounty also of eighty dollars, to which they had been declared entitled at the expiration of the war—had received far higher compensation than their officers. Commutation, in fact, only placed the latter on an equal footing, as to emoluments, with the former. And then the whole course of the war had scarce furnished an instance of desertion among the officers. They had shown an unwavering attachment to the cause of liberty. They had fought most bravely. Commutation, in truth, was not only a part of their hire, but the price even of their blood, and of the independence of America. And now they asked only for enough to enable them to retire from the field of victory and glory, with some show of decency and support, into the bosom of peace and private citizenship.

The militia, and citizens of the States who had specially suffered from the enemy, if entitled to remuneration, would receive it from their own General Assemblies, to which, naturally and properly, they should look for the purpose. Not so the Continental Officers. State commutation in their be-

half—from the unwillingness in some jurisdictions to grant it—and from the inequality with which it would be bestowed—would breed discontents, it was justly feared, and injuriously divert the resources of the States from the common treasury of the nation. The officers must look to Congress, therefore, for their own relief.

And this relief—how much of a burthen was it, after all, on the property of Connecticut? But trifling indeed, in the opinion of Trumbull. But twenty pence on the pound for the proportion of this State—to be exacted after a short time.* And but about half a farthing on the pound per annum in the way of interest—and interest alone at present was to be demanded! How trivial then the tax! And then in a few years none of it—it might happen—would be required from the State. The revenue from commerce, in a condition of peace, would naturally increase rapidly, and add to the funds of the nation. Vacant territory belonging to the country would gradually add largely to these funds. Requisitions, therefore, upon States, for commutation, or for any other portions of the public debt, would rapidly grow less and less, and, in time, probably, wholly disappear. How unreasonable, how unwise then, the opposition to commutation!

Such were the views which Trumbull, in common with a large number of influential citizens, entertained on the great disputed public policy of the period on which we now dwell.†

Accordingly we find him in May, in his Speech at that time to the General Assembly, commending the whole national system to their attention, and calling upon them to take all suitable measures "for the establishment of public

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* The amount of the commutation debt for Connecticut was calculated at $416,666½—its proportion of the entire national debt at $3,500,000.

† If Congress have a right to alter the contract for commutation with the officers, says an earnest writer in the Hartford Courant of the day—August 26th, 1783—"adieu to all public faith. Holland and France have no security for their money. Holland and France may go to Nova Zembla or Otaheite for the money we owe them. The holders of Loan Office Certificates and other public securities have nothing to depend on but the whim of Congress and their constituents—and the Lord have mercy on us all!"

credit." The sum called for by Congress at that period, he stated, would require from Connecticut a tax of six and a half pence on the pound. "It is necessary," he added, "that our creditors should be treated with justice, and for that end provision made to pay the annual interest on the sums respectively due"—and for this justice, and this provision of interest, at every opportunity, and wherever his influence could extend, Trumbull pleaded with steady zeal.

It took a long time, however, to satisfy a majority of the people fully on these points, and to eradicate the jealousy which they entertained towards the Confederation. This jealousy did not vanish in Connecticut—as was the case in most of the States of the Union—until the Confederation, falling in pieces from its own intrinsic weakness, totally failed as an effectual instrument of government, and—"the steps of its decline numbered and finished"—was supplanted by a new Constitution—that under which our country has risen to its present glorious eminence. A Federal Government, with powers within itself competent for its own support—acting independently of the States, and compulsively upon the States, and upon individuals within the States—with revenues of its own—with officers of its own, scattered many of them within each of the Thirteen Sovereignties, and irresponsible save to Congress—and with numerous pensioners of its own—was still, to the minds of many, an anomaly, and a solecism in republican rule.

We shall see all this more particularly in the course of proceedings to which we shall direct the Reader's attention in the next chapter—proceedings that present Governor Trumbull in the light in which the Father of his Country was presented, when, at a later period, he issued his noble Valedictory Address* on declining to be considered any longer a candidate for the Presidency—in the light of a patriot bidding adieu to

* Washington's admirable Circular, June eighth, 1783, to the Governors of all the States, on disbanding the army, was of the same general character. Trumbull replied to it, but the reply we have not at hand. By direction of his Council, he procured one hundred copies to be printed, together with the Address of Congress to the States of April twenty-sixth.

public life and to his friends—leaving "his affections and his anxieties for their welfare behind him"—and making "a last effort to impress on his countrymen those great political truths which had been the guides of his administration, and could alone, in his opinion, form a sure and solid basis for the happiness, the independence, and the liberty of the United States."

CHAPTER LI.

1783.

Governor Trumbull now an old man—has been in the public serv ice over half a century—and determines to retire. He gives notice of his intention to the General Assembly, in October, in a Farewell Address which he entitles his "Last Advisory Legacy." The document. Comment. Report and Resolutions thereupon. Explanation of the jealousy in Connecticut of the powers and engagements of Congress. Extensive sympathy, both at home and abroad, in the sentiments of Trumbull's Farewell Address. Washington's opinion of it, and his frienship for Trumbull. They harmonized in their political creed.

Governor Trumbull was now seventy-three years of age—a venerable old man. He had been in the public service nearly fifty-one years—over half a century. He had been employed almost without interruption the whole time. A war of eight years' duration had given him peculiar cares, and the deepest anxieties. Compensated as these cares and anxieties now were by peace, and by glorious prospects of national tranquillity and independence, he felt it both as a desire and a duty to retire from the busy concerns of public life—that he might spend the evening of his days in repose, and in preparation for a future, happier state of existence. He therefore formally signified to the General Assembly of Connecticut, at its October Session, his purpose of declining all further public service after May of the next ensuing year—at which time his existing gubernatorial term would expire.

His Address at this time he well entitles his "Last Advisory Legacy"—for such in truth it is. After felicitating the people on the existing "auspicious moment" of their country's happiness—thanking them for the support they have ever afforded to himself—and invoking the Divine Guidance for their future counsels and government—he proceeds to give them his parting advice.

He conjures them to maintain inviolate the happy Constitution of Connecticut, and to strengthen and support the Federal Union. He dwells on the great importance of a national Congress, and does not hesitate to pronounce that, as at present constituted, its powers are not adequate to the purposes of the general sovereignty. And he goes on to reason most ably in favor of their proper enlargement, and against that excessive, mistaken jealousy of a federal government with competent authority, which was so prevalent in his day. He counsels the strictest attention to all the sacred rules of justice and equity, by a faithful fulfillment of every public as well as private engagement. He advises the practice of virtue in all its lovely forms, as the surest and best foundation for national as well as private felicity. He pleads for the dismissal of all prejudices—for the study of peace and harmony—for an orderly regard for government and the laws—for a due confidence in public officers—and for the careful observance, under all circumstances, of the sure and faithful axiom that "virtue exalteth a nation, but that sin and evil workings are the destruction of a people." Again commending the General Assembly, and the good people of Connecticut, with earnestness, to the blessing and protection of the great Counsellor and Director on high, he concludes with bidding them "a long and a happy adieu."

The Address, throughout, is indeed a specimen of deep political sagacity, of independent judgment, of lofty reasoning, and of high-toned, fervent, honest advice. As such—in the language of an author who has given us, in the National Portrait Gallery, a brief sketch of the subject of our Memoir—"we commend it to the sons of Connecticut, that it may be rescued from oblivion, and have its place among the wise and patriotic counsel of the Fathers of the Commonwealth."* It proceeds as follows:—

"*To the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives in General Court convened, Oct.*, 1783.

"GENTLEMEN:—

"A few days will bring me to the anniversary of my birth; seventy-

* "It is a patriarchal document," adds the Author to whom reference is made in the text—"worthy of the admiration of the lovers of their country."

three years of my life will then be completed; and next May, fifty-one years will have passed since I was first honored with the confidence of the people in a public character. During this period, in different capacities, it has been my lot to be called to public service, almost without interruption. Fourteen years I have had the honor to fill the chief seat of government. With what carefulness, with what zeal and attention to your welfare, I have discharged the duties of my several stations, some few of you, of equal age with myself, can witness for me from the beginning. During the latter period, none of you are ignorant of the manner in which my public life has been occupied. The watchful cares and solicitudes of an eight years' distressing and unusual war, have also fallen to my share, and have employed many anxious moments of my latest time; which have been cheerfully devoted to the service of my country. Happy am I to find, that all these cares, anxieties, and solicitudes, are compensated by the noblest prospect which now opens to my fellow-citizens, of a happy establishment (if we are but wise to improve the precious opportunity,) in peace, tranquillity, and national independence. With sincere and lively gratitude to Almighty God, our Great Protector and Deliverer, and with most hearty congratulations to all our citizens, I felicitate you, gentlemen, the other freemen, and all the good people of the State, in this glorious prospect.

"Impressed with these sentiments of gratitude and felicitation—reviewing the long course of years, in which, through various events, I have had the pleasure to serve the State—contemplating, with pleasing wonder and satisfaction, at the close of an arduous contest, the noble and enlarged scenes which now present themselves to my country's view—and reflecting at the same time on my advanced stage of life—a life worn out almost in the constant cares of office—I think it my duty to retire from the busy concerns of public affairs; that at the evening of my days, I may sweeten their decline, by devoting myself with less avocation, and more attention, to the duties of religion, the service of my God, and preparation for a future happier state of existence; in which pleasing employment, I shall not cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that heaven will not fail to bless her with its choicest favors.

"At this auspicious moment, therefore, of my country's happiness—when she has just reached the goal of her wishes, and obtained the object for which she has so long contended, and so nobly struggled, I have to request the favor from you, gentlemen, and through you, from all the freemen of the State, that, after May next, I may be excused from any further service in public life; and that, from this time, I may no longer be considered as an object of your suffrages for any public employment in the State. The reasonableness of my request, I am persuaded, will be questioned by no one. The length of time I have devoted to their service, with my declining state of vigor and activity, will, I please

myself, form for me a sufficient and unfailing excuse with my fellow-citizens.

"At this parting address, you will suffer me, gentlemen, to thank you, and all the worthy members of preceding assemblies, with whom I have had the honor to act, for all that assistance, counsel, aid, and support, which I have ever experienced during my administration of government; and in the warmth of gratitude to assure you, that, till my latest moments, all your kindness to me shall be remembered;—and that my constant prayer shall be employed with Heaven, to invoke the Divine Guidance and protection in your future councils and government.

"Age and experience dictate to me—and the zeal with which I have been known to serve the public through a long course of years, will, I trust, recommend to the attention of the people, some few thoughts which I shall offer to their consideration on this occasion, as my last advisory legacy.

"I would in the first place entreat my countrymen, as they value their own internal welfare, and the good of posterity, that they maintain inviolate, by a strict adherence to its original principles, the happy constitution under which we have so long subsisted as a corporation; that for the purposes of national happiness and glory, they will support and strengthen the federal union by every constitutional means in their power. The existence of a Congress, vested with powers competent to the great national purposes for which that body was instituted, is essential to our national security, establishment, and independence. Whether Congress is already vested with such powers, is a question, worthy, in my opinion, of the most serious, candid, and dispassionate consideration of this legislature, and those of all the other confederated States. For my own part, I do not hesitate to pronounce that, in my opinion, that body is not possessed of those powers which are absolutely necessary to the best management and direction of the general weal, or the fulfilment of our own expectations. This defect in our federal constitution I have already lamented as the cause of many inconveniences which we have experienced; and unless wisely remedied, will, I foresee, be productive of evils, disastrous, if not fatal to our future union and confederation. In my idea, a Congress invested with full and sufficient authorities, is as absolutely necessary for the great purposes of our confederated union, as our legislature is for the support of our internal order, regulation, and government in the State. Both bodies should be intrusted with powers fully sufficient to answer the designs of their several institutions. These powers should be distinct, they should be clearly defined, ascertained, and understood. They should be carefully adhered to; they should be watched over with a wakeful and distinguishing attention of the people. But this watchfulness is far different from that excess of jealousy, which, from a mistaken fear of abuse, withholds the necessary powers, and denies the means which are essential to the end expected. Just as ridiculous is this latter disposition, as

would be the practice of a farmer, who should deprive his laboring man of the tools necessary for his business, lest he should hurt himself, or injure his employer, and yet expects his work to be accomplished. This kind of excessive jealousy is, in my view, too prevalent at this day; and will, I fear, if not abated, prove a principal means of preventing the enjoyment of our national independence and glory, in that extent and perfection which the aspect of our affairs (were we to be so wise,) so pleasingly promises to us. My Countrymen! suffer me to ask, who are the objects of this jealousy? Who, my fellow-citizens, are the men we have to fear? Not strangers who have no connection with our welfare!—no, they are men of our own choice, from among ourselves;—a choice (if we are faithful to ourselves,) dictated by the most perfect freedom of election; and that election repeated as often as you could wish, or is consistent with the good of the people. They are our brethren—acting for themselves as well as for us—and sharers with us in all the general burthens and benefits. They are men, who from interest, affection, and every social tie, have the same attachment to our constitution and government as ourselves. Why therefore should we fear them with this unreasonable jealousy? In our present temper of mind, are we not rather to fear ourselves?—to fear the propriety of our own elections?—or rather to fear, that from this excess of jealousy and mistrust, each are cautious of his neighbor's love of power, and fearing lest if he be trusted, he would misuse it, we should lose all confidence and government, and everything lend to anarchy and confusion?—from whose horrid womb, should we plunge into it, will spring a government that may justly make us all to tremble.

"I would also beg, that, for the support of national faith and honor, as well as domestic tranquillity, they would pay the strictest attention to all the sacred rules of justice and equity, by a faithful observance and fulfillment of all public as well as private engagements. Public expenses are unavoidable:—and those of the late war, although they fall far short of what might have been expected, when compared with the magnitude of the object for which we have contended, the length of the contest, with our unprepared situation and peculiarity of circumstances, yet could not fail to be great;—but great as they may appear to be, when, for the defence of our invaluable rights and liberties, the support of our government, and our national existence, they have been incurred and allowed by those to whom, by your own choice, you have delegated the power, and assigned the duty, of watching over the common weal, and guarding your interests, their public engagements are as binding on the people, as your own private contracts; and are to be discharged with the same good faith and punctuality.

"I most earnestly request my fellow-citizens, that they revere and practice virtue in all its lovely forms—this being the surest and best establishment of national, as well as private felicity and prosperity—That,

dismissing as well all local and confined prejudices, as unreasonable and excessive jealousies and suspicions, they study peace and harmony with each other, and with the several parts of the confederated Republic—That they pay an orderly and respectful regard to the laws and regulations of government; and that, making a judicious use of that freedom and frequency of election, which is the great security and palladium of their rights, they will place confidence in the public officers, and submit their public concerns, with cheerfulness and readiness, to the decisions and determinations of Congress and their own Legislatures; whose collected and united wisdom the people will find to be a much more sure dependence than the uncertain voice of popular clamor, which most frequently, is excited and blown about by the artful and designing part of the community, to effect particular and oftentimes sinister purposes. At such times, the steady good sense of the virtuous public, wisely exercised in a judicious choice of their representatives, and a punctual observance of their collected counsels, is the surest guide to national interest, happiness, and security.

"Finally, my fellow-citizens, I exhort you to love one another: let each one study the good of his neighbor and of the community, as his own:—hate strifes, contentions, jealousies, envy, avarice, and every evil work, and ground yourselves in this faithful and sure axiom, that virtue exalteth a nation, but that sin and evil workings are the destruction of a people.

"I commend you, gentlemen, and the good people of the State, with earnestness and ardour, to the blessing, the protection, the counsel, and direction of the great Counsellor and Director; whose wisdom and power is sufficient to establish you as a great and happy people; and wishing you the favour of this divine benediction, in my public character—I bid you a long—a happy adieu.

"I am, gentlemen,

"your most obedient, humble servant,

"JON^TH TRUMBULL."

Such was the Farewell Address, which—in contemplation of soon leaving public life forever—the venerable Governor of Connecticut, with grateful sensibility, and a profound desire of doing good, addressed to the Constituency he had so long and ably served. On being read to the General Assembly, it was referred by this Body to a Committee, at the head of which was placed Oliver Wolcott. And this Committee, after due consideration, reported it as their opinion—"that the long and faithful services of his Excellency Governor Trumbull, and more especially his great attention and diligence during the late successful war," merited "the highest

approbation and sincere gratitude" of Connecticut—that "the sentiments" which the Address expressed "relative to the great principles of virtue, and benevolence, and subordination to law"—constituting, as they did, "the only solid basis upon which social happiness can be established"—would "always deserve the constant attention and practice of the people of this State"—and that they "therefore" recommended the adoption by the General Assembly of certain Resolutions which they had framed in consonance with their Report.

The Report and Resolutions were first brought before the Lower House. This House—reflecting, as it did, that popular sentiment of the State which was adverse, as has been described, to the views of the Governor both with regard to the necessity of enlarging the powers of Congress, and with regard to the half-pay and commutation granted to the officers of the army—hesitated upon the acceptance of the Report and Resolutions in the form in which they were at first submitted. They hesitated—not because of the slightest unwillingness fully to endorse all that was said respecting the public administration of his Excellency, and his exalted services in behalf of his State and country—but from fear lest by adopting the Resolutions they "should seem to convey to the people an idea of their concurring with the political sentiments contained in the Address." As the easiest way, therefore, of relieving themselves from such responsibility, and at the same time of avoiding—what there is no doubt a large majority of them wished to avoid—the rudeness of refusing absolutely to recognize and appreciate the merit of their Chief Magistrate—they voted to refer the Report and Resolutions over to the next General Assembly.

But the Senate dissented—and a Committee of Conference being appointed, it was agreed that the portion of the Resolutions which it was thought committed the Legislature to a full endorsement of the Governor's views upon a National Government, and its powers and duties, should be stricken out*—which being done, the Resolutions, as amended, were

* The following is the passage which was stricken out: "And that the Secretary request of his Excellency a Copy of said Address, that it might be published,

passed with great cordiality and unanimity—and here they are!

"Whereas his Excellency *Jonathan Trumbull*, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the State of Connecticut, has signified in an address to the General Assembly, to be communicated to their constituents, his desire that he might not, considering his advanced Age, be considered by the freemen of this State as an object of their choice at the next general election; as the Governor has declared his wish to retire, after the expiration of his present appointment, from the cares and business of government:

"*Resolved* by this *Assembly*, That they consider it as their duty in behalf of their constituents, to express in terms of the most sincere gratitude, the highest respect for his Excellency Governor *Trumbull*, for the great and eminent services he has rendered this State during his long and prosperous administration; more especially for that display of wisdom, justice, fortitude, and magnanimity, joined with the most unremitting attention and perseverance, which he has manifested during the late successful though distressing war; which must place the chief magistrate of this State in the rank of those great and worthy patriots, who have eminently distinguished themselves as the defenders of the rights of mankind.

"And that this Assembly consider it a most gracious dispensation of Divine Providence, that a life of so much usefulness has been prolonged to such an advanced age, with an unimpaired vigor and activity of mind.

"But if the freemen of this State shall think proper to comply with his Excellency's request, it will be the wish of this Assembly, that his successor in office may possess those eminent public and private virtues, which give so much lustre to the character of him who has in the most honorable manner so long presided over this State.

"It is further *Resolved*—That the Secretary present to Governor *Trumbull* an authentic copy of this act, as a testimonial of the respect and esteem of the Legislature of this State. And the Secretary is further directed, that, as soon as he shall be furnished with such copy, he cause the same to be printed, together with this act."

Ample homage here—in these Resolutions—the Reader will have observed, to the merits of the patriot whom we commemorate—heartfelt congratulation upon his blooming

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which the Assembly are especially desirous of, as they consider those important principles of Justice, Benevolence, and Subordination to law, therein inculcated, as constituting the only solid basis upon which social happiness can be established, and therefore deserving the serious attention of the good people of this State."

old age—and warm hope that his mantle of lustre might fall upon a worthy successor! But the Assembly would not endorse his political views. This course, after all, will not appear strange, when the Reader reflects—not only on the fact of an existing difference of opinion with regard to the public policy of the country, and the constitution of a National Government—but that, as a general thing, this difference of opinion was honestly entertained, and pervaded every State of the Union.

Long—as Colonies—the provinces of America had been engaged in struggles against the superintending, overbearing authority of the Crown. Long—as States—they had poured out blood and treasure in resisting this authority. Naturally, therefore, they felt a dread of all external sway, and of any legislation which did not originate exclusively in their own domestic Assemblies. The Confederation itself, as is familiar to all, was tediously delayed more from this cause than from any other. What would be the effects of a union of the States, says Judge Story—"upon their domestic peace, their territorial interests, their external commerce, their political security, or their civil liberty, were points to them wholly of a speculative character, in regard to which various opinions might be entertained, and various, and even opposite conjectures formed upon grounds, apparently, of equal plausibility. Honest and enlightened men," adds the Judge, "might well divide on such matters."

Connecticut now, more peculiarly than most States of the Union—from the comparative freedom of her primitive Constitution of 1639—from that also of her Charter—itself, save in the recognition of allegiance to the Crown, almost a perfect instrument of independent self-government—from the great equality and ample protection of the rights both of person and of property which had always prevailed within her borders—and the absence of all invidious social distinctions—was naturally jealous, perhaps excessively so, at times, of the powers and engagements of Congress. A few in her midst, it is probable, as in other States, may have been "wicked enough"—as Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, in a letter at the time, represented to General Washington—to

hope that, by means of a clamor against half-pay and commutation, they might "be able to rid themselves of the whole public debt, by introducing so much confusion and disorder into public measures as should eventually produce a general abolition of the whole"—and upon the basis of this clamor, misleading some portions of the community, may have "rode into confidence"—and into the Legislature—and there have aided in that evisceration of the Resolutions relating to Trumbull which we have already described.*

But in the main, the opposition of the people of Connecticut to the political views of his Excellency, was frank, sincere, and courteous. They remembered and loved their own State liberty too well to be willing ever to part with it rashly—never without premeditation that should be long and careful, and reasons solid as the mountain ranges which ribbed their territory. A little longer experience under the Confederation—now that peace had come to test in new forms its capacity as an instrument of government—was needed to dispel their cautious jealousy, and awaken and ripen their convictions in favor of those changes which Trumbull had so wisely suggested.

That experience soon came—and with it the corroboration of all their Patriot-Adviser had said to them on the great matter of National Sovereignty. And they turned back to admire and reverence that wisdom, and that foresight, which, in the delusion of the hour, they had mistaken for erroneous judgment and baseless prophecy. As day by day the Confederation betrayed its weakness—its utter want of all coercive power—and as the delinquencies of the States, step by step, were maturing "to an extreme which at length arrested

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* "You will pardon me, Sir, for troubling you with this gloomy tale," wrote Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, to General Washington, Nov. 10th, 1783, in the letter to which reference is made in the text. "For myself I have not lost my confidence in the final issue of our political establishment, and your Excellency's firmness and resolution I know to be superior to any desponding ideas. I give it to you as the present temper of the people only, which is for a time misled by the artful, interested, and contracted views of the designing part of the community, too many of whom, mounted upon the hobby-horse of the day, have rode into confidence, yet must take a turn soon, overcome by the superior good sense of the virtuous part of the public, some of whom already begin to perceive the delusion."

all the wheels of the national government, and brought them to an awful stand"—Connecticut perceived that the instrument which nominally bound the States together, was one whose chief authority, designed for the operations of war, lay quite dormant in time of peace. She perceived that it had not in truth a single solid attribute of power—and that Congress was in fact "but a delusive and shadowy sovereignty, with but little more than the empty pageantry of office." She began, therefore, at once to look about for a remedy—and found it finally in that very augmentation of federal power which her own Chief Magistrate had so anxiously inculcated in his Farewell Address. As the cords of the Confederation, one by one, snapped asunder, she heard the report—and note by note she missed the music of the Union—until at last, to her infinite joy, it was restored, and firmly re-established in the full, indissoluble harmonies of the Constitution.

But Trumbull, the Reader should be informed—though he met with the opposition we have now described—was yet not without extensive and abundant sympathy in his political sentiments, at the very time when he gave them circulation in his Address—not only in his own State, but elsewhere, more or less, throughout the United States, and in foreign lands. Such men as Sherman, Dyer, the Wolcotts, the Huntingtons, Richard Law, Oliver Ellsworth,* Adams, Bowdoin, Jay, Hamilton, the Morrises, the Livingstons, the Pinkneys, the Rutledges, the Middletons—in short, all the distinguished worthies who were afterwards the founders of our Constitution—but more than all the immortal Washington—felt and thought upon the Union and its organization just as Trumbull did. So in Holland felt and thought also his noble friend Baron Capellan—and in England, among others, that illustrious republican Tractarian, his own particular cor-

* Oliver Ellsworth, Richard Law, Samuel Huntington, and Oliver Wolcott, resigned their seats in Congress at the same session in which Trumbull resigned the gubernatorial chair—and their resignations were accepted. The principal reason they assigned was, that, by the Articles of Confederation, after March next ensuing, they could not sit in Congress, and that it would be a needless expense and trouble for them to take their seats for a short space of time, and then have their seats vacant at a time when the Legislature of Connecticut would not, in all probability, be convened to fill them.

respondent—Dr. Price.* Let a single example of this sympathy—and this example the prominent one—here suffice.

"I sincerely thank you for the copy of the Address of Governor Trumbull to the General Assembly and freemen of your State," wrote George Washington from Mount Vernon, January fifth, 1784, to Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, who had sent him this Address. "The sentiments contained in it are such *as would do honor to a patriot of any age or nation;* at least they are too coincident with my own, not to meet with my warmest approbation. Be so good as to present my most cordial respects to the Governor, and let him know that it is my wish, that the mutual friendship and esteem, which have been planted and fostered in the tumult of public life, may not wither and die in the serenity of retirement. Tell him, that we should rather amuse the evening hours of our life in cultivating the tender plants, and bringing them to perfection, before they are transplanted to a happier clime."

Sweet to the heart of Trumbull must have been such approbation—from such a source! Himself and the Father of his Country harmonized in their political creed, as in their mutual affection. So true is it that

"Great minds by instinct to each other turn,
Demand alliance, and with friendship burn."

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*Governor Trumbull, writing Dr. Price, April 29th, 1785, says: "I have received and return you my most sincere thanks for your most agreeable letter of the 8th October last, with the tract that you did me the honor to send with it. My farewell address to the General Assembly was done with sincere intentions to promote the public good, and it gives satisfaction to the mind to meet with the approbation of good men, and that *you especially agree with my sentiments.*"

November twenty-fifth, 1783, writing his son John, who was then in England, the Governor says: "The addresses on my resignation you will make use of as you think proper, taking care to present one to Mr. Adams. In one of them you will find added a paragraph which was reported by a committee of the Assembly as part of their reply—but which was rejected by the Lower House, lest by adopting it, they should seem to convey to the people an idea of their concurring in the political sentiments contained in the address—a specimen of that cautious jealousy which at present possesses the mind of the country."

CHAPTER LII.

1783.

TRUMBULL receives a present, with an accompanying letter, from the Patriotic Society of Enkhuyzen, in Holland, as a testimonial of respect for his distinguished services. The letter—additional ones from San Gabriel Teegelan, and Capellan—and Trumbull's reply. His son, Col. John Trumbull, now, upon the restoration of peace, consults with his father as to his future occupation for life. The interview between them on this matter as described by the son. The son goes abroad to perfect himself as a painter. The father's efforts to promote his success. He writes Burke, Dr. Price, and others in his behalf. His affection for him. His friendship and correspondence with Dr. Price. He receives from the latter his principal political pamphlets, and takes pains to republish and circulate one important one among his countrymen. The susquehannah Case engages his attention anew. It is adjudicated at Trenton—against Connecticut. The disappointment to Trumbull The Council of Safety ends its labors. American soldiers return to their homes. Washington resigns his commission. The last military scene of the Revolution is closed. Trumbull proclaims his last Thanksgiving.

OUR last Chapter recorded a testimonial of respect and gratitude to Governor Trumbull, which, upon occasion of his Resignation-Address, flowed to him, in his own home, from the Sovereignty of the State over which he had so long presided. We have now to record another, which, the present year, he received from abroad—from no such lofty source, however, as in the world's eye, might have rendered the testimonial resplendent—but from the remote, humble trading mart of Enkhuyzen in Holland, on the shore of the Zuyder Zee—there where a little nest of patient, industrious Dutchmen—on the farthest eastern promontory of that land, walled in from Ocean's stormy power—pursued their laborious occupation as fishermen, and aided to stock the markets of the world with the famous Dutch herring—pickled, smoked, and dried.

The inhabitants of this city—animated with the love of liberty, and bent upon enjoying its sweets—had organized an association—entitled *the Patriotic Society of Enkhuyzen*—

for the purpose of promoting their favorite object. To it they had attached many Hollanders of note and influence, and, among others—from his seat at Zwolle, just across the Zuyder Zee—their own, and Trumbull's distinguished friend, the Baron Van Capellan. They had watched with deepest interest the origin and progress of the American Revolution. They knew the great men in America who stood at its head. They were anxious at the same time to open a market for the great staple of their city in the rising Republic of the New World. Accordingly—upon the suggestion of Baron Capellan—to express at once their sympathy with the cause for which America had suffered—to testify, as they said, their "great respect for the excellent Helpers and Edifiers of a Republic so similar" to their own—and to inquire as to the chances for a consumption of their celebrated commodity in the United States—in November, 1782, they sent over to General Washington, President Hancock, William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, and Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, several kegs of their Enkhuyzen herring. Those intended for Trumbull—six kegs—reached him, through Messrs. Barclay, of Philadelphia, in the fall of 1783—with the following accompanying letter from the donors in Holland.*

"High-Born Sir.

"We, with the other inhabitants of this heretofore independent declared Republic—at present more and more animated with the desires of our old liberties—may glory in having contributed to the just independence of long unjustly oppressed North America, by petitions to our Representatives the Regency of this city—an event [the independence spoken of] at which the sincerest part of the Netherlands is rejoiced, and [which] in our opinion [is] salutary for both the Republics, and in particular for this our Herring City, where the consumption of that noble sea produce is the capital branch of trade, which we flatter ourselves will be enlarged by the new opening made by you.

"Out of these happy circumstances and flattering prospects, a Patri-

* The letter was translated for the Governor by Mr. Erkelens—the same gentleman of whom we have had occasion to speak before, in connection with his Excellency, and with loans in Holland. The translation shows that Erkelens was but poorly acquainted with English. We have therefore corrected a few of his grammatical mistakes. Otherwise, the letter, both in language and matter, is as he rendered it.

otic Society has appeared within this City, among whose members we may count the excellent, liberty-loving, and immortal Baron van der Capellan tot den poll—and this Society wishes nothing more sincerely than the welfare of both the Republics, and therefore has nothing in view but to build on the liberty of North America (since long through the Voice of Justice defended even in the consciences of its enemies,) a new happiness for our Country at large, and for our City in particular. Accordingly—on the proposition of the above-mentioned Baron—as a testimony of our high respect for the excellent Helpers and Edifiers of a Republic so similar to our own—we have taken the liberty to offer your Excellency, also Messieurs Washington, Livingston,* and Hancock, a few kegs of Enkhuyzen Herring, with prayer that the small present may be considered as flowing from the pure intention and Hollandic sincerity of its Senders, and may be used by your Excellency agreeably. At the same time we take the liberty most respectfully to ask your Excellency to inform us by the first opportunity, not only of the arrival of the present, but also whether our herring would have consumption in your country, which we wish—and if your Excellency should find no difficulty therein, then we at the same time ask you to recommend us to a good House, to which we may safely remit the same—when, in the next season if possible, we will send a parcel.

"We wish that the Governor of the World may give your Excellency's precious person to taste the fruits of your love to your country till the happiest age. Hoping that the blessing of liberty, of concord, and prosperity, may be the lot of your Republic long as the new part of the world and the old shall last,† and that our country, our city, and our Society may never be deprived of your sincere affection,

"We are with true respect,

"Your Excellency's very humble

"And obedient servants,

"The Members, Commissaries, and

"Secretaries of the Patriotic Society,

"A. H. Duyvens,	Peter Elbenhout,	Secretaries."
"Bernardus Block,	J. de Jough Sougz,	
"Panecus de Witt,	Brander Velden,	

"Rieward Runidsen."

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*Livingston, like Trumbull, corresponded with Baron Capellan during the War. "We are all in your debt," wrote Washington to the former, Dec. 7th, 1779—"for what you have done for us in Holland. I would flatter myself from the receipt of your correspondence, and the superior advantages which our commerce holds out to the Dutch, that we shall experience in a little time the most favorable effects from this quarter."

†This clause, "*long as the new part of the world and the old shall last,*" is translated by Erkelens thus—"*so long that the new part of the world with the old will return to their origin*"—the sense of which seems to be as we have given it in the text.

Accompanying the letter now quoted, was another to Trumbull from Holland—from the gentleman who in behalf of the Patriotic Society transmitted the present to Philadelphia—San Gabriel Teegelan—who describes himself as known at home, on account of his passionate attachment to America, as "*the American Teegelan.*" He informs the Governor that he has acted on the instigation, particularly, of "the liberty-loving, and right noble, and dear Baron Van der Capellan," as he styles the latter—and concludes with expressing the earnest hope that God may bless the new Republic of America "to the end of ages"—that he may bless the Governor and his people—that he may grant himself the joy of witnessing "an unbroken connection" between the two Republics of the United States and Holland, "founded on religion, faith, and honor"—and that he may cause his Excellency, "and all defenders and protectors of true liberties," to taste for many years the fruit of the tree which they have planted.

To both these communications—as also to another from Capellan which came at the same time—Governor Trumbull made appropriate replies. That to the Patriotic Society we now quote. It was as follows:—

"LEBANON, 1st Oct., 1783.

"GENTLEMEN.

"I had lately the honor to receive, thro' Messrs. Barclay of Phil[a], six kegs of herring, with the very polite letter of your Patriotic Society, and of your excellent member the Baron van der Capellan De Poll &c. Permit me, Gentlemen, to return you my most unfeigned thanks for this honorable mark of your esteem.

"And while I congratulate you, Gentlemen, on the happy termination of the late War, and the Establishment of the Freedom and Independence of these United States, you will give me leave to assure you that we are gratefully sensible how much we are indebted for this happy event to the exertions of our friends in Holland in general—of your City, and most particularly of your worthy member Baron Van der Capellan. May the Almighty Disposer of events, who has caused this great Revolution, make its consequences glorious and happy for our two Republics, and for the Universe.

"But while we anticipate the great mutual benefits which will be derived to both Countries from our unrestrained freedom of commerce, I fear that your particular hopes of finding a new and considerable market

for your herring will not be entirely answered. The very extensive coasts and numerous rivers of this country swarm with fish of this and various kinds—and tho' we know not the method of curing them in the excellent manner yours are, yet they answer principally the consumption of this country. It is probable, however, that the great towns of Phil[a], N. York, Boston, &c., &c., may afford you a market for some quantity, though not at present such as you may wish.

"With earnest prayers for your personal happiness and the prosperity of your City, I have the honor to subscribe myself, &c."

The Governor's letter to Capellan upon the occasion now under consideration, of the same date with that just quoted, again handsomely acknowledges the present he had received, and in the following manner congratulates Capellan upon his restoration to his seat in the Assembly of Overysell. The writer speaks also of his own public life, age, and retirement.

"Give me leave," he proceeds—"to offer you my warmest congratulations on an event in which Americans have the best reason to rejoice, since by this triumph of justice over oppression, you are not only restored to your rights—a sufficient cause of joy to honest men—but we likewise see new power placed in the hands of one, of whose friendly disposition we have long had the fullest proofs. At the same time you will be pleased to accept my sincerest thanks for the essential services you have rendered to the cause of my country and of mankind.

* * * *

"I shall be most happy to see you in this country, but I have little reason to expect it. You are at that period of life when our abilities to serve our country are at their height, and happily for yours, your inclination coincides with your duty, while my years are far advanced, and my public life is already very near its period. I see my country happily established in liberty and peace, and the present year, which is the fifty-first from my entrance into public offices, will close my administration, and restore me likewise to the ease and peace of private life. But your correspondence will not be less valued by me in retirement, than it was while I supported a public character; and you must give me leave to hope that I shall be honored with your further letters, not less frequently than I have been with your past.

"My son, Colonel John Trumbull, will be the bearer of this, at least to London. I hope, for his sake, that he may see you before his return to America, and you will permit me to say that I shall esteem every friendly office rendered to him, as if it were to myself."

His son, the artist, to whom the Governor refers in the closing paragraph of this letter to Capellan—after his return

from Europe in January, 1782, had much of the time been engaged, with his brother and a few other gentlemen, as confidential agent, in a contract for the supply of the army—and was at New Windsor on the Hudson—near his "early master and friend," as he styles General Washington—superintending the faithful execution of the contract, when the news of the signing of the Preliminary Articles of Peace put an end, he says, "to all further desultory pursuits," and rendered it necessary for him "to determine upon a future occupation for life." Under these circumstances, as usual, he consulted with his father. The gentlemen with whom he had been connected in the army contract, urged him to engage in a commercial establishment. The father pressed him to pursue the study of law. The son was irresistibly impelled to study art. The two, therefore, had a long and affectionate debate on the subject, which is thus pleasantly described by Colonel John Trumbull himself.

"The gentlemen with whom I was connected in the military contract proposed a commercial establishment, in which they would furnish funds, information, and advice, while I should execute the business, and divide with them the profits. The proposal was fascinating, but I reflected if I entered upon regular commerce, I must come in competition with men who had been educated in the counting-house, and my ignorance might often leave me at their mercy, and therefore I declined this office. My father again urged the law, as the profession which in a republic leads to all emolument and distinction, and for which my early education had well prepared me. My reply was, that so far as I understood the question, law was rendered necessary by the vices of mankind—that I had already seen too much of them willingly to devote my life to a profession which would keep me perpetually involved, either in the defence of innocence against fraud and injustice, or (which was much more revolting to an ingenuous mind,) to the protection of guilt against just and merited punishment. In short, I pined for the arts, again entered into an elaborate defence of my predilection, and again dwelt upon the honors paid to artists in the glorious days of Greece and Athens. My father listened patiently, and when I had finished, he complimented me upon the able manner in which I had defended what to him still appeared to be a bad cause. 'I had confirmed his opinion,' he said, 'that with proper study I should make a respectable lawyer; but,' added he, 'you must give me leave to say that you appear to have overlooked, or forgotten, one very important point in your case.' 'Pray, Sir,' I rejoined, 'what was that?'—'You appear to forget, Sir, that *Connecticut is not Athens!*'—

and with this pithy remark, he bowed and withdrew, and never more opened his lips upon the subject. How often have those few impressive words recurred to my memory—'*Connecticut is not Athens!*' The decision was made in favor of the arts. I closed all other business, and in December, 1783, embarked at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for London."

It was in contemplation of this his son's departure, that the Governor conciliated in his behalf the attention of Baron Capellan. Nor did he stop here. Now that the decision of the son was made in favor of art, he did everything in his power, with all the warmth of parental solicitude, to promote his success. To Edmund Burke also he penned a letter in his behalf.

"I write this," he said to that illustrious man—"to be put into your hands by my son, who owes so much to your benevolent interposition. Give me leave, Sir, to repeat my acknowledgments of your goodness, and to recommend him to your future protection, during his residence in England, whither he returns to pursue his favorite study of the Pencil. I shall be happy if his merit in that line shall prove such as to recommend him to the particular favor of so good a judge and patron of genius."

He addressed also John Adams and Henry Laurens, who were then in Europe, on the same matter. "My son," he wrote the former—"who will have the honor to deliver this to you, is the same you saw in Europe two years ago, and who, maugre all the sufferings and ill-treatment he then experienced from the English nation, has still an unconquerable passion to improve his pencil once more under the celebrated artists in London." He addressed also Dr. Price, David Hartley, Richard Jackson, and others, commending to their civilities, their goodness, and their protection, that youthful artist,* who, if he was not ordained, like Zeuxis, to paint grapes which could deceive the birds—or like Parrhasius, curtains which could mislead even a Zeuxis†—or like Pausias, Glyceras fit to adorn a theatre of Rome—was yet destined, like Apelles, to depict Alexanders whose hands should

* He was then twenty-seven years old.

† "Remove your curtain," said Zeuxis to Parrhasius, his rival—"that I may see your picture"—this picture being only the curtain.

hold vividly the thunders of war, and battle-horses which even in picture might extort neighs from living steeds.

Hardly had the parting words been spoken, and the son departed, ere the heart of the parent yearned once more to clasp his child, even before the latter embarked from Portsmouth. "The solicitude of a parent," he wrote him November twenty-fifth—"you will expect would make me anxious to see you again before I part with mortal scenes—which from my advanced age, you know, must not be far distant. Whether I am to be gratified in my fond wishes, or not, I hope you will study to secure to yourself that better part beyond this life that may insure our meeting in a happier state." Thus is it obvious, from everything that appears of Governor Trumbull in his domestic relations, that the threads of his affections were fine-spun, and that the "expedition" of his love

"Never outran the pauser Reason."

With Dr. Price particularly, to whose attention he commended his son, and to whom he sent his Farewell Address, the relations of Trumbull were extremely cordial, and his correspondence long continued. His friendship with this most able writer commenced in 1776, at the time when the latter published his famous Tract entitled "Observations on the nature of civil liberty, the principles of government, and the justice and policy of the war with America"—a work which, among other flattering notices that it received, won for its author, from the City of London, a letter of special compliment, accompanied with the present of a gold box.

It was indeed a most noble contribution to that cause for which the United States were then struggling—and Trumbull—to whom Dr. Price sent it, as he did all his principal pamphlets—was delighted with the purity of purpose, strength of reasoning, and lofty republican spirit, which it manifested. It tried the American question by the fundamental principles of liberty, and of the British Constitution—in respect of justice, the honor of the kingdom, the policy and humanity of the war, and the probability of its success—and under all these aspects irrefutably decided the

case in favor of the Colonies.* Trumbull, therefore, took great pains to circulate it among his friends. He caused it to be published in the newspapers of Connecticut. It was in fact published soon in nearly all the papers of the United States, and being diffused everywhere, gloriously roused, encouraged, and fortified the hope and effort of the whole country.

The friendship between the Governor of Connecticut and Dr. Price, was kept up down to the close of Trumbull's life. But about six weeks only before his death, he received and answered a new letter from the Doctor, with an accompanying pamphlet—whose excellence he did not fail to appreciate and commend.

"Your Tract,"† he then wrote—"I have distributed to such as will I trust make a good use of it. It hath been printed in our Newspapers, and also reprinted at Hartford—and will undoubtedly prove very serviceable. I repeatedly perused it with pleasure, instruction, and profit. Your observations and advice I think of the utmost importance, and need no apology. Mr. Turgot's letter is very excellent, much to that good minister's honor, and to be highly regarded.

"As the establishment of the independence of these United States gives a new direction to the civil affairs of the world, so Dr. Seabury's plan, whereof my son acquainted me in one of his letters, and of which I conclude you are informed, may make a new era in the History of Religion, to advance that liberality and wisdom which will promote the happiness of mankind.

"In my retirement I heartily wish for the literary correspondence of friends, among whom I have the happiness to reckon you one highly esteemed."

Thus much here concerning some of the Governor's domestic relations, his private correspondence, and his friend-

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* See note at the end of this Chapter.

† The Tract referred to here, was entitled, "Observations on the importance of the American Revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world." It was printed in London in 1784, and was dedicated as a last testimony of the good will of the author, to the free and United States of America. The letter of Turgot, Comptroller General of the Finances of France, to which Trumbull in the above letter refers, was printed with it. It was addressed from Paris to Dr. Price, and contained observations in which the United States were deeply concerned. "The eminence of Mr. Turgot's name and character," said Dr. Price, "will recommend it to their attention, and it will do honor to his memory among all the friends of public liberty."

ships. Little else remained to engage his attention during the two closing months of the present year, save the great Susquehannah Case, which now at last—before a Board of Commissioners appointed through the order of Congress—was brought up for trial at Trenton, New Jersey.

We have seen that among the labors of Trumbull for the year 1782, was that of preparing this case for the adjudication to which we refer—he having been particularly requested by the General Assembly of Connecticut—in compliance with a letter enclosing instructions from Congress on the subject—to collect and transmit to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs all papers "evidencing" the title of the State to the lands in dispute—and to accompany them with such observations thereon as he "might think proper." The trial came on the twelfth of November of the present year—before seven commissioners.* It occupied forty-one judicial days, and resulted in the decision, strangely unanimous, that Connecticut "had no right to the lands in controversy"—a decision, which, as Trumbull profoundly believed—and as was held by the best lawyers both in America and in England—was against both the law and the equities of the case.

For in defiance of the old Patent of Connecticut—in the very teeth of its Charter—in the face of valid prior purchases, by a large Company, from the native proprietors of the soil in question—and in the face too of a right of possession which was consummated by the actual settlements of numerous adventurers, with established government, and was recognized, fully approved, and adopted by the Legislature of this State—it surrendered to Pennsylvania a tract of country to which she could plead no claim but a patent granted to William Penn, *nineteen years after* the date of the Charter of Connecticut, and purchases from the Indians, which—in her own "Representation" of her case before the Commissioners—she does not assert were validated by any deeds until nearly *eighty-two years after* the agents of the rival Susque-

* They were Hon. William Whipple of New Hampshire, Hon. Welcome Arnold of Rhode Island, Hon. David Brearly and Wm. Churchill Houston of New Jersey, Esquires, Hon. Cyrus Griffin, Joseph Jones, Esquires, and Thomas Nelson, of Virginia.

hannah Company had explored and bought the soil of its aboriginal owners.

This decision was a severe disappointment to the expectation of Trumbull—for, just ten years previously, he had been the pioneer in the legal explication and statement of the Case, and his own views had been soundly endorsed by the judgment of the most accomplished jurists in England—the King's Attorney General, and the King's Solicitor General, included. But the Articles of Confederation had referred all disputes between two or more States concerning boundary and jurisdiction, in the last resort, to the United States in Congress assembled—and to Congress the appeal had been made. Its fiat had gone forth, and to it Trumbull, as a good citizen—not approving, not convinced—submitted.

But the third day only after the trial commenced at Trenton—in the assertion and maintenance of the rights and title of Connecticut—he had renewedly issued a Proclamation, strictly forbidding any settlement upon the Territory in question, without due license first obtained from Connecticut authority. It was the last of his tireless efforts in vindication of the claim of his native State to the sweet Vale of Wyoming. Mournfully dark, yet not unexpected to him, were the days which followed the decision of the National Commissioners—days, with the restless, rival settlers, of strife still bitter, of pillage, and of bloodshed. He did not live, however, to see the painful scene terminated by the compromising and confirming laws of Pennsylvania—laws which, at length, left to the adventurers from Connecticut a fair portion of the fields which both their bravery and their toil had won, and restored to a country that had long been riven with contentions, and crimsoned with blood, the blessings of peace.

This destiny of Wyoming—its adjudication into the hands of a rival claimant—was the only event, with Trumbull, to sadden the closing of the year which we have now surveyed. Everything else in public proceedings—softened by the hues of established Peace—wore a sunny aspect, and heralded the approach of solid prosperity for the country. There was no more of war, or of war's alarms. That *Council of Safety*, over

which for so long and agitating a period the Governor had presided—at whose sessions—memorable example of punctuality indeed—in sunshine or in storm—from June the fourth, 1775, nearly to the beginning of November 1783—he had himself been personally present, as appears from a memorandum in his own handwriting,* no less than *nine hundred and thirteen days*—ended its toilsome, but most patriotic labors, in the City of Newhaven, when the sun of October the twenty-eighth was declining to its setting.†

Everywhere over the State war-worn veterans, no more to draw "the offensive blade," were now returning to the sweet communion of their homes. Matrons and maidens were there to welcome them whose hearts, bounded with joy at thought that they were no longer to drive the spinning-wheel, and ply the needle, for husbands and fathers, sons and brothers, who were to be again devoted to the blood-stained battle field. And soon—November twenty-fifth—filing from their last hold on the American seaboard—that hold which so perilously for Connecticut especially, they had so long maintained—the British troops evacuated New York. "With a heart full of love and gratitude," Washington took leave of his comrades in arms—and Tuesday, December the twenty-third—just when the sun, in glorious typification of the event, had reached its zenith—the Father of his Country—having finished the work assigned him—before the Representatives of the Sovereignty of the Union at Annapolis, resigned his Commission—and, "followed by the enthusiastic love, esteem, and admiration of his countrymen," retired to his quiet, beautiful home on the banks of the Potomac.

The last military scene of the American Revolution was now closed! Now the sword was to be turned to the pruning

* This memorandum shows that in 1775 he was present at the Council twenty-five times—in 1776, one hundred and twenty-eight—in 1777, two hundred and nine—in 1778, one hundred and five—in 1779, eighty-four—in 1780, one hundred and thirty-four—in 1781, one hundred and two—in 1782, eighty-four—and in 1783, forty-two times.

† Its closing entries relate to the liquidation and settlement of military accounts, and the collection and disposition of military stores—the very last being a Resolution instructing Horatio Welles of Windham County to collect all the provisions, cloth, and materials of war in Windham County for the Continental Line, and sell and dispose of the same to the best advantage for the State.

hook—iron to instruments of agriculture and manufactures, to the plough, the spade, the weaving machine, the chisel, and the axe—tent-cloth to the white sails of commerce—the ox to the furrow—the horse to the wain loaded for quiet marts—and man everywhere, in the virgin Republic of the New World, to the occupations, the enjoyments, and the security of peace.

With a more exalted sense than upon any occasion before, of the blessings by which his country was surrounded, did Trumbull, the present year—in view of its crowning success—in consideration that hostilities had entirely ceased, and the citizens of America were left "in the undisputed possession of their liberty, independence, and of the fruits of their land, and in the free participation of the treasures of the sea"—call upon the people of Connecticut, on the second Thursday of December, to celebrate again, with grateful hearts and united voices, the praises of the supreme and all-bountiful Benefactor! It was the last of his Thanksgiving Proclamations. How opportune!

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 623.

With Dr. Price there was not a word in the whole compass of language, as he said, which expresses so much of what is important, excellent, sound, and invaluable, as the word *Liberty*—and that State in which there was not a body of men representing the people to constitute an essential part of the Legislature, was in *slavery*—which he defied any one to express in stronger language than Great Britain had expressed it in her claim to bind the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever." No one community, in his view, could, in justice or in reason, have any power over the property or legislation of any other community that was not incorporated with it by a just and adequate representation.

The contest with America, he held, was a contest for power only, originating in "the pride and lust of dominion, in blind resentment, and the desire of revenge." He claimed that the Colonists, when asked as Freemen, had seldom ever discovered any reluctance in giving to the parent country, but in obedience to a demand with the bayonet at their breasts, would give nothing but blood—that they were descendants of men who never would have emigrated on any such condition as that the people from whom they withdrew should be forever masters of their property, and have power to subject them to any modes of government they pleased—that every mind would instinctively revolt at the idea that a vast continent should hold all that was most valuable to it at the discretion of a handful of men on the other side of the Atlantic—that it was a vital mistake to suppose the Colonists weak or without high moral and intellectual worth—that they had names among them which would "not stoop to any names among the philosophers and politicians" of England, and that the United States in time would become a mighty empire, "equal or superior" to Great Britain "in all the arts and accomplishments which give dignity and happiness to human life."

He affirmed that England was the aggressor in the war, and so imperiled by it, as that, if she persisted, ruin would be her inevitable lot—that there was no chance of her succeeding in it—that for her to expect triumph was "a folly so great that language does not afford a name for it"—that it ought to be her wish, on the other hand, that at least *one free* country should be left on earth to which even Britons might fly when venality, luxury, and vice, had completed, as they then seemed to be doing, the ruin of liberty at home—and finally, that England must retrace all her steps—meet the Colonies on the ground which the latter had taken in their last Petition to the King—suspend hostilities—and repeal every act which had distressed the new and struggling cis-Atlantic world.

CHAPTER LIII.

1784—1785.

TRUMBULL superintends the collection and liquidation of military accounts. Under instructions from the General Assembly, he urges Congress to add the expense of defending the sea-coast and western frontier of Connecticut to the debt of the Continent. Reasons for this application. The question of granting the Impost Power to Congress is warmly agitated in Connecticut. Commutation, taxation, and the Order of the Cincinnati become mingled up with it. Excitement intense. A Petition to Congress against Commutation, and the Impost Power, emanates from the Lower House of the General Assembly, and a Convention at Middletown addresses the people on what it styles the public grievances. The reasoning of the objectors. A factious uneasiness, consequently, among the people of the State. Trumbull's course at this crisis. Testimony of Chief Justice Marshall respecting it. He discloses his fears for the public order and safety in a letter to General Washington. The letter. Washington's reply. He labors assiduously to allay the political storm. His arguments on the side of law, order, good faith, and good government. By whom aided. Looked to as the only pilot, he is urged, notwithstanding his resignation, to continue in his post as Chief Magistrate of the State. He persists, however, in his purpose of retirement from public life, and Matthew Griswold is chosen in his place. The Address to Trumbull from Dr. Joseph Huntington's Election Sermon in May. The public policy for which Trumbull has labored, achieves at last a signal triumph. The popular ferment subsides. Commutation comes to be thought a harmless measure of justice. Connecticut grants Congress the Impost Power. Trumbull's high satisfaction.

NINETEEN months and a half more, ere the patriot we commemorate was called to take

"His chamber in the silent halls of death!"

Months they were to him, all save the first four, of grateful retirement from every public care, and of soothing meditation, in the quiet of his own home at Lebanon. Life no longer disturbed him with the anxieties of war, or wearisomely strained upon his activities for the public service.

He had bidden a lasting "farewell to the plumed troop." He had left forever the field of civil labors. He had surrendered himself, chiefly—and in conformity with the wish which in his Farewell Address he so anxiously expressed—to that preparation of which his whole life in truth had been a glorious example, but which, in the declension of age, comes beating at the heart with louder notes of warning than at all other periods of human existence—the solemn preparation for eternity.

Such is the leading picture of Trumbull in his occupation during that closing epoch of his life which we now have reached—save, as we have suggested, during its few first months. These were months in which he still bore the burden of civil rule—still, down to May, 1784, acted as Chief Magistrate of Connecticut. The period was marked by some important proceedings relating to the accounts of the war that had just been terminated, and by a continuation of that civil feud upon the subject of commutation, and the powers of Congress, which we have already had occasion in part to describe. With each of these matters, Trumbull—both by virtue of his position, and the eminent interest he felt in securing harmony for his State, and for his country—was closely connected.

As regards military accounts—besides continuing, as during much of the year which had just elapsed, carefully to superintend their collection and verification—Trumbull, at a session of the General Assembly in January—the last over which he officially presided—was charged with the duty of addressing Congress, in behalf of the State, for the important purpose of inducing this Body to take a certain portion of the debt of Connecticut, incurred during the Revolutionary Struggle, and add it to the debt of the Continent. This portion consisted of money that had been expended by this State in supporting guards upon her sea-coast and western frontier, and particularly in defending New London and Horseneck. It was an expense, she claimed, which ought in justice to be borne by the United States. There was the same propriety that the defence of her southern line of territory should be made a common charge against the Continent

as there was that the defence of the western frontiers of the united country should be made so. Other States had been careful to procure Resolutions from Congress, which assumed the expense of protecting their own respective territories. Why should not Connecticut then—a State which had been distressed by the enemy far more than most others—a State with a long sweep of water and land frontier—in whose preservation from the possession and power of the enemy the whole country, almost as much as herself, was deeply interested—why should she not receive the same consideration as other portions of the Union?

Such were the views and arguments, which, upon this subject Trumbull, with his accustomed good sense and zeal, pressed upon the attention of Congress. It was hard, he added, that a State, which was actually in advance to the Union on accounts existing and unsettled between them, should yet be called upon—this fact unregarded—and exhausted and burthened too, as she then was, almost insupportably, by taxation—to furnish farther and full contributions in money upon national requisitions.

But the appeal was not—as in most cases urged on Congress by Trumbull—successful. The Grand Committee of the Union observed in reply—first, that almost every State, on the score of war expenses, thought itself in advance—and secondly, that it was "the constant wish" of Congress to have the accounts between the States and the Continent settled—the contributions of each ascertained—and the balances, if any should appear in favor of the States, credited to them in requisitions to be thereafter made—and here the matter seems to have ended. We can find no notice of any adjustment subsequently, by which the large and disproportionate expense of Connecticut in defending a long exposed line, whose security was peculiarly the common interest of the Union, was ever remunerated—at least in the manner it should have been. The United States in fact, on this score, are, we think, a debtor to Connecticut to this day.

The particular reason assigned at the time, by the people at large, for the neglect of Congress to comply with the request of Connecticut, was that this Body desired, by post-

poning the claim, to secure from this State a full and unrestricted grant of the Impost Power—a power which for great national purposes, it was then seeking to obtain from every State in the Union—and which, withheld absolutely by some portions of the Union, had been reconsidered and withdrawn from Congress by others.

In the view of sound leading statesmen of the day—and among these particularly of Trumbull—this Power was the only expedient which could establish the credit and dignity of the Federal Union—and as a tax, the impost was the surest, most equitable, least expensive, and least burthensome of any that could be applied. At two different sessions of the General Assembly, the question of granting it had been warmly agitated—and, through the votes, principally, of farmers and mechanics, who supposed the impost would throw a disproportionate burthen on themselves, it had been rejected. Commutation again became mingled with it—and with this the question again concerning the powers and duties of Congress—and with all these points a new one in reference to the existing system of taxation in the State, which, it was now claimed, was unequal and unjust—and still another new one in reference to the Order of the Cincinnati—which, it was strongly asserted, established a peerage in the land, and was entirely inconsistent with that equality which ought to prevail in a republic.

These matters now shook the State, politically, from one end to the other more fiercely than it had ever been shaken before, and excitement was intense. That Middletown Convention, to which we have heretofore referred as having originated in the popular aversion to commutation, continued its sessions from time to time by adjournment—and though burlesqued and attacked in every form*—yet it had strength and influence enough so to affect the Lower House of the

* It made unwearied efforts, it was charged, to change the Legislature, and retard the impost act, and breed faction and tumult all over the State. It was produced, it was said, in a fit of passionate zeal for the public good, which was enkindled and inflamed by a few men who meant to ride into office upon the momentary fury of the populace—men who, if they had the power, would have subverted that very Constitution to which they were themselves indebted for the security of their own persons and property, and would have even gibbeted those who had directed the Councils of the Nation, and bled in defence of American liberties.

General Assembly as to procure from this Body—without, however, the concurrence either of the Upper House, or of the Governor—a Petition to Congress remonstrating against the powers and policy of this Body—and particularly against Commutation and the Impost—which petition met the fate it justly merited—that of proving altogether fruitless.

About the same time—in March, 1784—this convention issued an address to the "good people" of Connecticut, as it styled them—recapitulating their grievances, and stirring up the public mind to discontent. Individuals—some of them men of worth and sincerity, who labored under misapprehensions with regard to the nature of a federal government—but most of them, old tories and others, who were instinctively averse to all republican rule—these, aided by another class of citizens still more numerous—those who uniformly clamor against all taxes and public debts, and who, "from motives of bankruptcy or avarice, are ready to oppose any authority that should require them to act honestly"—seconded the sentiments of the address.

The domestic debt of the State is now one million of dollars, they said. Much more than this amount is her share of the national debt. Our State and Federal charges extend at present to one dollar on the pound—an enormous sum—which for two years past, it is true, Connecticut has paid—but now her resources are not equal to the burthen. Our method of taxation is most vicious. And here the objectors were perfectly right. Lands, without reference to their quality, they said, are all rated alike. Some are good—some are poor—but they all alike are compelled to bear the same tax—a fact which, in some instances, takes from the holder of poor lands the whole value of his property*—oppressing him, while at the same time the proprietor of good lands is increased in wealth. This oppression is fast driving citizens out from our borders. They are selling off their property, and emigrating to other States, where real estate and polls are not so heavily mortgaged—and many of our mechanics and young men are forsaking former occupations, and taking to the seas.

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* Some lands in the State, at this time, sold as low as five shillings per acre.

And then as regards the impost—continued the objectors. Giving this up into the hands of Congress leaves the State creditors completely in the lurch—leaves the "darling collectors" of Congress amenable only to that Body—under ordinances for carrying the impost into execution, just such as it, in its own mere discretion, may choose to frame—authorizing among other things, against liberty, searches into private dwellings.

And then the impost, when collected, may all be applied by the irresponsible authority of the Union towards paying that dangerous claim of commutation. When half-pay was first proposed, did not a Committee of the General Assembly take up the matter of compensation with a Committee of the officers of the Connecticut Line, and adjust it upon the basis of their original contract—and so, to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, absorb all claim for half-pay, and consequently for commutation, its equivalent? Congress is fast becoming a usurper. Let us then withhold from this Body all grants until justice is obtained by a redress of public grievances!

Look too at the Members of this Body. See them stipulating to pay to one portion of their servants, annually, eleven thousand dollars each—to another, six thousand—and to many others in the same extravagant proportion—while trains of secretaries, clerks, and attendants, figure around them "in all the pomp and parade of European manners and habits!"

And see that new and strange order of the Cincinnati—rising under the very eye of Congress—with *its* tacit consent—and consisting of men who claim to be the only Saviours of the Republic—who aspire to nobility—who are to wear the badges of peerage—and be paid from the purse of the people—a purse claimed to be at the exclusive disposal of that very Body which has just made them the gratuity! "Shall we," exclaimed the objectors here—"after vanquishing the old Lion, submit to a whelp of the same breed, and give him the range of our dearly-purchased folds?"

Much more in the same spirit, and with ceaseless activity, did the opponents of Congress, of commutation, of the im-

post, and provision for the public debt, urge upon the people of Connecticut, to rouse, disturb, and sour them. And too well for awhile—in the spring particularly of 1784—did they succeed—as did similar disturbers in almost every other State.* It had been foretold by the foes of America, that, after the war was over, and independence gained, the people would be without order, law, and government—that they would be split into parties—that jealousies would spring up between the States—that the Confederation would be powerless for the management of their discordant interests—and that taxes would produce factious uneasiness, and even insurrections. All this, to an alarming extent, seemed to be realizing now in Connecticut—or at least preparing rapidly for development. In part deluded by their own ignorance of principles, and in part by the arts of a few designing men,

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* The following passages from Dr. Joseph Huntington's Election Sermon in the spring of 1784, refer strikingly to the prevailing disturbances, and are worthy of attention.

"But there is one abominable vice," he says, "that is so pernicious to us every day, and so immediately threatens us with dissolution and anarchy, that I must bear my testimony more largely against it.

"It is that unreasonable, raging spirit of jealousy pointed against all in power, especially against those in the most burdensome and important trusts. Jealousy is the rage and distraction of men, as well in civil as in domestic life. We expend much to maintain authority, as indeed they ought to have an honorable support; and would *we only let them* do us all the good in their hearts, and in their power under God, they would repay us a thousand fold. But what can the good patriots do? First we must be jealous of them, next we certainly think them wicked, and then we destroy their influence and their good names together. Thus we lose our benefit and our cost of supporting them. We bind them hand and foot, and are like a man who should hire a number of the best workmen, at a great expense, to build him a house, and as soon as they began to operate with all their skill and fidelity, should load them with chains—pay might continue, but the work must miserably proceed.

"Let our rulers as well as others, be weighed in an even balance; jealousy makes the balance very uneven. Let us judge of those in power as well as of other men, with all that charity which the Apostle describes, and which, without solid reason, "*thinketh no evil.*"

"I am as much engaged for liberty, in the utmost extent of it, as any man on earth. I would have all in power elective by, and accountable to the people; and if in any case criminal, *on fair trial*, let them not be spared, But this hydra of jealousy and evil surmise, is not liberty, it is tyranny, it is confusion, it is death. Proud, selfish, wicked men take the advantage of it; but they must first remove those worthy men that hold them; they make or propagate a thousand lies, to stir up the jealousy of the people, inrage the multitude, and clear the seats of honor for themselves. And when such brambles get in power, 'a fire soon comes out of the bramble, and devours the cedars of Lebanon.'"

the people "imputed the evils which they suffered to wrong causes, and pursued measures for redress that served but to aggravate their distress."

At this crisis, says Chief Justice Marshall—"the venerable Trumbull, who had been annually elected the Governor of Connecticut from the commencement of hostilities, and who in that capacity had rendered great service to the cause of united America; who, like Washington, had supported the burden of office throughout a hazardous contest, and like Washington, had determined to withdraw from the cares of a public station when that contest should be terminated, in a letter* communicating to his friend and compatriot the resolution he had taken, thus disclosed the fears which the dispositions manifested by many of his countrymen inspired."

"The fruits of our peace and independence do not, at present, wear so promising an appearance as I had fondly painted to my mind. The jealousies, the prejudices, and turbulence of the people, at times, almost stagger my confidence in our political establishment, and almost occasion me to think that they will show themselves unworthy the noble prize for which we have contended, and which, I had pleased myself, was so near our enjoyment. But again, I check this rising impatience, and console myself under the present prospect, with the consideration that the same beneficent and wise Providence which has done so much for this country, will not eventually leave us to ruin our own happiness, to become the sport of chance, or the scoff of an admiring world; but that great things are still in store for this people, which time, and the wisdom of the Great Director, will produce in its best season."

"It is indeed a pleasure," said General Washington in reply—"from the walks of private life to view in retrospect the difficulties through which we have waded and the happy haven into which our ship has been brought. Is it possible that after this it should founder? Will not the all-wise and all-powerful Director of human events preserve it? I think he will. He may however, for some wise purpose of his own, suffer our indiscretions and folly to place our national character low in the political scale—and this, unless more wisdom and less prejudice take the lead in our government, will most certainly happen."

Notwithstanding then an aspect of public affairs so unpromising as almost to "stagger" Trumbull's confidence in the political establishment of his country—he yet, we see,

* Dated "Lebanon, 20th April, 1784."

trusted in God that America would not be suffered to ruin her own happiness, and to become either "the sport of chance, or the scoff" of the world—but that "great things" were still in store for her, to be reaped all in the "best season."* With the Upper House of the General Assembly, and with a large number of influential citizens in Connecticut—previous to the particular crisis on which we now dwell, and at times when nearly two-thirds of the Lower House were opposed to the federal policy—he remained firm in the views which we have heretofore found him advocating, and did all in his power to convince his fellow-citizens of the importance of supporting national faith and national credit, according to the measures prescribed by Congress. And now that the political storm was up in its greatest wrath, he labored more than ever to allay it—not only to save the State from its alarming internal convulsions, but also to bring it out, through its own convictions of reason and duty, and with zeal, into a harmonious co-operation with other States for the establishment and support of a competent, wise, and energetic General Government.

To him the very idea of a supreme authority, vested with powers to make peace and war—to raise armies—appoint foreign ministers—form alliances—make contracts—emit and borrow monies—and transact all matters that relate to the common defence and general welfare of a nation—without power to determine what sums of money are necessary to defray the charges, and without ability to enforce their payment—was a "political absurdity that in practice would annihilate any government upon earth."

No such jealousies of this Body as prevailed, ought, in his judgment, ever to exist. Congress concealed nothing from the public eye. Its doors were always open. Its journals were published to the world. Its measures were open to the scrutiny of every individual. Its account of the appropria-

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* "Though a transient gloom o'ercast his mind—
Yet still, on Providence reclined,
The patriot fond believed,
That Power benign too much had done,
To leave an Empire's task—begun—
Imperfectly achieved."

tion of public monies was transmitted every six months to every State, for examination. It could not, by virtue of any prerogative, encroach upon the rights, or curtail the privileges of a single State—and the people themselves, through the frequent election of its members, and the collision of contending interests and parties, enjoyed a perfect security against any possible usurpations from that source, and a guarantee that no scheme for the subversion of popular rights could ever be accomplished—hardly even concocted. Why then, urged Trumbull at every opportunity—amplifying and fortifying the sentiments of his Farewell Address—why then this unfounded fear, and captious abuse of the National Assembly? "Within the limits prescribed by our Federal Union, it must be sovereign—and until it is enabled to exert its powers, we can never exist as a nation—we shall be a ship without a helm—a machine without springs, and without connection."

To Trumbull's view also, unless the system proposed by Congress in April, 1783—which included the measures that were now so much exciting the public mind—was adopted, ruin awaited the States. National degradation would inevitably follow. The system, in his opinion, was in exact conformity with the powers granted even in the Confederation. Commutation stood not only on the broad basis of this Instrument, but also on the particular confirmation of every State in the Union—nay farther, on the particular consent of every town in Connecticut, as well as on that of towns elsewhere. And as for the Continental Impost, that too, in his view, was a constitutional, sound, and just measure.

Here was Connecticut, he reasoned—consuming annually about three hundred and fifty thousand pounds worth of imported goods, one-seventh part only of which she imported herself. The residue was all furnished through Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York—the two former of which States already had a local impost for the benefit of their own respective treasuries, that was continually draining Connecticut for the exclusive advantage of adjoining sovereignties. New York might soon come into the same system.

She certainly would, unless the Impost Power was granted to Congress. In such a case—upon the basis of the existing consumption—Connecticut would then be paying no less a sum than fifty thousand pounds, annually, to three surrounding States, for importing in her stead. She would thus be enriching her neighbors at her own expense. What folly—thought Trumbull—what impoverishment of herself! A Continental impost would prevent all this—would aid towards discharging the public debt in an equitable manner, out of a treasury common to the nation—would equalize a great public benefit to every State. Connecticut, therefore, was every way interested to grant it to Congress. Her own local creditors could not suffer by such a grant. It was a point of accurate calculation, that, were she to employ the power herself, for her own benefit, she would not receive by it, at the utmost, more than three thousand pounds—a sum that would not pay her creditors more than one-twentieth of their annual interest.

As regards other objections, the Governor was prepared, and took pains to meet all these. Those salaries—claimed to be so enormous—of eleven thousand dollars—to whom, he asked, were they paid? To the Ambassadors of the country at foreign Courts, he answered—most of whom had found their pay in fact so insufficient that they had sought a recall from their stations. That compensation of six thousand dollars to federal officers at home—upon whom was this bestowed? Upon but one public functionary in the land, he replied—and this one that able and faithful Superintendent of Finance—Mr. Morris—to whom the country had been indebted for an annual saving in its expenses of two and a half millions of dollars, and who, from the very nature of his position, was subjected to extraordinary expense. The pay to secretaries, clerks, and attendants on Congress! It was moderate, he urged, and bestowed upon men who aped no foreign fashions, but who were at heart good republicans.

That Order of the Cincinnati, "wearing the badges of peerage, and to be paid from the purse of the people!" Was it not formed merely for social and benevolent purposes—asked Trumbull. It made no claims on the purse of the na-

tion, he proceeded to say—it never had any intention of doing so. Why envy a man a *medal*, and a *riband*, purchased at his own expense? Why not as well envy "the trowel and apron of the mason, the cockade of a soldier, or the gown of a clergyman?" And what had Congress ever done towards instituting this Order? Nothing. On the other hand, one of its earliest measures was to abolish and preclude every title of nobility, as utterly repugnant to the genius of our institutions. Had not the people lately seen this Body, by a public resolve, refuse to nominate persons to be elected *Knights* of the "Order of Divine Providence," as proposed by Secretary Chevalier de Heintz—and for the reason that such a course would be *inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation?* They had.

That danger too, sometimes alleged, that Congress would seize and appropriate for sectional uses—for the advantage particularly of the Southern States—the confiscated and the ceded land of the country! There was not the least foundation, in Trumbull's opinion, for any such apprehension as this. The confiscated lands would undoubtedly be left to the States, for their own particular benefit. The ceded lands would remain in the hands of Congress, for the common benefit of the Union—to be disposed of in part to public creditors, in exchange for their securities—to be improved generally for sinking the public debt—and to prove thereafter a rich and productive fund to meet the growing expenses of the country, and to alleviate, in every part of it, the burden of taxation.

Such were the views—simple, solid, and unanswerable—with which the Governor of Connecticut, in the political ferment at which we are now looking, strove to reclaim from their errors those of his fellow-citizens who had wandered, and to win them over to the side of law, order, good faith, good government, and sound and honorable liberty. And in this labor he was nobly aided by his Council—by all the merchants of the State—by all those officers who had risked their lives on the battle-fields of the Revolution—and by a large class of other citizens, the reflecting, the discerning, and the prudent, who could see no way out of existing difficul-

ties but by strengthening the Union, and steadily pursuing the measures recommended by the National Congress.

To Trumbull—in the very midst and height of the storm we describe, all such persons—and many also even from among those who did not fully accord with his political views—looked as to the only pilot who could smooth the troubled waters, direct the Ship of State, and bring her to a haven of rest. And to him, in this crisis—notwithstanding the resignation he proposed, and was determined to carry into effect—they appealed for a continuation of public service in his old and honored post of Chief Magistrate of the State. His name was freshly presented to the people, as that of one, who—the most able, long-tried, and faithful Counsellor and Guide of Connecticut, ought still to be kept steadfastly at her helm.*

But he persisted in declining the proffered office—and the people, therefore, found another candidate for the gubernatorial chair in Honorable Matthew Griswold—a gentleman who now for thirteen consecutive years—side by side with the veteran Trumbull—of his political faith—like him of tried conduct, high-minded, and patriotic—had occupied the post of Lieutenant Governor of the State. Yet ere the latter was elevated—by the choice of the General Assembly, as it happened this year—to the post of Chief Executive—Trumbull still presided over the public deliberations of Connecticut. In this capacity, consequently, he went through the usual Election parade, and listened to the usual Election Discourse—a Discourse, which, so far as the personal Address to his Excellency is concerned—as being the last ever directed to himself—as expressing truthfully the public homage to his character—as referring to the political troubles in which he had then been recently involved—and as proceeding from Dr. Joseph Huntington, the eminent divine of Coventry, and the preceptor of that illustrious Martyr-Spy of the American Revolution, Captain Nathan Hale—especially deserves embodiment in this Memoir.† It was as follows:—

* See Note at the end of this Chapter.

† The text of the discourse was from Deuteronomy, 32: 3.—" When the Most

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"We doubt not but thoughts of the greatness and glory of God, and his overruling hand in the kingdom of Providence, like those now offered, but much better suggested in your own mind, have been your support and consolation from the days of youth—more especially when your burdens and cares have been the greatest.

"Very few men, since the world was made, ever lived so much for the public as you have done. After a liberal education, in early youth, your Excellency was immediately called into public office, and the burthen of complicated public offices has been your lot ever since. And though it has ever been abundantly manifest, that your Excellency never sought promotion or popular applause, but always made truth and righteousness your guide, as well when you knew it to be unpopular, as at other times; yet he who gave all your rich endowments (and to his name alone be the praise) knew what to do with you, in his great love to his people.

"When our late troubles began, your Excellency was very singular; when to avoid perpetual slavery, it became necessary to oppose the tyranny of Britain, your brethren in office, the other Governors, all forsook you, but you did not forsake your God and the people you loved. Your Excellency stood, alone, but you stood firm. 'The archers shot at you, and you was sorely grieved by the enemies of our peace; but your bow abode in strength, and your hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Israel.'

"It was not for want of the highest opinion of your Excellency's abilities and integrity, that self-seeking men and enemies to liberty have labored to make you trouble; but that they knew you stood firm against the measures of all such, and was the chief support of our righteous cause, and the liberties of your country. I presume your Excellency has often thought of those words of the great Roman patriot: 'Nemo his viginti annis, reipublicæ hostis fuerit, qui, non eodem tempore, mihi quoque bellum indixerit.'*

"This is more or less the lot of all great and good men, in public character.

"In leading us out from a provincial into an independent state, your Excellency had the path to beat. You walked before us in a rough and rugged way; but God remembered his promise, 'Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, and as the day is so shall thy strength be.'

High divided to the Nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel"—and its design was to show "God ruling the Nations for the most glorious end." "In all the great things," done for the American people of late, he claims and elucidates, "God has remembered us the kindness of our youth, and the love of our espousals, when we went after him in the wilderness, in a land not sown.'

* Cicero.

"When the wrath of a tyrant king warred against you as a lion, and your Excellency, above all, was marked out for a victim, you endured, not fearing the wrath of the king, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, so dear to you, than to enjoy any emoluments how great soever they might have been, had you, like many others, sought the royal favour. So long as the storms beat, the thunder roared, the lightnings glared around your head, all the while the tempest was so black and dreadful, you sat steadfast at the helm without a covert. Your Excellency then, desired no man to take that seat at peril. But now you have rode out the storm and conducted us into the desired haven of peace, your Excellency has requested you may retire, and another take the more peaceful seat. On this I have no remark to make; it is wholly needless at present. The whole nation will speak; posterity will not be silent.

"If we have disobeyed your Excellency this once, and have not released you, we beg your pardon; and earnestly entreat your further blessings, in the character you have so long sustained. If the people have obeyed, and have granted your Excellency retirement, you retire, Sir, with every possible honour. And may the residue of your days be happy, and your immortality glorious!

"And when your Excellency shall be taken up from us, to shine as a star of the first magnitude, in the kingdom of your Father, forever and ever, your name shall live, historic pages will shine with your deeds, and generations unborn shall know you well,

> "In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
> Sustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascent;
> Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt."*

It is obvious from the last paragraph but one of the Address now quoted, that the hope still lingered in the minds of some that the General Assembly yet again, in spite of his own frequently avowed purpose to the contrary, might place Trumbull in his old seat. But, as already intimated, the House of Representatives made another choice—the Senate concurred—and Matthew Griswold was duly installed Governor of Connecticut—Samuel Huntington—one of the former Presidents of Congress—another tried and approved public servant, and of similar sentiments in regard to public affairs—being placed in the seat which the elevation of Griswold left to be filled anew.

That cause now, for which we have described Trumbull as

* Virgil.

so long and so earnestly contending, achieved in these appointments—as it did also in the election of members to both branches of the Legislature—a signal triumph. The popular rage against the policy of Congress had subsided. The Middletown Convention had dwindled into insignificance.* Factious leaders had "sunk into contempt and hatred faster than they emerged from obscurity." Reason had resumed its sway over the public mind. National authority ceased to be a dread. Commutation—that stalking-horse so long for political ambition—became to the now unblinded eye of the people a harmless measure of justice.

And Wednesday, May the twentieth—after a full, candid, and manly discussion, with open doors, in the presence of a crowd of spectators—the House of Representatives—through a vote of ninety-three yeas to forty-two nays—by the large majority of fifty-one voices—conceded to the Congress of the United States the vital, but long-questioned Power of Impost—that power, which—now for nearly three-quarters of a century—relieving the people, save in but a few rare instances, from the burden and vexation of direct taxation—has filled the national exchequer by an easy and almost imperceptible process of accumulation, and thrown broadcast over the land benefits that are signally, and forever interwoven with its prosperity, its happiness, and its glory.† The Upper House, of course, at once concurred. Governor Griswold approved. The people rejoiced. And no heart in

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* "Yesterday sennight," says the Hartford Courant of date April 20th, 1784—and we quote the passage just to show the manner in which the Middletown assemblage was ridiculed—"about five o'clock P. M., departed this life, in the eighth month of his age, Mr. *Hobby Convention*, a person of great notoriety in this State. His death was attended with violent spasms and convulsions, produced no doubt by the vigour of a strong, fiery constitution, struggling with the *new* and *fatal* disorder called *Reason*. His remains will be decently interred in May next, and his funeral eulogium will be pronounced by the *Government*."

† "Hartford, May 25, 1784. Last Wednesday the important question of granting an impost agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, was brought forward in the House of Representatives. The debates were managed with manliness and candour suited to the magnitude of the subject—the doors were open to the anxious curiosity of the spectators, and after a full discussion, the yeas and nays were required. Yeas 93—nays 42—majority for the impost 51. Never did people in general feel more satisfaction at any public measure, than in consequence of this act."—*Hartford Courant.*

their midst—the heat and jealousies of a factious period dissipated—the Continental Policy, so far as Connecticut was concerned, established, and unanimity, vigor, and harmony imparted to federal operations—no heart beat more happily than that of the venerable, wise, and Union-loving Jonathan Trumbull.

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 641.

The following from a cotemporaneous writer in a public Journal of the day—the Hartford Courant of March twenty-third, 1783—eloquently illustrates the text.

"While on the subject of gratitude"—he proceeds—"suffer me to add, that there are some few individuals, perhaps, in every State, peculiarly distinguished for their eminent virtues and services to their country, and eminently deserving gratitude and esteem, and in this State who can be placed on that list with more propriety than his Excellency the Governor, versed in the principles of policy and government in general, and formed on the plan of the great Locke, Sidney, &c. He was a decided friend to republican governments, in opposition to high and arbitrary ideas of power, and strongly attached to our happy constitution, was early called upon to partake in its councils, and exhibit in practice the beauty and excellency of its principles, which he executed with such success as soon entitled him to one of the most honorable places in government—how he filled it let those best acquainted and his co-partners determine. When the misguided policy of the people had for a short time removed him from the place, one of his most eminent associates said—'The people had better left out all the rest of us than him!'

"To his knowledge and instructions we are greatly indebted for the successful issue of that long, perplexing, and expensive Mason, or Mohegan cause. His firmness and patriotism—his leading legislative opposition had no contemptible hand in relieving us from the plague of the *Stamp Act.* In the dawn of the late perilous war, his penetration and foresight induced him to attempt, and happily to effect the importation of large military stores, which, when all the other colonies were destitute, were of capital service to, if not the salvation of the army in the first campaign. When hostilities were commenced in good earnest, and all the other governments were deranged—when his only compeer, in a neighboring State, shrank, in the perilous hour, deserted her cause, and betrayed his country—when resolution almost forsook the stoutest heart, and trembling seized the firmest arm—you cannot forget the day, my dear countrymen—in that peculiar situation, and marked for chosen vengeance had we failed, his intrepidity and fortitude hesitated not to declare decidedly for resistance, and determined him to live and die for his country, which made and left this the only organized government in the union, and enabled it to be superlatively useful in the beginning and progress of the contest.

"The enemy feared him, and were base enough to set a price upon his head. He has not escaped envy—and no wonder—it would be more than the lot of humanity—malicious and unfounded slander has attacked and pursued him. His conscious integrity and other feelings have induced him to seek a dismission from further public services. But certain it is that very many would lose them with great reluctance; yet if the rest can find a man of greater or equal merit, let them join, and elect him; if otherwise, will it not be more honorable and grateful, with one voice to request the help of that faithful servant a little longer, in such

a case? It is but conjecture; as he never was, on the most trying occasions, deaf to the call, he would not resist the voice of his country."

"We venerate," said another writer, very soon,* in reply to the paragraphs which we have now quoted—continuing their eulogium, but presuming, and correctly, that his Excellency would not again accept the gubernatorial office, and therefore that the voice of the people should centre upon some other firm and decided character—"we venerate that illustrious character, the Governor of this State. The wisdom, fidelity, and perseverance with which he has served the cause of liberty for a length of years that rarely falls to the lot of one man—the very critical and trying periods which have so often called him to the exercise of every public virtue—together with the importance of the blessings he had so great a share in conferring upon this extensive empire—these will place him in the first rank of American patriots, and enroll him among the principal benefactors of mankind. * * Yet I beg you would attend a moment to the nature of the request you would have us make.

"In giving him our suffrages, we suppose either that he would accept the appointment, or that he would not. To suppose the former is charging him with insincerity in the reasons he has given for his resignation, or a certain indecision of sentiment on that subject; because he has excused himself in the most ample manner, and assigned the most honorable motives. Shall we therefore conclude that he concealed his real feelings in his solemn and pathetic address, or that he had not thoroughly weighed the matter, and will therefore change? But to appoint him with an idea that he will not accept, would be trifling with our most sacred obligations to our country, our consciences, and our God; and all for an empty compliment—nay, it would not even amount to a compliment; it is the same as saying to a friend, since I know you will not accept of my invitation, I invite you to dinner. Don't let us then mistake a pretended compliment for gratitude, and rush upon the dangerous experiment of scattering and wasting our votes. As an individual of a community preserved in great measure by the virtues of that great man, I feel all the obligations that you can feel; yet I cannot but think your proposed manner of expressing them would be ill-timed and hazardous. * * Let us then express our gratitude in another way, and centre our votes upon some other firm, decided character; one who is respected abroad and sufficiently tried at home, whose virtues place him above the arts of intrigue and popularity; one who seeks not the office, but who honors it by acceptance."

* In the Courant of April 6th, 1784. He addresses the writer first quoted.

CHAPTER LIV.

1784—1785.

TRUMBULL, in a letter to Washington, expresses his own anticipations of happiness in retirement from public cares. Washington's reply. Upon his withdrawal from office, the General Assembly appoint a Committee to devise some suitable testimonial of respect. They report an Address to his Excellency, and an escort upon his leaving Hartford for Lebanon. The Address. A reply. His departure—escorted by the Governor's Guards, a deputation from the Legislature, the High Sheriff of Hartford County, and numerous gentlemen of distinction. His life in retirement. His business as a merchant--particularly his English debts. He memorializes the Legislature upon the subject of remuneration for his past services, and presents some remarkable facts in his own history. His patriotic sacrifices appear in a striking light. Remuneration allowed.

THE ferment through which Trumbull had now passed—in consequence partly of those infamous tales which emissaries of the enemy and malcontents had circulated against him—but chiefly in consequence of his advocacy of commutation and of a strong national government—had for two years deprived him of the popular vote in the choice for Governor, and thrown his election into the hands of the General Assembly. Previously—during all his long and toilsome Administration—so "exceedingly apparent," says a cotemporaneous account, had been the majority of voices in his favor—so unanimously was he chosen to the Chief Magistracy of the State—that it was "a rare thing to see a counting of votes."* But for a little while, of late, ignorance, "malice, envy, despair, and tories," had worked with some success against him. Now, however, by the action of the General Assembly, he stood before his constituents—vindicated. That vote which gave the Impost Power to the United States, by so large a majority, was an overwhelming vote of approbation which the Freemen of Connecticut stamped upon his political views. It was a heart-cheering endorsement of his life and public administration.

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* Hartford Courant of April 2nd, 1782.

Soon, and the Legislature had another opportunity of manifesting their confidence in their veteran Chief—for—the days of his public life, by his own determination, now numbered and finished—his labor done—he was to retire to the shades of private life. Of this determination—as an unalterable one—he renewedly made his friends aware at the time when the State, as we have described, in the midst of its hot political strife, was again anxiously looking up to him in the hope that he would suffer himself to be continued at the helm of Government. And to no one did he express himself on this point more pleasantly—with more of affection, and with fonder anticipation of happiness in his contemplated seclusion from public cares—than to his old co-patriot and friend, General Washington—as the following passages from his letter to the latter, dated Lebanon, April twentieth, 1784, manifest:—

"Having had the satisfaction," he proceeds, "to accord with you in the sentiment of retiring from the busy cares of public life, to the tranquil scenes of private enjoyment, I anticipate, with much pleasure, the reflections which such a state will enable us to make upon the happy issue of those anxious and perplexing vicissitudes through which, in the course of an eight years' unusual war, you and I have had the lot to pass, and, in the cares and solicitudes of which, we have borne no ignoble part.

"I felicitate you, Sir, with great cordiality, on your having already reached the goal of your wishes, and most devoutly invoke the Divine benediction on your enjoyments and pursuits. A month more, I trust, will bring me to the haven of retirement; in the tranquillity of which I hope to have leisure to attend to and cultivate those seeds of private friendship, which have been planted during the tumults of war, and in the cultivation of which I promise myself to reap much pleasure.

"Indulging these prospects, I am induced to wish, and even to hope, that the correspondence between you and me, which commenced under the pressure of disagreeable circumstances, may not wholly cease when we find ourselves in a happier situation. Although enveloped in the shades of retirement, the busy mind cannot suppress its activity, but will be seeking some employment, which will indeed be necessary to dispel that languor which a scene of inactivity would be apt to produce. Subjects will not be wanting; far different, and more agreeable, I trust, than those we have been accustomed to dwell upon; and occasions may present which will serve to beguile a lingering hour, and afford some pleasing amusement, or instructive information. Let not the disparity of age, or the idea of a correspondent seventy-three years advanced on

his journey through life, chill your expectations from this proposal. I promise you my best endeavours; and when you perceive, as too soon, alas! you may, that your returns are not proportional to your disbursements, you have only to cease your correspondence; I shall submit."

"It was with great pleasure and thankfulness," wrote Washington in reply—"I received a recognisance of your friendship, in your letter of the 20th of last month. * * Believe me, my dear Sir, there is no disparity in our ways of thinking and acting, though there may happen to be a little in the years we have lived, which places the advantage of the correspondence on my side, as I shall benefit by your experience and observations; and no correspondence can be more pleasing than that which originates from similar sentiments and similar conduct through (though not a long war, the importance of it and attainments considered,) a painful contest. I pray you, therefore, to continue me among the number of your friends, and to favor me with such observations and sentiments as may occur."

That "one month more," to which Trumbull in his letter to Washington last quoted, refers—that was to precede his retirement—soon rolled away—and he was now ready to depart from the Capital of the State to his seat at Lebanon. At this time the General Assembly, aware of his purpose, appointed a Committee to devise some suitable testimonial of respect. Sovereign courtesy—the love and gratitude of a whole State—it was designed, should wait upon him, in homage, to his home. The Committee reported an Address to his Excellency—and farther that his own Company of Guards should escort him when he left the town, and a deputation from the Legislature, together with the Sheriff of Hartford County, and such other gentlemen as might choose to join, should accompany him to Lebanon. The Report was at once adopted. An Address was prepared, and a number of Members were appointed to present it to the ex-Chief Magistrate. It was chaste and pertinent throughout—as the Reader shall see. Here it is.

"Sir. Your having conducted us, under the smiles of a propitious Providence, through a long, perilous, and bloody war, to the wished-for haven of rest, Independence, and peace, having completed the circle of public duty marked out to you by heaven, and being wearied with the fatigues of a long and arduous administration, in an advanced age, have

voluntarily taken your leave of public service and employment, and are now about to retire to the peaceful walks of private life.

"Permit us, Sir, the Representatives of a grateful people, to assure you that in your retirement from public office, we shall entertain the most lively sense of your eminent services and distinguished merit—and that our fervent prayer is that the Almighty would take you into his holy keeping, make the residue of your days many and happy as your services have been long, prolong to mankind the blessing of your wise counsels and great example, and make your exit out of time, whenever it may happen, triumphant and peaceful, and your immortality glorious."

With what emotion this Address was received, the Reader must imagine—for we have no recorded picture of the scene of presentation—no intimations of the Reply, which from lips that must have been tremulous with gratitude—from a soul that must have been all alive and overflowing with the memories of that gigantic and perilous Past in which it had so long had its stormy yet ever-guided home—was poured into the ardent ear of the Legislative Committee.

"I thank you most sincerely, Gentlemen," we can readily conceive Trumbull as saying—"for the kind and flattering Address which you have come to present me with from the General Assembly of our State. It has ever been my aim, it is true, in that 'perilous and bloody war' to which you so feelingly allude, to render to a cause which I have ever believed to be most just and holy, my active services, my best hopes, and my ardent prayers for its success. If in the discharge of my duty to my State and country, I have merited that approbation, which, in behalf of the Representatives of the People, is expressed in a manner so complimentary, I am sincerely gratified, and shall carry with me to the 'peaceful walks of private life,' and to my grave, a deep sense of your favor, and of your good wishes for my happiness in this world—which to me, silvered as I now am with years, can be but of short continuance—and in the world which is to come.

"Suffer me again, through you, Gentlemen, to felicitate the General Assembly, and the good people of this State, upon the glorious termination of that struggle, in which so long, and at such an unexampled expense of blood and treasure, we have been engaged. Our noble cause at last has triumphed. Our scoffing foe lies prostrate in the dust. Slowly and painfully—through paths that have been crowded with perils—the sun oft hidden entirely from our view—and wading, alas, at times through pools of human gore—we have ascended the steep and toilsome hill of Liberty and Independence, and now stand with exultation on its summit. Heaven it is that has brought us to this 'wished-for haven of rest.'

Let us not forget its aid! God grant that we so improve our freedom, as that we may secure solid and perpetual prosperity, and glorify his great name!

"This we shall do, Gentlemen, if, as I cannot too often urge, with humble reliance on the Divine guidance in all our future counsels and government, we maintain inviolate that happy Constitution under which we have so long subsisted as a corporation—if by every constitutional means we strengthen the Federal Union—if, by a faithful fulfillment of all public as well as private engagements, we sacredly support national faith and honor—if we avoid all local jealousies, and hate contentions, envy, avarice, and every evil work—if we study peace and harmony with each other, and with every part of this confederated Republic—if, revering and practising virtue in all its lovely forms, we ground ourselves on that sure and faithful axiom, that righteousness exalteth a nation, but that sin and evil workings are the destruction of a people.*

"I have, as your Address suggests, at an advanced stage of life—a life worn out almost with the constant cares of office—at a moment most auspicious for our country's happiness, taken my leave of public service. It is my wish to sweeten the evening of my days with repose. I desire to dedicate myself with more devotion than ever to the service of my God, and to preparation for a future happier state—in which employment I shall never cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that Heaven will not fail to shower upon her its choicest favors.

"I commend you, Gentlemen, and the General Assembly, and the inhabitants of this State, who have so long honored me with their confidence and support, to the protection and blessing of that exalted Guide, whose is the wisdom, and whose the power, to make you a great, a prosperous, and a joyful people. With this benediction—warm from a heart which feels most sensibly, too sensibly almost for language to express, the renewed testimonial of your respect to-day, I bid you, in my public character, a long, a happy Adieu."

After this manner—in consonance with his habitual feelings, his sentiments, and his courtesy—we may, with but little tension of the imagination, conceive Trumbull to have addressed the Legislative Deputation on the occasion we have just described. Thus, naturally—mingling gratitude with good advice, and piety with patriotism, would he season sage remarks with sensibility—breathe out his fervid love of country—and point his finger to the skies.

The presentation over—on Friday, the twenty-first of May,

* The sentiments, and the language, much of it, of Trumbull's Farewell Address—which see, page 604.

in accordance with the arrangements of the General Assembly—waited upon by General Douglass and General Sage, formally, in their behalf, and by a large number also of private gentlemen, all anxious to pay their last testimony of respect to his official character—accompanied also by the High Sheriff of Hartford County, and escorted by the Guards—the venerable Ex-Governor of Connecticut left Hartford for his home at Lebanon. The pleasure which had been "universally expressed in attending upon his excellency while in office," says an eye-witness of the scene, in a cotemporaneous account—"the deference paid to his opinion, and the reluctance visible at his retirement, are full proofs that this venerable patriot still possesses the confidence of the State, and that he will ever live in the hearts of the people. Long, long may he enjoy the peaceful scenes of private life, and feel that tranquillity and satisfaction which must flow from a consciousness that he has faithfully discharged his duty to his country and his God!"

The curtain had now fallen forever, on the last scene in the Drama of Jonathan Trumbull's public life! The cares of the war-manager—the law-maker—the negotiator—the magistrate—the judge—the statesman—were all over. He was at home—

> "To husband out life's taper to its close,
> And keep the flame from wasting, by repose."

Yet not the repose, in any degree, of inactivity—but that of freedom from all sovereign, municipal, and exacting cares—for his were energies that could not slumber, and were not capable of torpor. Books, philosophy, science, religion, his lands, still—more or less, in degrees suited to the tranquillity of his inclinations—occupied by turns his attention, and served agreeably to stimulate his spirits, and soothe his retirement.

His business as a merchant, in the form of a home and country trade—to which form he had reduced it, as we have seen, shortly after his oppressive losses in the sphere of navigation and foreign commerce—he continued to prosecute down to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War—when, in

consequence of his pressing cares for the public, he suspended it almost altogether.*

His business relations with Europe, about ten years previous to the Revolution, as the Reader is aware, left him largely in debt to certain correspondents abroad—particularly to the Houses of Lane and Booth, and Champion and Hayley in London, and Stephen Apthorp in Bristol. This indebtedness he never forgot. His efforts to meet it, very shortly after it was incurred, as we have seen, were unwearied.† But time rolled on, leaving no gold in its sands, or

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* "Laying aside all private business, divesting himself of all secular concerns but what pertained to his office and the public, besides attending on stated and public assemblies, he sat one thousand [913] days in Council."—*From his Funeral Sermon, by Rev. Z. Ely.*

† In 1770, just after he had been chosen to the Chief Magistracy of the State, we find him struggling with it, and industriously collecting produce—corn, rye, beans, and pork—and shipping them to meet it. In 1771, still for the same purpose—by agreement with young John Lane, then in America—he is sending the same articles, by ox teams, four, six, and eight at a time, from his store at Lebanon to Norwich Landing—and, "on account and risque of Thomas Lane, Esq., merchant in London," delivering them on board "the sloop Endeavour, bound for Goldsborough."—"I pray your very candid and favorable representation to your very good father," he wrote at this time to Lane the son, transmitting him an invoice of the merchandise—"when you shall be so happy as to see him. Nothing in my power shall be neglected to secure the continuance of his kindness. My misfortunes have been grievous, but one thing being set over against another, I hope to find favor. Whenever you return to your desired home, God grant your voyage may be prosperous, and the meeting with your good friends and family happy."

"I ever intended," he wrote one year later—in 1772, to Hugh Ledlie, Esq., the attorney of Champion and Hayley—himself proposing at this time to secure his indebtedness to this firm by an additional mortgage upon a farm on which his son Jonathan then resided—"I ever intended to do justice, near as I could, to all my creditors. I have now so far settled my affairs that I hope to be able in time to do *full* justice to these Gentlemen, if they don't press me farther than it is possible for me to do for them. If they press me now, I must resign myself to it, and they must take what I have, without future hopes. If they forbear, I think I and my son can pay them as above proposed. I am willing to give them everything without, that they can have by virtue of a suit."

"I thankfully acknowledge"—he wrote four years later—just before the Revolution broke out—to Lane and Booth, in August, 1774—still at this period thoughtful of his indebtedness, and laboring to discharge it—"I thankfully acknowledge your patience, lenity, and tender disposition not to distress me, and that from a regard to my particular situation, you have been induced to refrain from any severe measures. I have a great concern to do you all the justice in my power. For that end I have exerted myself for two years to make some supplies to your estate at the eastward, and the next year had grain provided, which was not called for. The estate is kept in as good condition as though no encumbrance lay on it. The whole is used and improved according to the rules of good

but very little, for Trumbull's purse, beyond what was required for the comfortable supply of his daily wants—and the rupture with Great Britain, which soon ensued, found his debts abroad, in large part, still unpaid.* The War, upon principles of national law, cancelled all obligation to pay those due to his English creditors, and confiscated them in favor of the sovereign State to which he belonged—in the event that the State should, as a preliminary step, exercise its legislative discretion, and pass a special act applicable to the case. Such, in the absence of any treaty stipulations to the contrary, was the admitted doctrine of the day, in regard to private debts due to an alien enemy. It was the doctrine of Grotius, Puffendorf, Bynkershoeck, and of jurists generally. It was the rule as settled by the highest judicial authorities†—though, since the Revolution, opinion has gradually tended towards a modification of the rule, as impolitic—and, because of its supposed influence in impairing the general sense of the inviolability and sanctity of contracts, as wrong.

Trumbull, therefore—though reluctantly, we think, from some scruples which he entertained as to the justice and policy of the rule of confiscation—in April and May, 1779—first in behalf of himself and his deceased son Joseph, and next in behalf of the firm of "Trumbull, Fitch and Trumbull," applied for liberty to settle the debts in question in conformity with public law and usage. They amounted in all, at this time, interest included, to the sum of thirteen thousand and twenty-three pounds twelve shillings—and were secured by notes, bonds, and mortgages on lands. He esteemed it his "duty," he said in his Memorial on the sub-

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husbandry, and hath been as secure for your benefit as it would be by a deed of absolute conveyance."—"I have no apprehensions of any occasion for any Law Litigation in the affair," wrote Trumbull at the same time to Hon. Richard Lechmere, attorney for Lane and Booth." The estate is effectually secure for them. I can truly say that I am, and at all times have been, desirous to do all in my power for their interests."

* Some portions of them, in after years, were paid by Trumbull's Executor.

† "Notwithstanding the weight of modern authority, and of argument against this claim of right on the part of the sovereign, to confiscate the debts and funds of the subjects of his enemy during war, the judicial language in this country is decidedly in support of the right."—*Kent. Comm.*, *Vol. I.*, *p.* 63.

ject—"to give information" concerning them to the General Assembly—"*the same being the property of persons belonging to that kingdom which hath levied a cruel and unnatural war upon this and the rest of the United States of America.*" And he therefore prayed that the Honorable Body which he addressed would take the same into their wise consideration—appoint a Committee to adjust the said several sums—receive them from him in Loan Office Certificates, and Bills of Credit of the United States—deliver the same to the Treasurer of Connecticut *for the use and benefit of the State*—and thereupon decree that his Honor the Deputy Governor and Secretary should execute to the Memorialist a discharge of his notes and bonds, and a "deed of release under their hands and the public seal of the State," of all the premises mortgaged in the contracts—or that in some other way, as the wisdom of the General Assembly might direct, this Body would give to the Memorialist "directions and orders" in the case.

This Memorial, however, for reasons which do not clearly appear, did not succeed. No complete action of the Legislature was had upon it. It was arrested in the Lower House—from an opinion, we think, both on the part of Trumbull, upon reconsideration, and on the part of the State, that the rule of confiscation, in the case of private debts, ought to be mitigated—that it was a rule of rigor and retaliation which a nice sense of honor ought rather to resist—and that national differences ought not to impair private contracts, which, in time of peace, had been made under the implied national promise of protection and security.

Accordingly, when peace was declared, Trumbull was left with his debts still on his hands—and by the terms of that treaty which put an end to the war, creditors, upon either side, were to meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of their dues, in sterling money. Our merchant patriot, therefore, at once proceeded again to recognize his indebtedness, and to provide for its discharge. He had no gold or silver with which to meet it—but he had American securities, which the good policy of the country in funding the national debt was rendering every day more and more valuable—and these he freely proffered to his creditors abroad.

My property is wholly vested in the public funds of this country, he wrote to Lane, Son and Frazier, and to Champion and Hayley, early in April, 1783. Peace will fully establish these funds in credit. Will you not take my securities here? They are all I have to offer you. "I am ready to pay my debts in these. It is in your power to distress me, but I trust your inclinations will rather lead you to a generous and honorable settlement."

In addition to these securities, Trumbull had an unpaid claim against the State of Connecticut for his salaries, extra services, and for monies advanced to the public from his private purse, during the War of the Revolution—a claim which, in the almost constantly exhausted condition of the provincial Treasury, his own patriotism had led him, from period to period, to postpone. Now, however, that the bloody struggle was past—heavily in debt that he was, and poorly supplied, since his commercial misfortunes, with this world's goods—it was time for him to look to his remuneration for the past.

He accordingly, therefore, at different periods after the Peace, memorialized the Legislature on the subject—and for the last time in May, 1785—but about three months before his death. His claim—as determined by the investigation of Committees of the Legislature—amounted to the large sum of three thousand seven hundred and eight pounds seven shillings and four-pence—a sum less than that which was actually his due, upon a truly liberal estimate of those extra services and advances to which we have alluded. The Committee which reported this amount—and other Committees upon other occasions—found, that during the late war his Excellency had devoted "his whole time and abilities to the service of the Public"—that besides the stated Assemblies, he had attended no less than fourteen adjourned and special sessions, many of these "long and very expensive"—and that, among other services, for which he had never received any compensation, he had, "with great labor and much expense of time," stated the case respecting the claims of Connecticut to the Western Lands. They found also that a very considerable portion of his Excellency's time in each year, had been taken up in at-

tending the Council of Safety, for which, during most of the period, he had himself, and at his own expense, provided an office, firewood, lights, and other accommodations—that he had sat in this Council, in all, nine hundred and thirteen days, for which really no allowance had been made—that his extra services during the war, had been "vastly greater than any Governor's in any former war," while his perquisites did not exceed what they were in peace—and that the exhausted state of the Treasury furnished the reason why the sums due had not been paid.*

Upon these facts—in May, 1785—the General Assembly of Connecticut directed the Treasurer of the State to issue to Governor Trumbull—"in full of all arrears" due, and of "all demands" on his part against the State "of every nature and kind whatsoever"—the sum of three thousand and sixteen pounds, eleven shillings, and four-pence—the same to be issued in three notes bearing interest—redeemable in five, six, and seven years, or sooner if the General Assembly should so elect—and to be payable from the Civil List Funds of the State.

The Memorial from Trumbull, which immediately preceded this appropriation from the Connecticut Treasury in his favor, is a document of great interest—and, as illustrating his Revolutionary services, his anxieties, his exposures, and his feelings, deserves particular notice here.

He is aware, he says at the outset, that the salaries and allowances granted him, for several of the last years of his administration, could not have been discharged without interfering with continual and pressing demands for the great purposes of the war—and that since the termination of the struggle, money had been so scarce as to render it impossible for

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* Among the debts for extra services and advances reported by the Committee, were the following—which will serve as a specimen of the rest.

"1773. To searching ancient records and papers, and stating the case respecting the Western Lands, £100.

"1775. To cash to Matt. Griswold, Esq., going to Cambridge, £25.

"1776. To do. advanced to Jed. Elderkin, Esq—going to Salisbury, &c., £100.

"To sundries in articles for furnace, £3, 8.

"To sundry postages, expenses, &c., from 1774 to 1780, about £105.

"To cash advanced Capt. Job Winslow, going to Ticonderoga, £50."

him to obtain his dues. Rather than have pressed for them during the exigences of the war, he affirms, he would have been satisfied to have "lost them forever." And now all he desires for the present is, that the General Assembly will grant him interest thereon—a course which the justice and equity of the case, and precedent, convince him their "Honors will readily do."

He next states his claim for remuneration for preparing the Susquehannah Case, and suggests that it was not the idea of the Assembly to require that service without a fitting reward. He next speaks of the money he has advanced from his own purse for the service of the State—and then thus proceeds:—

"He begs leave also to represent to this Honorable Assembly, that he humbly conceives the allowances which have been made him for extraordinary services during the late perilous war, have been short of what, on mature consideration of their nature, extent, and circumstances, would be thought adequate. Should it be conceived by any that the Memorialist is disposed to overrate his services, they will be pleased to advert to the peculiarly perilous position in which he was placed—to the busy and distressing scenes which followed for a succession of about eight years, the burden of which, in this State, in a peculiar manner fell and centered on him—a period during which, at home or abroad, he had scarcely time to eat his necessary food, and [passed] many sleepless nights. [Let them advert also] to the singularly obnoxious light in which he stood with the enemy—to *the price that was set upon his head*—and add to these the large expenses of attending, besides the stated, fourteen special assemblies—and [add] other expenses abroad. But it is impossible, without the experience, for any one to realize or form an adequate idea of the multiplicity, weight, and burden [of cares] which lay upon him during that trying scene.

"Should it be thought that his salary is large, and allowances already made are considerable, a reference to the salaries and grants made to Governors in the almost infant state of this Commonwealth—considering the nature and extent of their services, and the number and abilities of the people—will make them appear comparatively small. Nor will the comparison suffer by a reference to the grants &c. to the late worthy Gov. Fitch, in whose administration a war also happened, but very different from the last—and when the perquisites from navigation, and otherwise, were far greater than in the last. They may also be compared with the salaries of almost every other Governor in the United States, equally republican.

"Your Memorialist is not insensible that evil reports and slander have

been spread concerning him—to escape them would be more than the lot of humanity—and that they have been embraced by some low and envious minds—but he has full confidence that, unsupported as they are, they have no place in the candid breasts ot your Honors, which feel the impression of that interesting Christian maxim of doing to others whatever ye would have they should do unto you.

"He [your Memorialist] would only further observe, that although he is fully sensible of the burden of taxes as they affect your people, and is and ever has been practically willing to bear his full proportion, yet he must also be permitted to feel his own—having never received for his services [what was] equal to the support of his family, and necessary expenses—and he appeals to the sense and feeling of your Honors, and asks which of you does not wish and pursue the settling and payment of his just and equitable dues?"

The facts mentioned in this Memorial are some of them very striking—as the Reader will have observed. That Trumbull should have gone through the entire Revolutionary War—loaded down each hour almost with labor—labor that snatched him often from repast, often snatched him from sleep—without compensation, the while, to meet either his ordinary or his extraordinary expenses—with nothing to depend upon for support except a little produce from lands, which, weighed down with mortgages, were the property of his creditors, and a little income perhaps at first, from a country trade, which the war, taxes, and the general poverty of the people, rendered soon comparatively insignificant, and which he soon abandoned altogether—is truly surprising.

"*I have received but two half-years' salaries since the beginning of our contest with Great Britain*"*—he wrote, April twenty-ninth, 1785, to his son John in England. "I intend to go to Hartford for settlement with the State. I hope to have enough from that quarter to pay my debt in London—and mean to have it applied for that purpose."

Does it not indeed speak well for the truthfulness of Trumbull's patriotism—that, during the exigences of the Revolu-

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* A statement of grants and payments made to Gov. Trumbull, "for his yearly salary and extraordinary services"—brought down from May, 1775, to January, 1784, inclusive—and prepared by John Lawrence, Treasurer of Connecticut—corroborates, very nearly so, Trumbull's statement in the text. A little discrepancy appears—but this arose, doubtless, from the fact that the Treasurer, to some extent, estimated as salary what the Governor estimated as extra-grant.

tionary Struggle—giving no thought to the present or the morrow of his private purse—unwilling to diminish the pecuniary ability of his State even by drawing his own three hundred pounds a year as Chief Magistrate—he should have forborne all claim upon its Treasury for his stated remuneration—that he should not have sought the money due him from Connecticut, until the war was over—and then—not in order to make the "Yellow Slave" knit rich garments for his back, buy him estates, and give him "title, knee, and approbation"—but only that he might relieve stringent private wants, and be aided in doing justice to his creditors!

Circumstances did not place it in his power—as they did in that of the opulent Washington—to donate his services in full to his country. No dwelling-house and fertile lands upon any Rappahannock, awaited, by paternal testament, his possession, when he became of age—as they did that of his great compeer. Nor afterwards was he able, like the latter, to accumulate vast wealth—and dispense hospitalities that were prodigal, and grant splendid boons, from the midst of any manorial Mount Vernon of his own. That treacherous sea, which, as we have seen, soon after the close of the old French War, within a single year, whelmed his property—gave him never anything back. From that time onward, it was, alas, but too true—in a phrase long in use to tell the tale of his pecuniary calamity—that "*Trumbull money would not swim!*" And the deterioration of his landed estate at home through the inviting fertility of superior lands open for settlement elsewhere*—through the disturbance to business caused by the teeming public troubles which immediately preceded the Revolution—and the total interruption to trade which followed upon the war—cut him off forever from the chance of repairing his shattered fortunes. A debt of fourteen thousand four hundred and twenty pounds, against six thousand and eight hundred pounds only of assets—as found by his executor after his decease—shows conclusively that pecu-

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* "The price of lands in the old settled towns is lessened one-third, or nearly one-half, by reason of the great opening for new lands and settlements since the [French] War, the scarcity of money, and the want of purchasers."—*Trumbull to Messrs. Lane and Booth, Aug. 29th*, 1774.

niary misfortune followed him down to the grave. Truly to him, in his lifetime, his country alone was money—was credit—and stood in the place of a mine whose riches—put to nobler use than gold—more powerful, more propitious, more glowing than all the shining ore which sleeps in the heart of earth—were the glorious riches of Liberty and Independence.

CHAPTER LV.

1785.

Trumbull devotes himself to the duties of religion. Biblical literature, divinity, and correspondence on theological subjects, employ a large share of his attention. He composes sermons. Some of his correspondence with President Stiles. He is attacked with malignant fever. His sickness, and his death. His funeral, and extracts from a sermon preached on the occasion. His tomb, and its occupants. His epitaph.

Besides a little private business, like that already described—study and meditation, we have said, occupied and solaced that last interval of Trumbull's life on which we now dwell. Philosophy, history, jurisprudence, literature—as in past periods—still more or less, but in a subordinate degree, employed his mind. He viewed them now, however, more in reference to their great leading principles than to details—more to satisfy, by exercise, the craving energies of his mind, than for any purpose of practical application. Sitter as he now was at the foot of the hill of life—it was only the salient points of the steep he had descended—the tallest projecting summits, the hugest piles of rock—that arrested his gaze, and fed and fortified his contemplation with thoughts profound and sublime.

But, true to the purpose he expressed in his Farewell Address, more than to aught else—he devoted himself to the duties of religion, and preparation for a future happier state of existence. "What could it avail," exclaimed his worthy pastor, the Reverend Zebulon Ely, in commenting afterwards on his character—"what could it avail that we view him as one accomplished in human erudition, famous as a linguist, a theologian, a politician, a historian and chronologist, could we not also contemplate him as one who gloried in the cross of Christ! How attentively have these ears heard him discourse on the sublime and mysterious truths of Christianity—

and have these eyes beheld *his* swim with tears, while his mind dwelt, and his tongue uttered, on these charming and heart-melting subjects!"

To the study of the Gospel we have seen that he devoted the early summer of his days—that with preaching it he made his entrance upon public life—but that the death of his brother, and other events, called him away from the sacred profession into mercantile and civil life. To this "beloved study" then, now at the close of his career, he recurred with intense satisfaction. His recess from public employment afforded him "a golden opportunity" for this purpose, which, said his pastor, "he diligently and delightfully improved." The Bible he now read more profoundly than ever—not in any Latin Vulgates—nor often, when in his closet, even in the sweet accents of his native tongue—but in its mother languages—as the Hebrew in Jerusalem spoke the one, and the Greek in Corinth uttered the other. He read it as a grand English classic too, as well as "a light to his feet, and a lamp to his path"—observed its philological niceties—extracted its striking passages—collated their meanings—compared them with those in the Common Version—and, as a bee from flowers, gathered spiritual honey for the daily food and sustenance of his soul. To him emphatically—as to that Morning Star of the Protestant Reformation, the venerable Wiclif—the Bible was "the original Hebrew and Greek of the Holy Ghost"—and he used it as did that devout son of science, Robert Bayle—"not as an arsenal to be resorted to only for arms and weapons to defend this or that party, or to defeat its enemies—but as a matchless Temple, where he delighted to be, to contemplate the beauty, the symmetry, and the magnificence of the structure, and to increase his awe, and excite his devotion to the Deity there preached and adored."

Works too on divinity—sermons and treatises on the practical duties of Christianity—and extracts from all of them, with accompanying comment—as, for example, from Dr. Owen's work on Spiritual-Mindedness—a favorite volume with him—and from another favorite religious work entitled "Morning Exercises"—careful noting too of all the sermons

which he heard*—and conversation upon them before his family, as was his invariable custom, and with his neighbors and friends—occupied much of his attention.

He corresponded, too, often on theological subjects with learned and distinguished divines, and with some of these concerted seasons of religious meditation and prayer—which he never failed most punctually to observe. Often too, and with a buoyant relish, he busied himself with selecting texts of scripture, and composing, after the established style—with due exordium, exegesis, logic, illustration, and appeal—formal sermons upon them—which, at times, he was accustomed to send to some of his learned ministerial friends, for their perusal and criticism—both that he might gratify his theological feelings with the testimony of their judgment, and promote his own growth in grace.

With no one, in this exchange of religious views and sympathies, was he in closer correspondence than with the Reverend Doctor Ezra Stiles—a gentleman whose appoint-

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* The following, out of a number of similar entries in his Diary, illustrate his habit in this respect:—

"Lord's Day, Oct. 15, 1780. Rev'd Mr. Strong [of Hartford] preached A. M. Matt'w 6: 11. Give us this day our daily bread. Teacheth us 1st our dependence—and where to look for the supply of all our wants—2ndly. Contentment with allotm'ts of his providence—3rdly. Not to be anxious in our cares where we have done our duty—to leave the event to God. Exhortation to acknowledge our entire depend'ce on God—the gain of contentment—the necessity of freedom from anxiety—Only Stewards and Usufructuary—to improve and employ all the provisions of Goodness and grace for his Glory.—P. M. Per Rev. Wm. Robinson. Text Luke 18: 22. The Ruler a Pharisee—expected Sal: by the Works of the Law. Our Saviour takes him off from them—and shows him how to lay up treasure in heaven. 1st. 'Tis a practicable thing to lay up treasure in heaven. 2nd. 'Tis of the highest importance to do it. 3dly. Many who go a great way in this work fall short, by some beloved Lusts, and forsake the way by Christ. 4th. 'Tis of the utmost danger thus to fall short. An exhortation to lay up treasure in heaven—to consider the importance of so doing—that may come short—and their great misery and danger in so doing.

"Lord's Day 17th [Feb. 1782.] Rev. Mr. Marsh of Weathersfield. Text Heb. 6: 19. 1st. J. C. is the anchor of the Soul. 2nd. He is sure and steadfast. 3d. He is entered into that within the Vail—as our Mediator—in heaven, where he is our forerunner—our High Priest. 1st. Taught where to place our hope. 2d. Examine whether we have fixed our hope in J. C. 3rd. Such as have, ought to be very thankful. 4th. Such as have not, ought to give themselves no rest, until by faith they have laid a sure foundation for y'r hope.

"P. M. Per Dom, Marsh. Text, Eph. 5th, 11th. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them."

ment to the Presidency of Yale College—at a period when this Institution and the General Assembly of Connecticut were widely at variance*—was zealously promoted, and cordially hailed by Trumbull, not only as promising "immediate private satisfaction" to Doctor Stiles himself, but as the means peculiarly of restoring harmony between the Government and the College, and of making this Seminary an "essential benefit to this country, and the world."†

"I return the Manuscript Sermons," wrote the Doctor to Trumbull, July twenty-fourth, 1784—"you was so obliging as to leave with me, after a renewed pleasure in the perusal. I wish other Governors upon this Continent were able to show such specimens of their religion. The doctrines of grace and Salvation by the Cross are the glory of pulpit compositions. Dr. Wales cheerfully and thankfully joins our Concert at the throne of Grace. Nearness to heaven is the best life on earth. Oh, how do I long for retirement and leisure to live for a better world! I almost envy your Excellency the serene, quiet, tranquil moments of literary philosophic retirement, especially when I consider that the σοφια επὸυρανιη, the divine philosophy, the חכמה האל,‡ employs your attention. * * May you be happy in your very enviable *otium cum dignitate;* and by the delightful considerations of divine Grace and Irradiation from the source of eternal splendors, the Sun of Righteousness, may you be more and more enriched with the resemblance of the divinity himself, and ripen for the beatific vision of God!"

"I rejoice," wrote Trumbull in reply, August nineteenth, 1784—borrowing speech in part, as did President Stiles, from the Hebrew—"I rejoice that Dr. Wales joins our Concert. I hope and trust our Addresses

* On account of alleged mal-administration on the part of its Corporation, infraction of their Charter, and attributed overweening Congregational partialities, and religious exclusiveness.

† In a letter from Stiles to Trumbull, dated Portsmouth, Jan. 20th, 1778, the former says, after stating that he then had a call to settle at Portsmouth—"I greatly distrust my abilities for the Presidency [of Yale College.] I am conscious of many irremediable defects. Shall I exchange the prospects of happiness in the ministry for an office full of weighty cares, in which it has been proved to be impossible to give satisfaction? Is there any prospect of a Restoration of harmony between the Assembly and the College, &c?"

"I cannot omit repeating to you," wrote Trumbull among other things in reply, from Lebanon, March 15th, 1778—"how much pleasure it would afford me to see you at the head of Yale College, not so much for the ideas I can entertain of the immediate and private satisfaction you will probably experience in that situation, as from the prospects of your ability to render essential benefit to this country and the world—the reflection on which will ever afford you internal peace and satisfaction, and give you a happy prospect of future reward."

‡ Meaning—*the knowledge of God.*

at the Throne of Grace have been performed with the קרבן טהור* of our dear ascended Redeemer, and met a gracious audience and answer, for our mutual spiritual benefit. The divine wisdom, power, love, goodness, mercy, and grace of God, manifested in our redemption in and by our Lord Jesus Christ, and beheld by a lively operative faith wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, is truly ravishing and delightful. How great, how incomprehensible—what small portion thereof am I able to conceive!" And Trumbull goes on to suggest to the President that he has "much to do for God in his generation," and to express his ardent hope that the Seminary with whose interests he is charged "may send forth many that may be able to take the people by the hand," he says, "and lead them in the way to eternal life—such also as may be strong rods to bear rule—such as may be eminent blessings in their various professions—and all such as may be good and useful citizens."

Thus for the last year and a half of his life—giving heed a little to business, just enough to yield him support—feeding also his literary and philosophic tastes—but more particularly widening his empire over religious truth—enriching himself—as his friend President Stiles sublimely expresses it—with "resemblance to Divinity, and ripening for the beatific vision of God"—was Trumbull engaged, when the fatal arrow sped that sent him to his grave.

It was at the beginning of August, 1785, that—sound in health to all appearance as usual—in a comparatively vigorous state both of body and mind—he was seized with a fever which soon assumed a bilious and malignant type. He had been out, we hear from one of his descendants—a highly intelligent and venerable lady,* who has seen and well remembers her illustrious grandsire—out upon one of his customary errands of mercy—to minister to an old gentleman in his neighborhood who was sick and expiring with that disease which soon became his own. And, as is believed, upon this occasion—no force of health now availing against the tenuous, viewless shaft of the Dread Archer—no charm of myrrh now potent enough to counteract the noxious miasm of the sick room—caught the fatal contagion, and was laid upon his couch to die.

The disease attacked him violently. August seventh, Dr.

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* Meaning—*as the pure sacrifice.*

† Mrs. Abigail Lanman, of Norwich, Connecticut.

John Clark was called to his bedside, and prescribed for him assiduously day by day. August ninth, the distinguished Dr. Lemuel Hopkins of Hartford came to attend him, and remained with him eight days. But his malady made rapid progress—staying for no art of the physician—allured from its stronghold by no magnet of the nurse—yielding to no medicament whatever. It soon so weakened him that he could speak but little.

"The tongues of dying men," says the most eminent of poets,* "enforce attention like deep harmony"—but his own, under the fatal fever, sank parched and almost powerless. His kindred and friends, therefore, listened in vain for words from his lips—toned by death—that might in the dark hour have "lent redress" to their oppressed spirits, and made melancholy yet ever-soothing music for their memories and their love in after days. Words, doubtless, he would have spoken—if strength had been but given him—of solemn monition, of melting tenderness—words of resignation the most profound—words too loftily expressing the aspirations of a spirit all purely sanctified, and panting for its home in the skies—since reason, during the whole of his sickness, retained her seat in his soul. Dim though his earthly vision, yet his intellectual eye, with photographic beauty, saw clearly to the last. Not a murmur from his lips disclosed the least resistance to the dispensation of Providence. He was calm amid all the raging of the fever. Neither a fearfully accelerated pulse—or tossing disquietude of body—nor preternatural thirst—nor ebbing strength—nor one anxious thought of earth—nor one doubt of the Great Future—betrayed his soul beating uneasily, the least, around the walls of its clay tenement.

Such is the testimony of those who watched him in his mortal illness. And when, but twelve days only after his attack, each breath began to shut up his life within narrower compass, and, "like the vanishing sound of bells," each pulse grew less and less—"he was like one"—says the pastor who watched and wept over his departure—"who had done his

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* Shakespeare.

work—who stood waiting for the Lord—and when death came was under circumstances so blessed, that *he had nothing to do but die!*" Thus—upon Wednesday—on the seventeenth of August, 1785—at five o'clock in the afternoon—"as one would fall into a deep sleep"—Jonathan Trumbull passed from Time into Eternity.

Two days after his decease—August nineteenth—amid a large concourse of sorrow-stricken relatives, neighbors, and friends, both from his native town and the surrounding country—his remains were borne to that temple within whose walls, from infancy, the deceased one had sent up his own fervent orisons to God—the First Church of Lebanon—that which in life, more than any other man, he had himself loved and protected—there to receive the reverential homage of prayer, psalmody, and a Funeral Discourse.

"*Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel—Your fathers, where are they—And the prophets, do they live forever*"—these are the emphatic passages from Holy Writ imprinted on the title-page of the Discourse, from the pen of Zebulon Ely,* as it lies now before us.

"*So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord*"—is the text from which the reverend Divine proceeded to descant on the dead Worthy, and pronounce his eulogium. As the first thing to be particularly noticed, he observes—that the deceased, like Moses, was endowed with great natural abilities, which—improved by a happy culture—he was called upon to exercise in an elevated sphere of human life—and that as Supreme Magistrate in the Republic of Connecticut—in times peculiarly perilous—he had to take a leading part—to face danger among the foremost—and guide for this Israel of God.

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* The memoirs of this Divine were written by his son, Dr. E. S. Ely. The following is the inscription on his tomb:—

"Rev. Zebulon Ely
Died Nov. 28, 1824, in the 66 year
of his age and the 43 of his ministry.
He was born in Lyme; Grad. at Yale College;
and on Nov. 13, 1782, ordained Pastor of the
first Church in Lebanon."

"Like Moses," he proceeds—in passages which we cull at intervals from their context—"with wisdom, fidelity, and success did he discharge the duties of his high office, so that it is hard to say whether he most honored that, or that, him. Wisdom is the excellence of a counsellor, fidelity the glory of one in high public trust, and success the crown of enterprise.—Like Moses, the deceased united in his character the able politician, and the sound divine.—His patriotic zeal and firmness were conspicuous in the time of the Stamp Act, he being then one of the Honorable the Council. The Governor of the State at that time, with several of the Councillors, insisted on taking the Oath enjoined by his British majesty on that occasion; his Honor not only absolutely refused to take it himself, but to administer it or be present when it was administered; and he accordingly left the chamber.

"Another instance in which his fidelity shone with distinguished lustre was at the commencement of the late war.—Happily for this and the United States, that for such a time the deceased was raised up and so eminently qualified.—Among all the Governors of the thirteen States, his Excellency Governor Trumbull alone was found a firm patriot, determined to abide by the liberties of his country, whatever might be the event. And he failed not to carry into execution what he had so deliberately and heartily resolved. During the whole controversy, amid the darkest scenes, he remained steadfast in the glorious cause, invariably pursuing the grand end in view, and trusting to God Almighty to carry it into effect. Thus like Moses he was wise and faithful, and like him, I may also add, he was indefatigable and laborious. He spared not himself that he might save his country. Laying aside all private business, divesting himself of all secular concerns but what pertained to his office and the public, besides attending on stated and public assemblies, he sat one thousand days in Council.—Those who have had the honor to sit with him, and consult with him in extraordinary emergencies, can declare, how, in a measure, like that great leader of Israel, he seemed inspired by the Father of Lights.—To sum up in a few words the public character of his Excellency—He was a star of the first magnitude in this western hemisphere, and by acquitting himself with wisdom and fidelity, dignity and glory, in the illustrious part assigned to him to act on the grand theatre of human life, he hath acquired immortal renown, and rendered himself conspicuously glorious, not only through the extensive empire of America, but the famed kingdoms of Europe.

"Another thing worthy of remark is the unusual health, activity, and sprightliness which his Excellency enjoyed, till his last, and I might almost say, his only sickness, which was but of short continuance. Considering the vast burden devolved upon him, his great anxiety, and incessant, arduous labor for his harrassed, bleeding country, this is very surprising. That his spirits should not be exhausted, and the brittle clay vessel broken and rendered useless, before the work was completed, and he arrived to such a good old age, must be owing to the merciful support of Him who supported his servant Moses.

"As a man," continues the preacher, going on now to speak of Trumbull's private character—"he wonderfully possessed the aimiable grace of condescending with dignity—the characteristic of true greatness. He knew how to adapt himself to persons of the greatest diversity of circumstances and conditions of life, having learned to please all with whom he conversed to their edification. There was nothing of that magisterial loftiness and ostentatious parade, too often attendant on men of rank and elevated stations in life. We may with good reason conclude he became so eminent and aimiable in this respect by daily contemplating the perfect deportment of his Divine Master, who hath, with singular propriety, directed us to learn of him being meek and lowly.

"His temper was uncommonly mild, serene, and cheerful; his words weighty and instructive; his speech rather low, and his whole carriage graceful and worthy. His constant seasonable attendance on divine worship, and his unaffected devotion in the House of God, were most beautiful.

"As a parent, he was affectionate, venerable, and endearing, by precept and example carefully forming the minds and the manners of his offspring. As a neighbor he was kind and obliging.

"As a student, he was exceedingly careful of precious time, diligent and indefatigable in his researches after truth, till the close of his life. His acquaintance with history was very extensive, and his accuracy in chronology unparalleled.

"But his chief glory ariseth from his truly religious and pious character."—And the worthy Divine proceeds to comment on this point with profound sensibility—elucidating it as we have elsewhere sufficiently described—and next speaks of the death of the Governor, of which also a sufficient account has already been given.

"Such being the character of the deceased," he exclaims, in the closing part of his Discourse—"notwithstanding his advanced age, we may truly say that in him his surviving children have lost a doubly dear and venerable parent, his friends a cordial friend and wise counsellor, his country a peculiarly distinguished patriot, the church a professor among the mighty and noble, few of whom are chosen, and the world an illustrious and shining example.

"If sympathy can afford relief," he says, addressing the surviving children and near relatives of the deceased—"that you have in a very singular manner. The solemn and mournful aspect of this great and respectable assembly, declares how sincerely they condole with you on this occasion. Connecticut with her numerous sons and daughters will mingle her tears; the sister States will join in mournful concert. European friendly Powers will sigh on hearing of the melancholy tidings. And in a field so extensive, how many personal friends and acquaintance of the greatest merit are to be found, whose generous and noble hearts will deeply condole with you.

"Great is the occasion," he concludes, addressing the assembly at large

within the church—"solemn and important the event which hath convened such a concourse at this time. Him whom the Father of Mercies raised up and so eminently qualified for the defence of those liberties in which we now rejoice, him whom the Almighty sustained amid swelling seas of trouble, and carried through the arduous conflict of his country, we *now* behold a breathless corpse. * * This instance loudly proclaims the vanity of mortal men. Hence let us learn unto whom we are to render praise for the eminent usefulness of this servant of the public, for the manifold and rich blessings derived from the wise counsels, the faithful administrations, and heroic firmness, of this Father of his Country."

The services within the church at an end—the funeral procession, being formed anew, moved to the ancient Burying-Ground of Lebanon, bearing to its last resting-place on earth the body of that venerated man to whom prayer and eulogium had just rendered their warm and truthful tribute. The mattock and the spade had done their work. A narrow, single grave received his remains—a grave which is now enclosed within a spacious, shapely mausoleum, that was built by the mason's hand, of brick and well-hewn stones—overarched by the green turf—and designed to hold the ashes of a whole family, coffin by coffin, as they should pass to be grouped in one subterranean chamber, and laid up for eternity.*

There Jonathan Trumbull was now deposited—the Moses to sleep with his fathers—the upright man, in the darkness to rest as in a bed—his spirit—in the purview of his own religious faith—as he believed and hoped—already borne by angels to that city which hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine upon it—there to be fed by a Lamb in the midst of a throne, and led unto living waters, until the body it had left behind, wakened by the morning of the resurrection, should burst its earthly cerements—until—the glory of the Lord having arisen upon it—it should itself arise and shine—be changed and fashioned into a new and radiant image—the corruptible putting on incorruption—the mortal, immortality—and the whole man thenceforth, both soul and body, together glorified, should enter into perfect peace.†

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* The mausoleum was erected by his three surviving sons—Jonathan, David, and John—a short time after his decease.

† "Principally and first of all I bequeath my Soul to God the Creator and giver

By his side lay in death his beloved wife, Faith Robinson—daughter, in the line of direct descent, of that world-renowned Divine who at Leyden gathered the choicest Pilgrim flock of the world, and wafted the incense of prayer over their departure for Plymouth Rock. By his side also lay the first Commissary General of the United States, his eldest son Joseph. His second son Jonathan, a Paymaster General in the Army of the Revolution, who was subsequently crowned with the highest public honors of his native State, and who followed his father in the Gubernatorial Chair of Connecticut, was also laid within the same mausoleum in after days.* So too was his third son David, a Deputy Commissary in the Revolutionary War, and so the wife of David. So too was that eminent friend to his country, the venerable William Williams—son-in-law to our Revolutionary Governor, and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence.† So too was the wife of Williams.

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thereof, and my body to the Earth, to be buried in a decent Christian burial, in firm belief that *I shall receive the same again at the general Resurrection*, through the power of Almighty God, and hope of Eternal Life and happiness through the merits of my dear Redeemer Jesus Christ."—*Extract from Trumbull's Will.*

* The following is his epitaph: "To the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut. He was born March 26th, 1740, and died Aug. 7th, 1809, aged 69 years. His remains are deposited with those of his father."

† The following inscription is on a marble monument, standing in front of the tomb.

"The remains of the Hon. William Williams are deposited in this tomb: born April 8th, 1731: died the 2d of Aug., 1811, in the 81st year of his age, a man eminent for his virtues and his piety—for more than 50 years he was constantly employed in Public Life, and served in many of the most important offices in the gift of his fellow-citizens. During the whole period of the Revolutionary War, he was a firm, steady, and ardent friend of his country, and in the darkest times risked his life and wealth in her defence. In 1776 and 1777, he was a Member of the American Congress, and as such signed the Declaration of Independence. His public and private virtues, his piety and benevolence, will long endear his memory to surviving friends—above all, he was a sincere Christian, and in his last moments placed his hope with humble confidence in his Redeemer. He had the inexpressible satisfaction to look back upon a long, honorable, and well-spent life."

Mary Trumbull, the wife of William Williams, was born July 16th, 1745—was married in February 1771—and died Feb. 9th, 1831.

Colonel John Trumbull, the painter, who was born June 6th, 1756, died in New York, Nov. 10, 1843, and was buried in Newhaven, beneath the Gallery called after himself. The following is his epitaph:—

What a remarkable tomb! No single one in the country, it is believed, contains so much illustrious human dust! A notable one in Boston, we are aware, holds the ashes of the Father of the Massachusetts Colony, Governor John Winthrop—of his son, the Father of the Connecticut Colony, as he may be justly styled, Governor John Winthrop, Junior—of his grandson, John Fitz Winthrop, Governor also of Connecticut—and of a younger brother of the latter, that unspotted patriot, Major-General Wait Winthrop. "And so 'tis come to pass"—wrote Increase Mather, speaking of this sepulchre, at the time when General Winthrop was interred*—"that the Grandfather, and the Father, and the Son, are *Asleep* in the same Tomb together, waiting for the Appearing of Him who is our Life. Egyptian Pyramids cannot show a collection of *such dust* as this *Tomb* is enriched withal!" How appropriate, in nearly every respect, this passage from Mather to the Tomb at Lebanon!

And may not events, we cannot here but think, render it more appropriate still! A grandson of the patriot we specially commemorate—Honorable Joseph Trumbull, of Hartford—has crowned a long life of conspicuous public service by filling the same exalted Chair of State which his uncle and his grandsire filled before him. He still lives—long may his days be lengthened—in the enjoyment of a serene old age, that is garlanded with the respect and affection of his

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"Col. John Trumbull,
Patriot and Artist,
Friend and Aid
of Washington,
Died in New-York, Nov. 10, 1843,
Æ. 88.
He reposes in a Sepulchre
Built by himself, beneath
This Monumental Gallery:
where, in Sept., 1834,
He deposited the remains of
Sarah his Wife,
who died in N. Y., Apr. 12, 1824, Æ. 51.

To his Country he gave his
Sword and his Pencil."

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*He died Nov. 7th, 1717, aged seventy-six.

fellow-men. When the silver cord of his life, however, shall finally be loosed, and the golden bowl be broken at the fountain—should not *his* ashes then—in fitting contiguity—in seemliness of sepulture becoming nearness of blood and similarity of honor—repose side by side with the ashes of his illustrious relatives! Three kinsmen Governors of Connecticut then—and the first Commissary General, and a Deputy Commissary, of the United States in the War of the American Revolution—and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence—and an heroic Revolutionary wife and mother, closely related to each—will all be found "asleep in the same Tomb together, waiting for the Appearance of Him who is our Life!"

"Sta, Viator;
Tumulumque mirare;
Et Lacrymis Publicis adde Tuas;
Luge jacturam Publicam,
Si sis pars publici.
PALATIUM est hic Locus,
Non TUMULUS!
Cinis tegitur hoc Marmore,
Dignus Lapide Philosophorum tegi.
Ignorat Historiam Nov-Anglicanam
Qui hanc nescit Familiam:
Parvi pendet virtutem Universam
Qui hanc non magni facit."*

"Sacred," says upon a pedestal on the Tomb that Inscription, which, with chaste simplicity, and with a modesty even too retiring, commemorates the great and good man whom

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* These lines are taken from Cotton Mather's Epitaph on Wait Winthrop, Armiger. The following is their sense in free translation:—

"Stay passenger, and contemplate this tomb,
And add thy sorrows to the common grief,
Mourn o'er the public loss if ever aught
Of patriotic feeling fired thy breast.
A *Palace*, this before thee, not a *Tomb!*
The ashes here in marble closed 'twere fit
By the Philosopher's Stone should be enshrined.
Nought of New England's fathers' deeds to know,
Can he at all pretend who knows not yours,
O noble family; and small account
Makes he of all that virtue holds most dear
Who doth not highly prize your honored name."

we have just seen laid in his grave—"Sacred to the memory of JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq., who, unaided by birth or powerful connections, but blessed with a noble and virtuous mind, arrived to the highest station in government. His patriotism and firmness during 50 years' employment in public life, and particularly in the very important part he acted in the American Revolution, as Governor of Connecticut, the faithful page of History will record.

The Trumbull Tomb.*

"Full of years and honors, rich in benevolence and firm in the faith and hopes of Christianity, he died August 17th, 1785, Ætatis 75."†

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* The Tomb is upon the eastern slope of the Burying-Ground. The cemetery itself is "a circular plain of limited extent in its centre with a gentle declivity to the south, and then slopes somewhat abruptly on all its sides to the level of the valley below."

† The following entry, in the family Bible of the first Governor Trumbull, was made by the hand of his son, the second Governor Trumbull:—

"Gov. Trumbull died 17th Aug'st 1785, 5 o'clock, P. M., of a hard fever—death easy, quiet, and calm, in possession of Reason to the last, as far as could be discovered."

CHAPTER LVI.

1785.

The general and profound grief upon the death of Governor Trumbull. Obituary and other notices of the event. One from the Hartford Courant. A letter of condolence addressed by Washington to Jonathan Trumbull, Junior. Extract from an Election Sermon delivered a few months after his decease, by Rev. Levi Hart, of Preston. Summary of his life and character. His patriotism. His industry and toil. His character as a son—as a husband—as a father—as a friend, companion, neighbor, and philanthropist—and as a Christian, and a scholar. His prudence and wisdom. The American nation was baptized, in his name, "Brother Jonathan." The harmony of his moral, intellectual, and sensitive faculties Conclusion.

Grief, upon occasion of the sad event with which our last chapter closed, was everywhere unaffectedly intense. It sat upon the lid of the public eye of Connecticut particularly—charged with tears. The sister States of America, as the worthy Divine truthfully predicted at the funeral of the Revolutionary Governor, joined in "a mournful concert" of sorrow with the near relatives and friends of the deceased. Thousands among "European friendly Powers" who had heard of his good name and fame, now sighed on hearing the tidings of his death. Generous and noble hearts wherever found, that knew his "gracious parts," most feelingly condoled. His was a great spirit that had shot from its mortal sphere. It had struck on earth, however, an everlasting root. It had made the whole world of Liberty its debtor. And its disappearance, therefore, attracted extraordinary attention, and occasioned extraordinary regret.

Obituary notices, letters of condolence, Sabbath-Day discourses, Election Sermons, and other addresses, made frequent and touching references to the public loss, and vied in expressing the public sorrow. Undoubtedly the Elegiac Muse upon the occasion, took her harp from the willows, and wailed in communion with the Soul of mourning—though we have

not been so fortunate as to catch, for reproduction now, any of the lays she uttered. But in the forms first mentioned we have numerous notices of Governor Trumbull—many of them eloquent and grateful. As they are all, however, animated by the same spirit, and, from the nature of the occasion, glide on in strains nearly accordant, we shall forbear to present but three—and these, each in a different mold—each short—but each a most pleasing tribute to departed worth. The first we shall introduce is an Obituary Notice from the Hartford Courant—bearing date August twenty-second, 1785—and is a follows:—

"Died at Lebanon, last Wednesday, his Excellency JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq., late Governor of Connecticut. In his character were united all the advantages which arise from natural genius assisted by education and experience. The variety and extent of knowledge which he acquired during a long application to several important and useful occupations, qualified him for the distinguished station which he held during the latter part of his life. Few men have ever rendered more essential service to mankind, and none can claim in equal degree with him the gratitude of the people of Connecticut. In times of peace he was revered as an upright judge, a wise legislator, and a shining example of manners and virtue. During the late war, his inflexible integrity and unwearied perseverance rendered him an able patron of our doubtful though interesting cause, and an important instrument in effecting the late glorious revolution. During the course of a long life he was uniformly distinguished as a Christian, a scholar, and a statesman—and the public expect as their only consolation for their irreparable loss, that his character will be remembered with veneration, and his example be imitated by succeeding rulers."

The second notice of Trumbull, at the period of his death, to which we shall call the Reader's attention, is in the form of a Letter of Condolence addressed to his son Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, and is from the pen of the man "first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—the immortal Washington. Though proceeding from a warm personal friend of the deceased, it will yet be perused with deepest interest and confidence, as conveying the sentiments of one whose judgment was never biased by his feelings—whose discrimination was almost unerring—and whose praise, on whomsoever it fell, cast the sure, pure lustre of the diamond. It is as follows:—

"MOUNT VERNON, Oct. 1st, 1785.

"MY DEAR SIR. It has so happened that your letter of the first of last month did not reach me until Saturday's post.

"You know too well the sincere respect and regard I entertained for your venerable father's public and private character, to require assurance of the concern I felt for his death; or of that sympathy in your feelings, for the loss of him, which is prompted by friendship. Under this loss, however, great as your feelings must have been at the first shock, you have everything to console you.

"*A long and well-spent life in the service of his country places Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots.* In the social duties he yielded to no one; and his lamp, from the common course of nature, being nearly extinguished, worn down with age and cares, yet retaining his mental faculties in perfection, are blessings which rarely attend advanced life. All these combined, have secured to his memory unusual respect and love here, and, no doubt, unmeasurable happiness hereafter.

"I am sensible that none of these observations can have escaped you, that I can offer nothing which your own reason has not already suggested upon the occasion; and being of Sterne's opinion, that 'before an affliction is digested, consolation comes too soon, and after it is digested it comes too late, there is but a mark between these two, almost as fine as a hair, for a comforter to take aim at,' I rarely attempt it, nor should I add more on this subject to you, as it will be a renewal of sorrow, by calling afresh to your remembrance things that had better be forgotten.

"My principal pursuits are of a rural nature, in which I have great delight, especially as I am blessed with the enjoyment of good health. Mrs. Washington, on the contrary, is hardly ever well; but, thankful for your kind remembrance of her, joins me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Trumbull, and your family.

"Be assured that with sentiments of the purest esteem,

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend

"and obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

The third and last notice of Trumbull from a cotemporaneous source which we shall now cite, is from an Election Sermon delivered a few months after his decease, before the Governor and General Assembly of Connecticut, at the May session in 1786—by the Reverend Levi Hart, of Preston. On this imposing occasion, the selected preacher for the State, in formally addressing his incoming Excellency, Samuel Huntington—the old President of Congress, and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence—thus proceeds:—

"It is no trifling honor to stand on the list of fame, and exist in the historic page, as the first Magistrate of Connecticut—on the same column with that distinguished catalogue of worthies who have filled the chair—down from the venerable first WINTHROP, to his Excellency Governor TRUMBULL—who, after having conducted us through the dangers and distresses of the war, with great honor to himself, and usefulness to the public, preferred an honourable quietus from public service, that he might be at leisure to improve his acquaintance with that world, where the honors conferred by mortals fade away, but the man who has faithfully served his generation 'shall receive an unfading crown of immortal glory.'

"Alas! that such a treasure of wisdom and virtue is removed from our world!—too soon, by far too soon for us, and for mankind. But, for himself, the most proper season; his hoary head being crowned with glory, as a man of letters, a statesman, and a Christian. Blessed be the Father of Spirits, that notwithstanding the breach occasioned by his death, we are still happy in a train of worthy characters, possessed of like accomplishments, who catched his mantle as it fell, and whose patriot virtues will bless mankind."*

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And now, Reader, that, with all the materials for biogra-

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*In Election Sermons, both before and subsequent to that quoted in the text, frequent and most honorable mention is made of Governor Trumbull. It would seem, in his case, as if the language of commendation could not be exhausted. Take the following passages as examples:—

In 1785, Dr. Samuel Wales, Professor of Divinity in Yale College, in addressing Gov. Griswold, upon Election Day, at Hartford, and speaking of his office, says:—

"It has been rendered honorable by a long succession of worthy and eminent characters, who have filled it from one time to another, and particularly by that very illustrious and important character, your immediate predecessor in office. Great is the honor of having a place in such a succession as this."

In an Election Sermon at Hartford, in May, 1800, by Rev. John Smalley, A. M., of Berlin, the preacher, speaking of "the retrospect within the compass of the last five and twenty years," says:—

"In this period we have passed through the Red Sea of a Revolutionary War. Here, quite contrary to what usually happens on such occasions, we had guides eminent for prudence, stability, coolness, and unconquerable perseverance—and ONE supereminent for all those; by the integrity of whose heart, and the skillfulness of whose hands, we were led like a flock, in safety, far surpassing all rational expectation."

In an Election Sermon at Hartford, in May, 1810, by Rev. John Elliott, of Guilford, the preacher, in connection with a reference to the death of the second Governor Trumbull, says:—

"Who that admired true greatness did not admire Governor Trumbull? Who that loved real excellence did not love him? Who that delights to weep over the grave of a pious and good man, will not weep over his? He was the son of HIM who presided over the State during the revolutionary war; into whose bosom the immortal Washington poured out his soul in all its anguish, in 'times which tried men's souls,' and a son worthy of such a father"

phy it was in our power to obtain—scantier far than in numerous instances we have desired—now that we have followed Jonathan Trumbull throughout "a long and well-spent life"—now that we have seen him—full of years, full of honors, and while securely enjoying that Liberty, Independence, and Peace which he had himself so vitally contributed to establish—called to his long home—what more remains for us to do? Something, if but only to comport with the established method of biography. The history of such a man as it has been our purpose to portray, seems to exact a closing summary. Let us linger then awhile to make it. As one who stops to garner up from some eminence the great leading points of a landscape, let us pause to gather from the expanse of Trumbull's life its salient features—perchance, and probably, to find some new views—and enjoy, if we can, a grateful retrospect.

The leading feature in his character—that which here first and irresistibly attracts observation—which commands the foremost glance of the eye, and absorbs its sprightliest vision—is his *patriotism*. With him this virtue was ever in exercise, and was steadfast and warming as the sun.

Yet—thus it usually develops itself in all who have a country and a home. So the Switzer manifests it in his love for his native mountains—and the Norwegian towards his own barren summits. So the Islander of Malta, insulated on a rock, displays it, when he calls *his* home "the Flower of the World"—so the American Indian, when he idolizes his wilderness because it contains the bones of his fathers—and so the Arabs of Oudelia, when they believe that the sun, moon, and stars, rise only for their own native wastes. The spirit of patriotism everywhere in man spontaneously loves and enkindles, dreams and hopes, over the home of his birth, his parents, his ancestry, his nurture, his language, his occupations—over indigenous skies, climate, and soil—and over forms, colors, and sounds, which have impressed his infancy, and which steadfastly accompany him from the cradle to the grave. Nothing, therefore, in this view of the virtue—as an ardent and constant natural impulse—distinguishes its development in Trumbull more than in other men.

But it *was* distinguishable. It was signally pure—it was enlightened—it was heroic.

Signally *pure*, we say—for there did not rest upon it a single stain of self-interest. In all that he did, he toiled for others, not for himself—for the advancement of his country, not for his own—and not alone for the America of the Revolution, but for the America of all time. Foreseeing clearly the rising greatness of this land, under the fostering embrace of Liberty and Union, and under the sunshine of Peace—knowing well its inexhaustible resources, and the laws which ought to govern its social, moral, political, and industrial progress—for the sake of this progress—and for this alone—he took an interest in public affairs, which was most profound. For this reason he labored to combine in one great whole of harmony all sectional interests—instilled, as a primordial and exalted principle, a love for the States in Union—propagated everywhere the tenets of a sound and liberal conservatism as regards government—and in behalf of labor, and its coveted treasures of wealth and contentment, spread the truths of an enlightened public economy—courting from the Old World, in this connection, all the influence which Societies organized for the purpose of promoting art and science, could lend in aid of the infant Republic of the New World.

Patriotism often has its counterfeits—in national vanity, or conceitedness, or in a contented self-sufficiency. In Trumbull, it bore no one of these false stamps. It was not that he might be able to plume himself upon the superior military strength and skill of his countrymen, that he entered upon the bloody arena of the American Revolution. He did not labor for the triumphs at Bunker Hill, at Trenton, at Princeton, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown, merely that he might compare these triumphs advantageously with those of other nations of the world—simply that he might open the Book of History, and show America, in feats of arms, belligerent as Athens—brave as Sparta—resolute as Rome—hardy as Germany—indefatigable as Holland—chivalric as Spain—gallant as Gaul—and mightier far than her English mother-foe. But he took these steps solely that he might aid

to vindicate the honor of his native land, and to plant for her—set beyond even the tornado's power—that Tree of Liberty, whose and whose fruitage only—his soul from its inmost depths, his observation, and his study, taught him—were national civilization, prosperity, happiness, and glory.

His patriotism, therefore, as we have affirmed, was signally pure. Like the chaste passion of the poet for his Muse—like the holy love of the scholar for learning—like the zeal of the painter for glorious forms of art—it worked within him by virtue of an intrinsic and lofty moral energy, and because of an intense and irresistible yearning in his nature for the sublime and beautiful in human government and human improvement.

But the patriotism of Trumbull, we have also said, was highly *enlightened.* It was that kind which springs from a calm, well-weighed view of the relations of man to himself, to his fellow-man, and to his Maker—which is evolved from a union with reason—which is the fruit too of piety, and is inspired by that fear of God which is the best security against every other fear. It comprehended a rich throng of associations derived from an extensive acquaintance with the history, institutions, customs, legends, literature, channels of thought, and phases of opinion, of his native land. These all, like so many charms, imparted potency to Trumbull's love of country.

Accustomed to reflection, his mind grasped with more than ordinary power the grand idea of that greatest of all societies—the State—and he felt the excellence of its mechanism almost as a living thing, whose disruption or injury would bring death to all the valuable interests of his countrymen. In his native province, particularly, the freedom, creative energy, and elastic protective power of its singularly liberal Constitution of Government, filled and dilated his soul with great ideas, and with reverential gratitude towards those, who, far back in the infancy of our land—amid the perils of the wilderness, and in the face of a haughty Sovereignty across the seas—had contrived to found and rear it. To him therefore, the celebrated Charter of Connecticut was, pecu-

liarly, a grand patriotic Missive*—which made him acute to perceive the first secret invasions of American rights—quickened him to trace them down, through their whole sad series of consequences, into an oppressor's final errands of blood and rapine—and rendered him swift, therefore, to organize resistance.

And he knew well too—student and administrator of jurisprudence as he long had been—the surpassing importance to life, liberty, and property, of a wholesome frame-work of laws—such as in his own State particularly—so simple, so just, so equalizing, so vivifying—was found—and he could, therefore, feel most forcibly the peril to all the civil, social, and domestic relations which an extraneous claim to review and modify or repeal these laws, like that set up by England, would occasion.

In this view—seasoned by knowledge—guided by a sagacity on which nothing could impose—and uniting all the virtues which render private life useful, amiable, and respectable—the patriotism of Trumbull was the exact counterpart in America of that in England, which, in the days of the old Commonwealth, shone in the spirit of one whom even Clarendon places in the foremost rank of men—the immortal Hampden—and of that spirit also, which, in Italy, beamed from the life of one whose enlightened republican effort, virtuous eagerness, and noble modesty, have stamped him as the saviour of Genoa—the ronowned Andrea Doria.

The patriotism of Trumbull, we have also said, was *heroic.* Look at him just after the Peace of Paris—when the Stamp Act was about obtaining official endorsement at the hands of

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* In his speech to the General Assembly in 1778, he refers to this instrument as being "the Amiable and Salutary Constitution of Government made and ratified" in Connecticut from the beginning of the State. "I wish to see," he adds, "or rather hope, similar constitutions may be established in all the United States of America. Its true grandeur and solid Glory do not consist in high Titles, splendor, pomp, and magnificence, nor in reverence and exterior honor, but in the real and solid advantages derived therefrom, to each State, whose support, defence, security, and asylum, its nature and institution forms—and at the same time, that it is the fruitful source of decency, decorum, good order, and every terrestrial blessing, especially to the poor and weak who ought to find beneath its shade and protection, a sweet peace and tranquillity not to be interrupted or disturbed."

Governor Fitch! How then—at the very threshold of Colonial resistance to British authority—in the first faint twilight of a star dawning upon American rights—did his eye perceive approaching danger, and his lips utter loud and indignant notes of warning, and his heart hail the blessed vision of freedom! Look at him, at the outset of the Revolutionary War, voluntarily constituting himself the *only* rebel Executive among thirteen Governors in the Colonies! Before him was one of the mightiest of human monarchs—master to all appearance not only of his office, but of his fortune, and his life—and claiming, under every sanction of precedent, and by every virtue of sovereignty, his allegiance, and his duty to the Crown. Yet, how instantaneously did Trumbull spurn the claim, with its adjunct of servitude—spurn it in the face too of rewards, princely and profuse, which doubtless would have been heaped upon him had he remained a loyal servant—and, magnanimously and at once, espouse the side of his native land! How adhere to this side with Suliot ardor—in defiance of a price set upon his head, cling to it with all the devotion of a martyr—devotion the more intense, as the Reader of this Memoir must have repeatedly remarked, in proportion as this cause seemed desperate!

His spirit of patriotism knew in fact no difficulty—it contemned all danger. It was inventive of enterprise—it was ever fertile in resources. Like that of Scotland's "Guardian Genius" in this respect—the ever-memorable Wallace—it flew through the people, rousing activity, and enkindling intrepidity. It infused patience. It bore up all fainting hearts.*

Said his son Colonel John, in 1775, of one who invidiously remarked that the Trumbull family at this time—through offices at the hands of the public of profit and of trust—were "well provided for"—"he is right; my *father* and his three

* It exclaimed to Connecticut, and to every sister State in the Union—in the language of the great Frederic to his gallant little army before the battle of Rosbach—"my brave countrymen, the hour is come in which all that is, and all that ought to be dear, to us, depends upon the swords that are now drawn for battle. You see me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I ask of you is the same pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. Acquit yourselves like men, and put your confidence in God!"

sons are doubtless well provided for; *we are secure of four halters*, if we do not succeed!" The spirit, that with all other ventures, could thus defy too a *gibbet*, was indeed heroic—was more than the spirit of Scævola, in face of the legions of Sylla, scorning to save "a little superanuated flesh," as he styled himself, by pronouncing Marius an enemy to the State—was the spirit rather of the Fabii and Decii of the Eternal City—those illustrious patrician families that generously sacrificing their all for the public good—solemnly devoting themselves to die for the service of the State—have left an example of domestic and hereditary patriotism that has been in all ages the admiration and the boast of the world.

The spirit of Trumbull we have now described would, under any circumstances, have kept him active for the public good—but fed as it was in the latter part of his career by extraordinary events, it produced an amount of toil far beyond what falls to the lot of public men generally, and truly astonishing. The General Assemblies, stated and otherwise, upon which he attended, and whose proceedings he ever watched with punctual care—the days, close upon one thousand, that he sat in the Council of Safety—in numerous instances intensely occupied during all the watches of the night, as rider after rider galloped to the old War Office in Lebanon, bringing fresh news, and rousing to fresh solicitudes—the perpetual executive duties, in the channels of orders, commissions, correspondence, personal consultations with military and naval officers and agents, personal visits to various posts and stations, and business interviews at the Pay Table, that occupied his attention at other intervals—these, together with his private family interests, the claims of devotion, and the claims of neighborhood—which in his case were never, save from stern necessity, pretermitted—pressed upon him with a weight that would have overpowered any man, not like himself, endowed with a physical constitution of rarest vigor, and with a spirit of industry that craved, and that consumed, constant aliment.

From his birth down to the illness which terminated his life, he seems to have enjoyed an almost uninterrupted sound-

ness of body as well as of mind. No wearisome maladies exacted regimen either at his own, or at the hands of the physician. No languid eye, or cheek deserted of its bloom, or shrunk and flaccid muscles, betokened routed strength, until the last mortal exhaustion. Simple and temperate in his diet—regular in his habits—never lured into any bodily excess—systematic in exercise—fond of the open air—often himself taking part in the labors of the garden or the farm—it was his fortune to lay up a bounteous stock of

> "that chiefest good
> Bestowed by heaven, but seldom understood,"

unpurchased health—from which, as the war demonstrated, he could draw almost exhaustlessly.

In the domestic and social relations of life, praise of Trumbull cannot outdo its office—for here he was truly an exemplar.

As a son—he was ever dutiful. Thoughtful at all times of the tender cares his parents had lavished upon his own infancy—of the watchfulness with which they had protected the careless vigor of his boyhood—and of the warm ambition, and free expenditure with which they had conferred upon him the rich boon of education—he returned their affectionate offices with kindest ministrations of his own—and like a gentle spirit, hovered over their waning age.

As a husband, he was ever devoted. Having entered into the matrimonial alliance from judgment as well as from love—with careful reference to those mental and moral graces, which, more than all the charms of person, embellish wedlock, and fortify its course—he was able to maintain the flame of conjugal attachment steady to the close of life. No demonstrations of mere sentiment, such as often stamp married life with folly, ever marked *his* love, we are confident—no lavish caresses and trembling ecstacies—no heart-sore sighs and tears—but he manifested this love as a decorous and dignified, as well as a sincere and vigilant affection. He, therefore, had no ulcers upon the family heart to encounter—no blasting of his wedded days with strife—no strangling of dear vows—no repentant steps for his soul, mourning at past

precipitation and infatuation, to take, *back* from the altar—but, enchaining the confidence of his wife—

> "she o'er his life presiding,
> Doubling his pleasure, and his cares dividing,"

his home was a scene of constant quiet and happiness. And, when the partner of his bosom left it for her long home in the grave, no one so sensibly felt the loss, no one mourned so profoundly as himself. "One year from my wife's death"—he entered in his Diary, Tuesday, May twenty-ninth, 1781, affectionately memorializing her decease—"Prepare for my own"—he added, thoughtful of the time when he was himself to join her society above.

As a father, he discharged the ordinary duties of this relationship, not simply because they are duties prompted by nature—but because also they are established by the highest ethical laws, and spring out of the soul of religious obligation. To fit his children "not to live merely, but to live well"—not for circumstances of earthly splendor, but for the simple, grave realities of existence—to train them "to those affections which suit the filial nature, and which are the chief elements of every other affection that adorns in after days the friend, the citizen, and the lover of mankind"—such were the great objects which Trumbull as a parent kept steadily in view, and prosecuted with happy zeal. With far more than ordinary considerateness he felt that Heaven had consigned immortal beings to his charge—and with far more than ordinary attention, therefore, he labored to discipline their minds to habits of reflection—to store them with helpful knowledge—to warn against vices—to inculcate the elevated lessons of virtue and piety—and to educe their ambition, their hopes, and their efforts, for the benefit of their race, to their own happiness, and for the glory of their Maker.*

*Upon each of his sons, save one, he bestowed a liberal education—and this one failed to graduate at Harvard University only because, at the period when otherwise he would have taken this course, the sea had wrecked his father's fortune. His daughters, in addition to all the intellectual advantages which the country could afford them, were sent to gather accomplishments, both substantial and graceful, in the Metropolis of New England. "You will always remember," he wrote his son John while the latter was in the army of the North—

And while thus implanting rules for moral felicity, and inculcating the thirst for knowledge and usefulness, neither moroseness, or rigor, or melancholy tinged his discourse, nor was it ever allowed to surfeit. He taught "with gentle means, and easy tasks." In the infancy of his children, he could relax, at home, into their own softness and glee, and be himself "a boy again"—could watch for the dawn of their young joys, and make the hours of the little prattlers run along winged with gladness. In their adult years, he punctually sought their society as a refreshment both to *their* happiness and *his own.*

Deep was the grief of the manly sire when he lost two of them by death. "The tenderness and affection of my daughter Faith," he was wont to say, "I am apt to think are without a parallel." "Would that my dear son John could have taken a last parting look at his dear mother," was his exclamation when he lost the partner of his bosom. "It takes long to the autumn come twelve months for your return," he wrote this son—at the time in England—craving with new ardor his society just before his own decease—"but I acquiesce in what may be for your advantage. I am much rejoiced at your happy progress in your profession. Your long silence occasioned anxiety for your welfare." Truly the heart of Trumbull was a fountain of love towards his children. His anxiety clasped them at almost every hour. His bounty in his last Testament was spread equally on all.

As a friend—companion—neighbor—and philanthropist—the character of Trumbull shines as in the relationships just described—with calm lustre. No man more than himself desired the happiness of those around him, or labored more diligently to promote it. He lived in an atmosphere of good will, and his services were ever at the command of modest worth.* His intercourse with others was tempered with affability and politeness.

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and the monition indicates truly his own guiding principles in educating his offspring—"you will always remember that the business of religion ought to be the daily concern of our lives. Virtue ought to be the daily object of all government, and especially that of ourselves."

* Take the following letter from his hands, April 11th, 1785—recommending Major Roger Alden, the friend and correspondent of Captain Nathan Hale, to an

Dressing, as he did, in the costume of the early part of the eighteenth century—which he retained down to the close of his life—his personal appearance, in his single-breasted, broad-flapped coat of richest cloth—his low, silk-embroidered vest—and wristbands ruffled with fastidious care, and studded with sleeve buttons of costly gold—was dignified and imposing—while his discourse, serious or cheerful as the occasion demanded, but always mild, was set off by manners, which, as has been justly remarked,* "won the admiration and regard of those who were familiar with courts and courtiers, as well as of his own unsophisticated countrymen." He never in conversation plunged into controversies for the sake either of victory or excitement. Sarcasm had no place in his bosom, save for the enemies of his country—seldom raillery, however good-humored. He was above envy, and neither injured others by malice, or himself by folly.

On the other hand, he had that complaisance—the result of good sense and good breeding—which in society "smoothes distinctions, sweetens conversation, encourages the timorous, soothes the turbulent, and makes every one pleased with himself." His house was the stranger's home, and the favorite resort of friendship. To all, the welcome of his hospitality was most cordial.

He zealously promoted neighborhood harmony, both by

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office under Congress—as a specimen both of his zeal for others, and of his manner when aiming to conciliate interest in their favor.

"Being informed," he writes, addressing Dr. W. S. Johnson—"that the office of Deputy Secretary to Congress is about to be filled up upon a new arrangement of that Department—and that Congress is casting about to find some suitable person for the appointment—I take the liberty to mention to you Major Roger Alden as a person well qualified to sustain the duties of such an office. Born in my neighborhood, and educated in a manner under my eye, I have had opportunity of knowing him from his youth to the present time, and can therefore say that I look upon him as a young gentleman possessed of natural good abilities, enlarged by a liberal education, and improved by several years' knowledge of mankind in the public service of his country, in which he acquitted himself with honor and reputation. I esteem him also possessed of integrity and attention to business, two very necessary requisites in the discharge of the office in question. Should Congress be pleased to appoint Major Alden, I shall find myself exceedingly mistaken in my opinion if he does not sustain the office with propriety and reputation, and discharge the duties of it to their acceptance and good satisfaction. I am, &c."

* In the National Portrait Gallery.

his own example, and by his counsel and professional aid. Was there a controversy in reference to property or business which arbitrament could settle? To Trumbull, especially, appeal was made. Were there wounds of feeling to be healed? Trumbull was the physician there. Confidence in his personal character was universal and unlimited. The plant of friendship, both for the sake of his own happiness and that of others, he cultivated with care—seeking ever to engraft it on the stock of merit, and to keep it green and budding. In reproof gentle, in commendation discreet—discountenancing and condemning all anger and uncharitableness—never listening to the recitals of prejudice, or to the whispers of detraction—he treated the infirmities of others with parental solicitude, allured to gentleness, and led to peace.

His own too, peculiarly, was that spirit of genuine benevolence which is not only alive to all human suffering, but which—springing from the simple love of doing good, and not from the motive of ostentation—was never therefore squandered in loose prodigalities, and was always consistent in its display.

None could be sick in his neighborhood that he did not visit and relieve. His attention in this respect was proverbial.* Numerous medicines, and other appliances for relief in illness—some of them quite costly, and which in his day it was difficult to procure—he kept for use whenever wanted.† Like another illustrious Governor of Connecticut in the olden time—John Winthrop—though not like him a professed physician—Trumbull too possessed much knowledge in the healing art, and went about with it reading often the true diagnosis of disease, and administering healing prescriptions. And whether bestowing alms within the humble cottage, or the poor-house—on the widow, the orphan, or the wayside mendicant—whether contriving for the comfortable subsist-

* He habitually, as we have had occasion heretofore to suggest, carried a piece of myrrh in the pocket of his waistcoat, both as a guard for himself against the miasm of the sick room, and for the benefit of invalids.

† A costly silver spout-cup, for example, and a warming-pan of shining brass—in his time rarities—were in request wherever almost, around him, the bed of a sufferer could be found.

ence of the soldier in the field, or upon his return weary, wounded, and pennyless to his home—whether sending generous presents from the produce of his farm to the teachers of his sons, or golden guineas "in token of his affection", to the needy among his relatives—whether subscribing liberally to the church, the school, to public charities, to private associations for the relief of want, or to some material improvement in his own town, county, or State—in all the forms in which the benevolent spirit can display itself, he labored to chase sad shadows off from the face of life, and to extend, in every direction, the sphere of human enjoyment.

As a Christian, Governor Trumbull led a life of singular godliness. The religious spirit in him, as the Reader of this Memoir must have repeatedly remarked, was uncommonly fervid. Profoundly impressed with the truths of the Bible—believing them to be the basis both of civil society, and of the society of the blest in heaven—feeling in his inmost heart that they formed that connecting link between man and his Creator which binds humanity to the Eternal Throne, and which, once sundered, man "floats away a worthless atom in the universe, out of his proper being, out of the circle of all his duties, out of the circle of all his happiness"—he therefore clung to their investigation with tireless devotion—labored to exemplify them in all his conduct—and toiled and thirsted for their extension.

Spiritual meditation, prayer, and praise, were his daily food—not as forms of godliness alone, but as "the power"—both that he might sublimate his own thoughts and affections for heaven, and strengthen them for the duties of earth. There was no occasion hardly, it is worthy of remark, on which he did not recognize the superintending Providence of God, and speak of it in terms of awe. Many of lighter religious sense than himself might think that he carried this recognition too far, at times, into the common affairs of life, and too constantly indulged in phrases of devotional formality—that a bulletin, for example, announcing the hand of man in battle need not, so often as it did, have given him occasion to note the hand of God—that small circumstantial changes in the course of events ought not, so much as they did in his

mind, to have instigated the idea of divine guidance—nor occasions of public proclamations or correspondence on civil affairs have provoked so frequently from his pen strains of pious reflection.

But to the profoundly religious mind, that sees God in everything—that feels that He has numbered the hairs of our heads, and that not a sparrow can fall to the ground without his notice—this seeming excess of spiritual zeal will appear but as the natural effusion of a soul whose conception of the Supreme Disposer of all events was such—so pervaded with "pious awe and trembling solicitude"—that everywhere in the world of nature and of man it sought with eagerness to trace the manifestations of his power. Certain it is that his zeal never degenerated into fanaticism—for he entertained no crude or extravagant notions concerning religion, unless the best doctrines of Calvin can be so regarded. Nor did he exhibit any wild enthusiasm in maintaining them. Nor, on the other hand, did he ever so mix material philosophy with religious sentiment as to translate the teachings of the Bible either into any wayward doctrines of Transcendentalism, or into any cold or fashionable system of Formalism. But calm in his reasonings upon points of doctrine—free from all envenomed sectarian taint—he adopted his creed with considerateness—and then allowed his soul to warm over it with such mingled gravity and cheerfulness—so wisely and so well—as to commend his Christian virtues signally to the respect and attachment of all his cotemporaries. He was emphatically a model of Christian charity, forbearance, and well doing. His name, during his lifetime, is "spread all over the records of the Church" in his native town, as its chief pillar, counsellor, and friend.

As a scholar, his life was distinguished for addiction to study whenever the cares of business allowed him the opportunity. In his youth—and during much of his career down to the Revolution—and for a little while after the Peace—he enjoyed this opportunity quite abundantly. And he improved it with that devotion which showed a radical desire for self-culture, and which prizes knowledge, not only for its own intrinsic worth, but for the beneficial power also

with which it arms its possessor over the happiness of mankind.

Characteristically, he sought instruction for solid use—for practical adaptation—seldom for ornament merely, and never for parade. So strong indeed in him was the preference of fact to fancy—of the useful to the merely pleasant or ornamental—that, were it not for the sensibility he ultimately exhibited to his youngest son's success as a painter, we should doubt whether the fine arts, for example, would have ever received from his understanding any homage. Were it not, again, that we perceive in public documents, and other compositions from his pen, great simplicity and neatness—a style often highly refined—words aptly chosen—and sentences happily collocated—we should hardly believe that the graces of composition, as such, had ever in study commanded his attention.

As the case with him in fact was, he loved the heroes of Thermopylæ and Marathon, in classic reading, much more than the heroes of Homer. The Hill of Mars, where Demosthenes thundered, and roused his countrymen to glorious deeds of arms, attracted him far more than the top of Hymettus, where the bees distilled honey either for pæans to Apollo, or dythyrambics to Bacchus. The groves of the Academy, and the banks of the Ilyssus—where Plato taught wisdom to the youth of Athens, and Socrates drew down philosophy from heaven—were infinitely more grateful to his contemplation than the fountains of Helicon or Pindus, where Terpsichore held her seven-stringed lyre, and Thalia her comic staff, and the mild Melpomene her tragic mask.

But dearer far to the ear of his scholarship than all the narratives, philosophy, eloquence, or song of classic Greece and Rome, was God's own great anthem of revelation in Holy Writ. With a satisfaction such as his mind experienced from no other source, he read in the sublime Hebrew the ingenuous recitals of Moses, the sparkling aphorisms of the Proverbs, the "sententious and royal" wisdom of Solomon, and the lofty strains of Isaiah. The dew of Hermon on his brow—Bozrah's red wine upon his lips—he sat down at Siloah's fount, fast by the oracles of God—there by turns, with relish that was unsurpassed, to melt over the dirges of Jeremiah—

imbibe "the tender freshness of pastoral hymns"—or glow with "the purple tumult" of David's triumphal Psalms.

Together with a knowledge of Greek and Latin, and of Hebrew, with its cognate dialects to some extent—of which last language, as we have noticed, he compiled a Grammar—history, chronology, and jurisprudence also, as we have seen, were favorite studies with Trumbull. And they were all pursued by him with reference, constantly, to their practical application—and with such good success as to establish for himself a literary and civil fame, which won for him honorary degrees, of the highest grade, from the Universities of Yale in America, and of Edinborough in Scotland.

But though his scholarship took chiefly the directions now mentioned, yet he was by no means inattentive to acquisitions in other departments of learning. The sterling English Classics were familiar to him. He had a good acquaintance with astronomy—as the frequent notings upon the pages of his almanacs clearly show. He knew much of mathematics, natural philosophy, and the laws of mechanics. To the exact sciences generally, he attached high value—not only on account of their own peculiar results, but because especially of the training which they afford—particularly in the art of reasoning—for the higher ethical, religious, jural, and political speculations. One might almost, in this respect, have written over the door of his mind the inscription which Plato placed over the door of his Philosophical School at Athens—"Let no one unacquainted with geometry enter here!" He was not unfamiliar with natural history, and the Materia Medica. He had more than ordinary information upon agriculture as a science as well as a practical art. In short, Trumbull had carefully stored away from the stock of human knowledge such treasures as became a gentleman of accomplished education in *his* day—and used them with happy industry, and flattering success.

Eminent again among his characteristics, and shining through every part of his life, was that leader among the virtues, as Plato entitles it—*Prudence.* He deliberated with caution upon the means suited to effect the ends he had in view, and with singular natural sagacity detected and select-

ed from among them all those which, under the circumstances, were the best. Nor was his prudence confined within this the ordinary sphere which moralists assign to this virtue. It took with *him* a far higher range. It not only involved the exercise of a sound judgment in selecting means, but itself struck out important and laudable ends to which these means should be applied—was itself, in fact, not only a culler and chooser among plans, like a wise inspector among goods, but was also often their originator. Here then, in this double combination, was prudence in its most exalted sense—that of wisdom applied to practice—that of knowledge brought with judicious skill to bear both on the creation and on the accomplishment of measures for good. This was the prudence contemplated by the philosophic Plato when he called it, as we have stated, the "Leader among the virtues"—and this was the peculiar alchemy in Trumbull which turned his guidance of affairs into gold.

We stop not to contemplate it in its exhibitions in his private life—but as regards its development in his public career, what Reader of this Memoir will not at once, in this connection, recall the facts, that during the emergencies of the old French War, Trumbull was repeatedly selected by Connecticut to sit in Council with the Chief Executives and leading minds of other States—and with British commanders-in-chief, and other officers of distinguished rank—for the purpose of devising measures to carry on the great struggle against French power in the New World—and that twice also, at about this period, he was chosen by his native Colony to represent her at the imperial Court of Great Britain! Here were striking compliments to his prudence in his earlier years.

As time advanced, and he reached the highest executive post in Connecticut, we find him in times of peace charged—often *alone*—with the management of civil affairs of vital interest to the State—often with controversies, as those respecting the Mohegan and Susquehannah lands, of transcendent importance to Connecticut, and most delicate and difficult in the guidance they required. Here are other proofs of the public confidence in his prudence.

But more than all, we have seen him during a war of seven

years, that not only "tried men's souls" on the field of battle, but tasked to the utmost their wisdom in counsel—that in fact called imperiously for all the foresight, and all the circumspection of which human nature is capable—we have seen him under these circumstances, not only kept steadily at the helm of Connecticut, but guiding her Ship of State—himself often the only pilot—with a success so admirable as not only to keep her off from the breakers which maddened for her destruction, but to preserve her staunch and sound, and take her at last, in beauty and in triumph, into the port of peace. Here again was demonstration the most signal of the confidence in Trumbull's prudence.

But this confidence was not confined to the bosoms of his own immediate constituents. It extended over the Union. It was specially manifested by Congress, whose consultations with him, in one form and another—either as a Body, or through correspondence by Members—was almost habitual. It was manifested by Executive Magistrates, and Councils, and Committees of surrounding States, that sought steadily *his* advice. But more than all, it was shown by the Father of his Country—the immortal Washington—who never failed—it may almost with exactness be said—upon every occasion of emergency during the entire War of the Revolution, to lean for counsel upon Trumbull's sagacious mind as strongly as he leaned for material co-operation upon Trumbull's stalwart arm.

So frequently did the Commander-in-chief appeal to the latter for his deliberation and judgment, that—not only when any conjuncture of difficulty or peril arose, but even often when matters not involving peril, but simply facts and circumstances hard of solution, were under his consideration—he was in the habit of remarking—"*We must consult Brother Jonathan*"—a phrase which his intimate relations of friendship with the Governor of Connecticut fully warranted, as well as the fact—probably well known to Washington—that "*Brother Jonathan*" was the title of familiar but respectful endearment by which Trumbull was often designated in his own neighborhood and home, among a large circle of relatives, friends, and acquaintances generally.

From the marquee and council-rooms of the Commander-in-chief, the phrase "*we must consult Brother Jonathan*" passed out to the soldiery. And gradually spreading from mouth to mouth, as occasions of doubt and perplexity, and finally even of slight embarrassments, arose—soon became a popular and universal phrase in the whole American army—in use to unravel the threads of almost every entanglement—solve every scruple—unriddle every enigma—settle every confusion—smooth every anxiety—and untie even—as a kind of *pis-aller*, as a catch-phrase of wand-like power—every little Gordian knot of social converse.

From the camp the expression passed to adjacent neighborhoods—from adjacent neighborhoods to States—and both in this way, and through the medium of returning soldiery, became propagated through the country at large—until finally, syncopated in part, it was universally appropriated, through its two emphatic closing words "BROTHER JONATHAN," as a sobriquet, current to the present day—and which will continue current, probably, through ages yet to come—for that mightiest of all Republics that ever flung its standard to the breezes of heaven—THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

So it happens, that a Governor of Connecticut—and this the one we commemorate—by force of an exalted virtue, signally developed in himself, has enstamped his own name upon half the Continent of the New World! In his name a colossal nation has been baptized.* The Kingdoms of the

* "*Brother Jonathan.*—The origin of this term as applied to the United States, is given in a recent number of the Norwich Courier. The editor says it was communicated by one of the most intelligent gentlemen and sterling Whigs in Connecticut, now upwards of eighty years of age, who was an active participator in the scenes of the Revolution. The story is as follows:—

"When General Washington, after being appointed commander of the army of the Revolutionary War, came to Massachusetts to organize it, and make preparations for the defence of the country, he found a great destitution of ammunition and other means necessary to meet the powerful foe he had to contend with; and great difficulty to obtain them. If attacked in such condition, the cause at once might be hopeless. On one occasion, at that anxious period, a consultation of the officers and others was had, when it seemed no way could be devised to make such preparation as was necessary. His Excellency, Jonathan Trumbull the elder, was then Governor of the State of Connecticut, on whose judgment and aid the General placed the greatest reliance, and remarked, "We must consult 'Brother Jonathan' on the subject." The General did so, and the Governor was successful in supplying many of the wants of the army. When difficulties after-

world—Principalities and Powers—now consult BROTHER JONATHAN!

The virtue of which we have now spoken is peculiarly the product of a well-balanced mind—of intellectual and moral powers, and sensitive faculties, that act in unison—and which—free from vehemence, contortion, or wildness—blending in harmony like colors that form the enriching light—operate with regularity, and with noiseless, etherial force upon the great fabric of human society.

Such, characteristically, was the mind of Trumbull, viewed as a whole. In him there was no disordered saliency of one power or faculty above another—no disproportioned predominance of the reason, the will, or the imagination—no such distinctive structure of intellect, no such idiosyncracy of temperament, as constitutes genius in its peculiar sense. He made no bold and daring flights into the region of invention. He had no fancies to indulge whose force, meteoric and electric, burst from a central spirit like lava from a volcano. There was no overruling aptitude in his nature for any special sphere of mental effort, within which, and within which alone, his soul—conscious of a power which no precepts could control, and no industry could acquire—felt irresistably compelled to expend its energies, and to create excellencies beyond the reach of the ordinary rules of art and bounds of human knowledge.

On the other hand, his mind—naturally quick, as we have seen, in its perceptive power, and highly retentive—gathered its materials from observation, rather than originated them from reflection—from the world, from mankind, from books, from all the various repositories of knowledge which fell under its eye, sought and appropriated the stores which fed its operations. It put everything in place. It did not mistake adjuncts for essentials. It was restrained by no conventionalisms that shut out inquiry. It was deluded neither by forms

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wards arose, and the army was spread over the country, it became a by-word, "*We must consult Brother Jonathan.*" The term *Yankee* is still applied to a portion, but "*Brother Jonathan*" has now become a designation of the whole country, as John Bull has for England."—*Supplement to the Courant*, *Hartford*, *December* 12, 1846—*page* 199.

nor phrases. Making "a naked circle" around the subjects it examined, that it might have a lucid view of them, and reach their core—rendering its arguments "as guarded and complete, as if its only hope lay in diligence and logic"—it in this manner—aided by a temperament whose natural calmness was deepened by the habit of deliberation—worked out the results to which it arrived—practical eminently so, as we have found them—beautiful in their variety—and bountiful, many of them boundless, in their utility.

This, in our view, is the true aspect of Trumbull's mind. It produced by ratiocination rather than by intuition. The fabrics it wove were of materials gathered almost entirely from *without*, but were the result of skillful intertexture, and were ever tissued with the gold and silver of common sense. Like Washington, he had talent rather than genius—the gift of a sound understanding more than the gift of imagination—a dowry of solid, durable good sense, in union with superior natural sagacity, a deep-seated love for truth, and a regard for justice that was ardent, pure, invincible, and exhaustless.

Such in his life, public and private—in the characteristics of his mind and temper—in himself, and in his relations to society, the world, and to God—such, so far as the materials in our hands have enabled us to view him, was Jonathan Trumbull, the Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut.

If strong intellect, and extensive knowledge, fixed industry, the conception of great ends, and perseverance and success in their execution—if an exalted sense of honor, incorruptible integrity, energy of purpose, consummate prudence, impregnable fortitude, a broad, generous, and quenchless patriotism, charities ever active, wise, and fervent—if all these qualities—in union with a most amiable temper, and the gentlest manners—and in affiliation too with all the noble graces of the Christian faith—if these constitute a great and a good man, that man was Trumbull. In the noblest sense in which noble results fling radiance back upon their author—the radiance of love, gratitude, and admiration, for suffering alleviated—for happiness conferred—for liberty rendered a blessing, religion a stay and staff, and civilization, in all its aspects, a rich diffusive boon—under all this felici

tous and sumptuous significance given to the phrase, it may be said of Trumbull emphatically—*his works do follow him!* Connecticut contained his hearth-stone—America was the campaigning-ground of his patriotism—the whole world of humanity his field of benevolence—God his unfailing hope—and Heaven his final home.

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