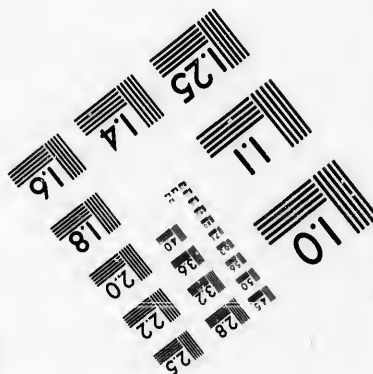
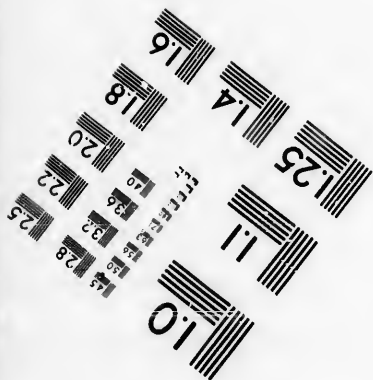
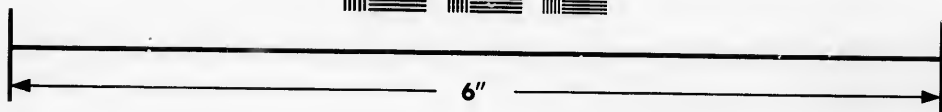
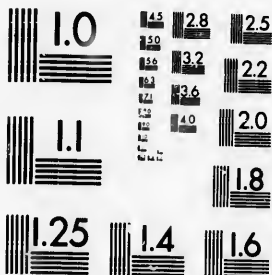


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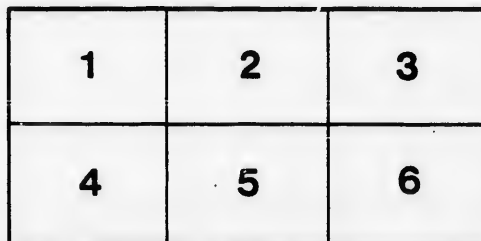
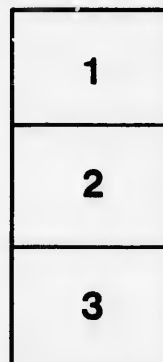
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CAMPAIGN—1708-1710.

BY

GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON.

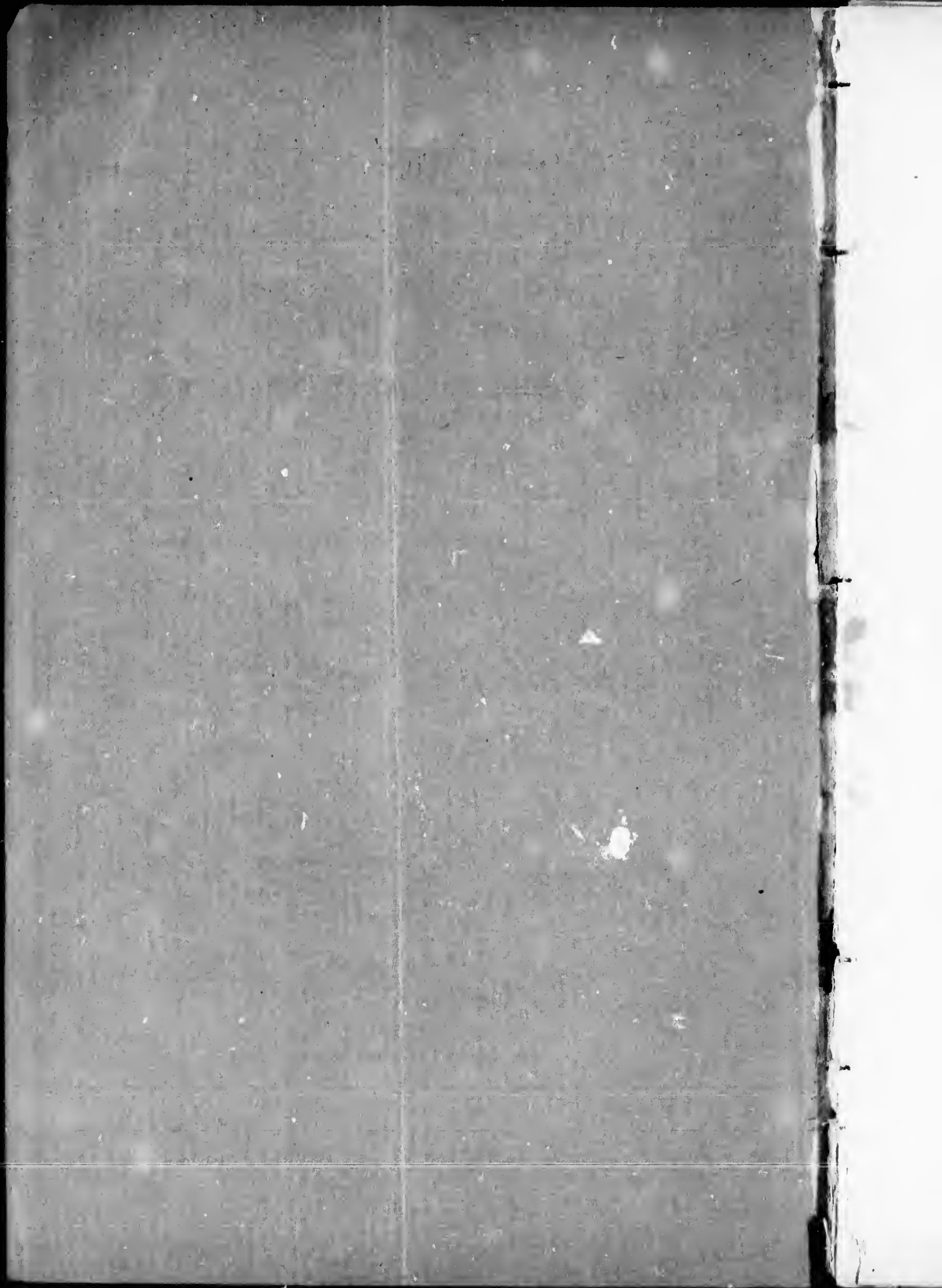
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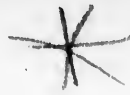
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LORD LOVELACE AND THE SECOND CANADIAN  
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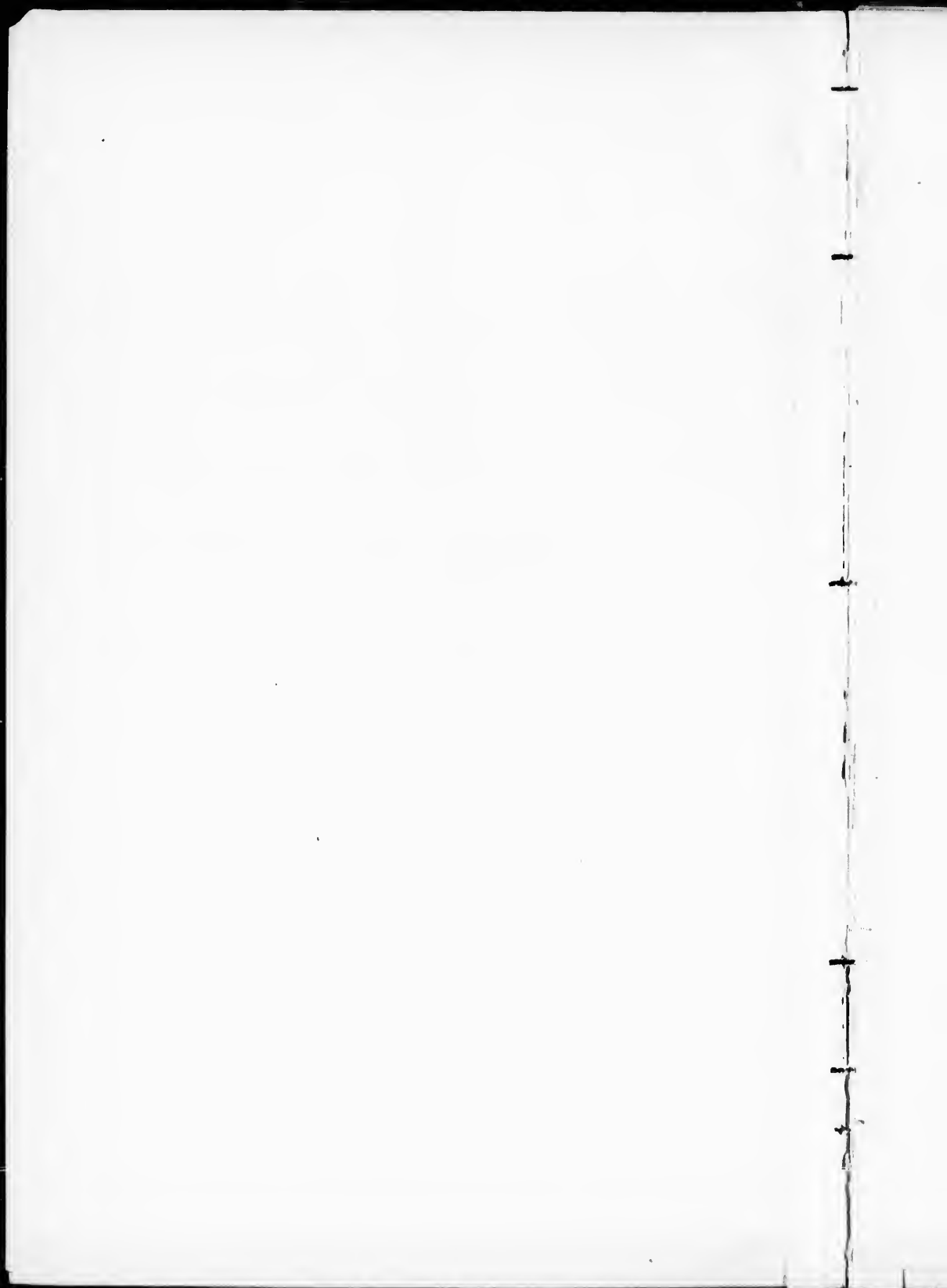
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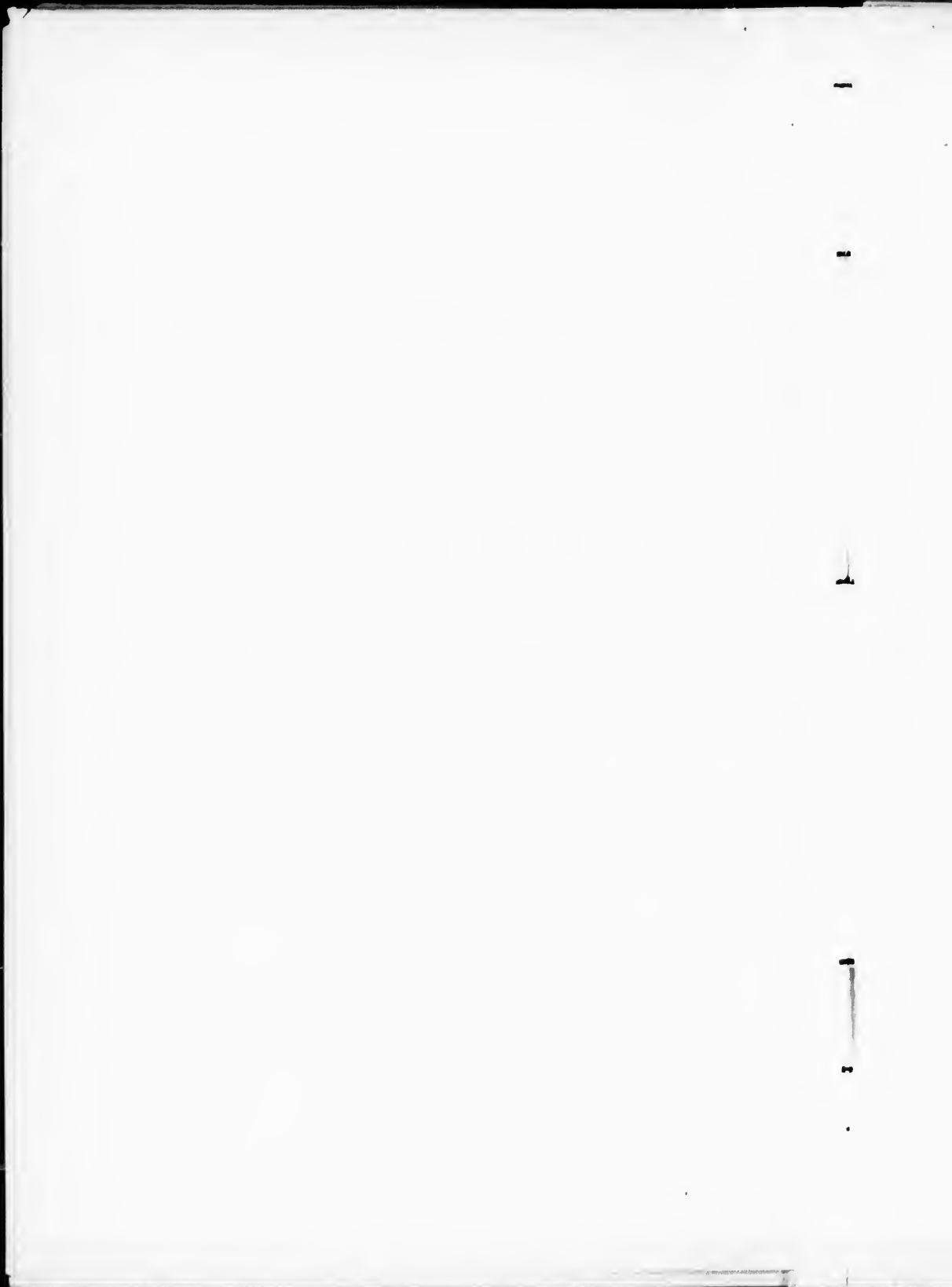
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XV.—LORD LOVELACE AND THE SECOND CANADIAN  
CAMPAIGN—1708-1710.

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BY GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON.

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LORD LOVELACE AND THE SECOND CANADIAN CAMPAIGN,  
1708-1710.

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By GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON.

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During the past four centuries six men bearing the knightly name of Lovelace have been known in English history. The earliest of these was that Sir Richard Lovelace who, in the "spacious days of great Elizabeth," amassed a fortune by sharing in the marauding expeditions of his friend, Sir Francis Drake, and who aided in baffling and beating the so-called invincible Spanish Armada. Another was that audacious Lord Lovelace, celebrated by Macaulay, who abandoned King James and took up arms for the Prince of Orange. Two were colonial governors of New York and two were connected with English letters. With one of these Lovelaces, who is nearly as old as the century, I became acquainted under circumstances that I may perhaps be permitted to mention briefly. It was during the summer of 1875 that the late historian, Lord Stanhope, invited me to accompany him to a meeting at Willis's Rooms, the great object of which was to take into consideration the propriety of erecting in London an appropriate memorial to the poet Byron. As we drove to the place of meeting I happened to mention that my countrymen would be interested in such a memorial, and, I felt sure, would be willing to contribute to it. Disraeli presided, and was followed in the opening address by Lords Rosslyn and Stanhope, and by many others, who all delivered carefully prepared speeches. The chairman then announced, to my amazement, with the addition of some complimentary words, that there was an American gentleman on the platform who, he trusted, would now favor the audience with a few remarks. I had no idea of speaking unprepared in such a place and in such a presence, but, however, acting on Stanhope's hint, "Tell them what you told me," I made a short

speech, which was most kindly received. When the chairman and others retired from the platform to the committee room, Mr. Disraeli presented me to Capt. Trelawny, the friend of Byron and Shelley, and then said: "Here is another gentleman that wishes to make your acquaintance," whereupon I was introduced to the Earl of Lovelace, who married Byron's only daughter. After exchanging a few remarks Lovelace astonished Disraeli, Stunhope, and the other speakers, who were grouped around in a circle, by saying: "Gen. Wilson, I think yours was the best speech made to-day;" and then, to the relief of the distinguished orators, added, "for it was the only one that I could hear."

To have immediately followed Lord Cornbury in the administration of New York Province was to the advantage of the character of anyone succeeding him. By the side of the most incapable and discreditable governor of the colony even a person of quite indifferent reputation would have shone brightly. But the character of John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, needed no such comparison to commend it. He appears to have been an amiable and worthy gentleman, bearing an honorable name with dignity, and magnifying it by personal virtue. He had served his sovereign at home in positions of trust, and she now conferred on him the delicate task of assuming the government of New York. It was hoped that he might restore a better order to affairs, brought into such disgraceful confusion by the queen's cousin.

The coincidence of two governors of New York within two score years of each other having borne the same name has naturally led to the conjecture that they belonged to the same family; and the nearness and nature of the family tie has been variously stated by historians. While some assert that Lord Lovelace was the nephew, a greater number have made the statement that he was the grandson of Governor Francis Lovelace. The subject, therefore, has assumed sufficient importance to justify a minute examination of the facts. As far back as the days of Henry VI there appears in the records of English genealogy the name of Richard Lovelace, of Queenthite, near London, who purchased Bayford, in Kent. To this individual and his son Lancelot both Francis Lovelace and Lord Lovelace traced their pedigree. Lancelot Lovelace had three sons, of whom the oldest died without issue; William, the second son, inherited the estate; and the name of the third was John.

From these two brothers descended two distinct lines of issue. From William Lovelace the descent is clearly traceable to Governor Francis Lovelace. His grandfather and father were both knighted. His father was Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, Kent. His elder brother was Richard Lovelace, the poet and dramatist, who died in 1658, before Francis came to New York. Francis himself, the third son, was also a poet and an artist. There is no record that he was married. Two brothers, Thomas and Dudley, accompanied him to the New World. Richard, perhaps the handsomest Englishman of his time, was among the favorites of Charles the First. His name survives, secure of its immortality, from two of the most faultless lyrics in our language.

Going back now to John Lovelace, the other grandson of the original Richard Lovelace, we find that he himself was the grandfather of that Sir Richard Lovelace who, as mentioned above, was the friend of Sir Francis Drake, and who made a fortune by sharing the latter's marauding expeditions. In the third year of the reign of King Charles I, Sir Richard was elevated to the barony of Hurley, a seat which had been bought by his grandfather John, and from which purchase dates the removal of this branch of the family from Kent to Berkshire. The ancient manor house of Hurley, where many generations of Lovelaces were born, was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1835, but the historic name remains, and it is also perpetuated on American soil near the banks of the Hudson. To that little Ulster County town founded by Francis Lovelace Washington went in the winter of 1782 and was greeted by an enthusiastic assemblage. An address was delivered by President Ten Eyck, which, as the ancient chronicler informs us, was happily answered by his excellency the commander in chief. The first baron had two sons, John and Francis. When the third lord died, in 1697, without male issue to survive him, the barony passed to the grandson of Francis, who thus became the fourth baron and was the Lord John Lovelace that became governor of New York. It is thus seen that the family connection between the two governors, while there subsisted one, was too remote to be designated by any term of near relationship. Yet it is quite natural that confusion has arisen, the grandfather of Lord John being named Francis, and being also a younger son. In the genealogies, however, there is no record that this Francis Love-

lace had any other brothers,\* while those of Governor Francis Lovelace are distinctly mentioned. Indeed, the whole question turns upon these brothers, and therefore special effort has been made to obtain all the facts. In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Sidney Lee, of London, editor of the "Dictionary of National Biography," writes as follows: "The poet Richard Lovelace had four brothers, Thomas, Francis, William, and Dudley. In their mother's will the brothers [after Richard] are mentioned in this order." But, as is well known, in the edition of Richard Lovelace's poems, there is one addressed "To His Dear Brother Col. F. L., immoderately mourning my brother's untimely death at Carmarthen." As Richard died in 1658, and this had every appearance of expressing his grief at the death of Francis before him, *this* Francis Lovelace could not have been governor of New York in 1668-73. Mr. Lee clears up the difficulty completely, however, by saying that this poem "describes Francis' grief for William's death. I thus regard it as practically certain that *this* Francis is identical with the governor of New York. \* \* \* The English authorities altogether ignore him in that post."

It need cause no surprise that Queen Anne should have conferred the responsible post of governor of her provinces of New York and New Jersey upon a scion of the house of Lovelace. By the very traditions of his house Lord John was strongly attached to the Protestant succession. His immediate predecessor in the barony, John, the third Lord Lovelace, is characterized by Macaulay as "distinguished by his taste, by his magnificence, and by the audacious and intemperate vehemence of his Whiggism." At one time he contemptuously refused to heed a warrant for his arrest for a political offense because it was signed by a Roman Catholic justice of the peace. He was summoned before the privy council and examined in the presence of royalty itself, but he succeeded in clearing himself completely. As he was leaving the room King James called out in angry tones: "My Lord, this is not the first trick you have played me." "Sir," was Lovelace's spirited rejoinder, "I never played any trick to Your Majesty, or to any other person.

\* Berry's "County Genealogies," Kent, pp. 474, 475; Banks's "Dormant and Extinct Baronages," III, 497-499. The latter states that the first baron had two sons and two daughters. Brodhead gives the reference to Banks (New York, II, 143, note) but not to Berry, and he makes the second governor the grandson of the first. Only by a comparison with Berry could that natural mistake have been avoided.

Whoever has accused me of playing tricks is a liar." Macaulay, who relates this incident, speaks thus in regard to his connection with the Revolution:

His mansion, built by his ancestors out of the spoils of Spanish galleons from the Indies, rose on the ruins of a house of Our Lady in that beautiful valley through which the Thames, not yet defiled by the precincts of a great capital, nor rising and falling with the flow and ebb of the sea, rolls under woods of beech round the gentle hills of Berkshire. Beneath the stately saloon, adorned by Italian pencils, was a subterraneous vault, in which the bones of ancient monks had sometimes been found. In this dark chamber some zealous and daring opponents of the Government had held many midnight conferences during that anxious time when England was impatiently expecting the Protestant wind.

Lovelace was the first nobleman of consequence who proceeded to join William of Orange after his landing. But unfortunately he and his troop of armed retainers were attacked and defeated by superior numbers, and Lovelace was imprisoned. But the success of the prince released him, and later he took an active part in placing the crown of England upon the heads of William and Mary and securing the succession of the throne to Mary's sister Anne. The house of Lovelace must, therefore, have stood high in Anne's regard, and it was eminently deserving of distinguished rewards.

On March 28, 1708, Queen Anne's chief secretary of state, Lord Smnderland, wrote to inform the "Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," that Her Majesty had appointed John, Lord Lovelace, governor of New York and New Jersey. As was customary, with the commission were usually given also a new set of instructions, and the lords of trade were requested to draw these up. But it was not till the middle of October that Lord Lovelace departed for New York. It is easy to surmise what detained him thus for more than half a year. England was then in the midst of the "War of the Spanish Succession," and stood at the forefront in the coalition of European states against France and Spain. Her American colonies felt the effect of this conflict. Where they bordered on the Spanish settlements in the south, and the French at the north, hostilities were carried on briskly, and the period is known in our annals as "Queen Anne's War." The Duke of Marlborough was then conducting the armies of his nation and its allies upon a career of almost uninterrupted success; his every battle was a victory and every siege meant the reduction of the beleaguered place. But the spring of 1708, when Lord Lovelace received

his appointment, was an especially critical period in the history of the war. The battle of Ramillies, in 1706, had resulted in completely driving the French from Belgium, and the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges had declared for the allies, renouncing their allegiance to Spain, and had accepted garrisons to prevent their being retaken by their ancient masters. But early in 1708, the tide suddenly turned; fortune seemed to abandon the arms of England, and the star of France, now in league with Spain, was once again in the ascendant. The Prince of Vendome penetrated as far as the province of Flanders, and Ghent and Bruges were quickly reduced. With these important strongholds in their possession, that of the whole of Flemish Belgium, reaching from the boundaries of France to those of the Dutch Republic, was assured. This would make the reduction of all Belgium but a question of time.

Now, therefore, if at any time, national pride as well as military duty called every Englishman of the age and rank of the Baron of Hurley around the standard of the great duke. With characteristic promptness a campaign of vigorous offensive operations was at once determined upon and instituted by Marlborough. Joining the troops stationed in Flanders he concentrated them into one mass preparatory to withdrawing them from this province, intending to make Brussels his base of operations, as well as to prevent its being taken by the enemy. In effecting this maneuver he necessarily had to assume the appearance of a retreat, which served only to excite the French with the hope of certain victory, and sent them in eager and confident pursuit. But at Oudenarde, a village on the southern confines of Flanders, and 33 miles directly west of Brussels, Marlborough made a sudden halt, and wheeling around he fell with well-directed and irresistible impetus upon the astonished foe (July 11). It was "a battle fought with muskets, bayonets, and sabers. Neither of the contending parties had much artillery on the ground."\* The manner of bringing on the action, almost a ruse on the part of the invincible duke, would account for this peculiar circumstance. The superior numbers of the French availed nothing; they were utterly defeated. Again were they driven from the Low Countries, and before the year closed more than one city

\* Wilson's "Sketches of Illustrious Soldiers," p. 201.



of France, in proximity to the Belgian border, had been secured by the allies. "The annals of war," writes Sir Archibald Alison, "can afford no parallel of the skill and resolution of that immortal campaign." Evidently Lord Lovelace, besides sharing in the active operations, and perhaps also in the battle of Oudenarde itself, needed to wait till the full glory of the campaign had been reaped, and the opposing forces had retired to winter quarters, before he could be released and allowed to proceed to his seat of government in America.

About the middle of October, 1708, Lord John embarked on board her Majesty's ship *Kingsale*. He was accompanied by his wife, Lady Charlotte, daughter of Sir John Clayton, and his three sons, all lads of tender age, John, Wentworth, and Nevil; little dreaming as they set out on this voyage that the ravages of death would permit but two of this interesting household to return to their native country. The *Kingsale*, well armed and strongly manned, was one of a fleet; for it was a time of war, and only the year before, Col. Robert Hunter, who was destined to succeed Lord Lovelace in New York, had been captured by a French man-of-war on his way to Virginia, of which province he had been appointed lieutenant-governor; but, by reason of this detention as prisoner in France, he never qualified for office in the southern colony.

The passage proved to be a stormy one, and so rough and unpleasant was the experience to Lord Lovelace that he earnestly contended that at this season of the year not even sailors should be exposed to the terrors of the sea. "No ship ought to be sent hither from England after August at farthest," he wrote. The idea, while doing credit to Lord Lovelace's considerateness, is somewhat amusing in the light of the development of ocean navigation, as witnessed within the past year, when even "records" made in the summer season were broken in the face of November storms of unusual violence. But Lovelace could not foresee the miracles of human achievement of almost two centuries after his date. And he certainly had some reason to complain of the elements. When approaching our "terrible coast," early in December, the squadron encountered a tempest which drove the *Kingsale* out of her course and separated her so completely from her consorts that no trace of any of them had been found even after the governor's arrival in the city, with the exception of the *Unity*, which grounded upon a point of land at Sandy Hook, but got off without loss of life.

The *Kingsale* was forced to seek refuge in Buzzard Bay. Descending thence, after the storm had abated, she pursued her course through the Long Island Sound. Either the masses of floating ice, or the intricacies and perils of the Hell-Gate channel, determined her captain to land at the village of Flushing, on Long Island. It was an unfortunate circumstance for the new governor and his family. Instead of being carried in the comfortable ship directly to the city, they were now compelled to expose themselves, during a land journey of several miles, and the crossing of the East River by ferry, to the inclemency of an unusually severe winter, in a climate to which they were not accustomed, and where this season was ordinarily much colder than in England. The winter of 1708 and 1709 is noted in history as a particularly severe one. In Europe it added to the horrors of war by destroying vineyards in sections where frost was scarcely ever known. In other parts the grain already in the ground for the next year's harvest was frozen, and poverty and famine thus stared the people of the contending nations in the face. In America it set in early and was exceedingly rigorous; the rivers and harbors which the *Kingsale* passed on her way along the Sound were full of ice. That of New York, too, was made almost impassable by the masses of ice in blocks and large fields rushing up and down on either side of the city with the incoming and outflowing tides. When it is remembered what difficulty is experienced by the powerful ferry boats of our day in crossing from shore to shore under these circumstances, it may be imagined what it must have been to effect a passage in a small open boat across the East River from the "Ferry at Breukelen" to the city, in 1708. As it was, Governor Lovelace and two of his children caught serious colds, from which neither of them recovered.

On the morning of December 18, 1708, nine weeks and a few days after his departure from England, Lord Lovelace finally set foot within the capital of his province. Preparations on a liberal scale had been made for his reception. Lord Cornbury himself was present to welcome his successor, and to induct him with what grace he could into the office which, it was plain to him as to everyone, he had forfeited by his misconduct and inefficiency. It is not likely that the new governor was subjected to the fatigues of these inaugural ceremonies on the day of his arrival. But in honor of this event Lord Cornbury and

the council had made provision for a dinner or banquet, which was served on that day in the governor's mansion in the fort.\* When on the next day, or a few days later, the new governor's commission was publicly announced and read from the gate at the fort, or from the city hall in Wall street, it may well be believed, after their six years of Cornbury, that the people watched with eagerness for any signs that could give them reason for hoping that the change in governors would be an improvement. With this purpose, many a searching glance was doubtless directed toward him as he made his first public appearance. They would then have beheld a man not much more than forty years of age, prepossessing, if not too greatly harassed by the sufferings of his trying journey; for "nature had endowed him with a magistick and amiable countenance," as Rector Vesey informs us in the funeral sermon he was so soon called upon to preach. A man of refinement and education, too, having graduated at the university; and of military bearing doubtless, fresh from the glorious campaign in Flanders. A man, once more, of a kindly heart and great consideration for others placed in different and lowlier circumstances from himself; for even on that exciting day of his arrival his heart was oppressed by the uncertainty of the fate of those in the other ship; and in the first official letter written later on this same day to the lords of trade, bearing in mind the sufferings of the poor seamen, and recommending a rule of navigation which should prevent their exposure to the rigors of a winter passage in the future.†

But personal amiability and tender-heartedness, while it might prevent a needlessly harsh or unjust interpretation of his instructions, did not leave the governor at liberty to depart from them in the performance of his functions. Largely by reason of the execrable behavior of Lord Cornbury, the people had come to rise up in arms (figuratively speaking as yet)

\* It would appear as if even this last act of providing a suitable reception for his successor gave the retiring governor an opportunity of displaying his criminal disregard of financial obligations. At least as late as February, 1712, the honest caterer, Henry Swift (perhaps the Delmonico of his day), who, by an order of governor and council, dated November 17, 1708, had been engaged to furnish the "dinner," as he modestly calls it, was still petitioning for his compensation, which he placed at the not very exorbitant figure of £16 7s. 6d., say about \$235. ("New York Colonial MSS.," LVII, f. 80.)

† Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, 5, 67.

against the royal prerogative, and with a unanimity as surprising as it was significant, considering the serious divisions that had arisen out of the Leisler troubles; for many of those who had stood out on the side of constituted authority, and whose adherence to the line of policy had caused the sharp line to be drawn between the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians ever since, were forced into a position of antagonism to the royal claims as interpreted by the extravagant demands for money and the arbitrary exercise of his functions on the part of the ruined spendthrift and profligate who had just been superseded. It was a matter of importance to know, therefore, whether there were any modification or moderation in the royal claims in the instructions to the new governor. These, however, were in no sense different from the ones given to Cornbury. The instructions which the lords of trade, in reply to Lord Sunderland's request of March 28, reported on May 31, 1708, they declared to be "to the same purpose as those that have from time to time been given to the Lord Cornbury."\* These were a few additional instructions prepared for Lord Lovelace in July, intending to correct some abuses which had arisen on account of certain "extravagant grants of land made by Col. Benjamin Fletcher."† A lengthy paper was likewise drawn up by the lords of trade for the guidance of the governor in the affairs of the province of New Jersey, which it is needless for the purposes of this history to do more than mention here.

The council appointed to share the responsibilities and cares of government with Lord Lovelace was composed of gentlemen some of whom were members of Cornbury's cabinet, and most of whose names have already become familiar to the reader of these pages. Col. Peter Schuyler, the first mayor of Albany, the friend of the Indians on the Mohawk, and president of the convention at Albany which so long resisted Leisler's authority, was president of Lovelace's council. Next to him was Dr. Gerardus Beekman, who had been a member of Leisler's council. Rip Van Dam and Thomas Wenham, associated with Col. Nicholas Bayard in a measure of opposition to Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, appear next on the list. These, with Chief-Justice Mompesson, had been members also of Lord Cornbury's council. Adolph Philipse, the son of Frederick Philipse, prominent under previous administrations; John Barberie, a de-

\* *Ibid.*, 5, 12.

† *Ibid.*, 5, 54.

scendant of the Huguenots, and connected by marriage with the Van Cortlandt family; and William Peartree, a merchant, who had been mayor of the city in the years 1703 to 1706, were new accessions to the number of royal councillors.

The first meeting of the council after Lord Lovelace's assumption of his office was held on January 5, 1709.\* The action that was then taken was one usual at the accession of a new governor. It was ordered that a proclamation be published declaring the present provincial assembly dissolved. At the same time writs for the election of a new assembly were issued, which was to take place on March 10. The assembly then elected met on April 6, their only business that day being the choosing of a speaker. This honor was conferred, or rather confirmed, upon William Nicoll, who had held the office during the six preceding years, and who was consecutively reelected for ten years thereafter, when failing health compelled him to decline. Having been duly organized for legislative action, the assembly was ushered into the presence of Lord Lovelace and his council on the next day. He administered to them the oaths of allegiance, they subscribed their names to the inevitable "test act," and he then addressed them in the following speech:

GENTLEMEN: I have called you together as early as you could well meet with convenience to yourselves to consult of those things which are necessary to be done at this time for her majesty's services and the good of the province. The large supplies of soldiers and stores of war for your support and defense, together with those necessary presents for your Indian neighbors, which her majesty has now sent you at a time when the charge of the war is so great at home, are evident proofs of her particular care of you, and I assure myself they will be received with those testimonies of loyalty and gratitude which such royal favors deserve from an obliged and grateful people. I am sorry to find that the public debt of the province is so great as it is, and that the government here hath so little credit, if any at all, left; a government under a queen as famous for her prudent and frugal management at home as for her warlike and glorious actions abroad. I can not in the least doubt, gentlemen, but that you will raise the same revenue for the same term of years for the support of the government as was raised by act of assembly in the eleventh of the reign of the late King William of glorious memory; and I hope you will also find

\* To be perfectly correct this date should be written January 5, 1705, because by Englishmen the new year was at that period considered as beginning on March 25; and on the minutes of the council 1708 appears for dates in January and February and part of March. But it will be less confusing to the modern mind, after this explanatory note, to use the number of the year according to our present calculations.

out ways and means to discharge the debt that hath been contracted and allow to the persons concerned a reasonable interest till the principal is discharged. To that end I desire you to examine and state the public accounts, that it may be known what this debt is and that it may appear hereafter that it was not contracted in my time. I must in particular desire you to provide for the necessary repairs of the fortifications of the province. The barracks are so small and so much out of repair that I have been necessitated [*sic*] to billet the recruits that came over with me upon this city, which I am sensible hath been a burthen to the inhabitants, but I hope you will soon ease them of that burthen. The fitting out a good sloop to attend her majesty's men-of-war in their cruises on this coast I take to be so necessary for the preserving of your navigation that I expect you will find out a proper method to defray that charge. I am willing my salary should be taxed, that I may pay my quota to so useful a service. I think myself obliged further to recommend to your consideration how to prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin out of the province, least in a short time your trade should suffer for want thereof. The Queen hath nothing more at heart than the prosperity of her subjects. I shall approve myself to her majesty in pursuing those methods that will best conduce to that end. It shall be my constant care to promote peace and union amongst you, to encourage you in your trade, and to protect you in the possession of your just rights and privileges.\*

Here, then, was a clear and candid presentment of the condition of affairs in the province and of the more pressing necessities that confronted the assembly. It was put before them in the best of tempers and with a transparent honesty. What a contrast between that voluntary proposition of a tax on his salary to carry out the scheme of the armed sloop and Lord Cornbury's demand for an exorbitant sum from the assemblies of both provinces. Remembering his predecessor's exceedingly loose principles in money matters, it was only natural that Lord Lovelace should wish to have it definitely understood that "the burthen of public debt" was not contracted in his time. The main question at issue, however, turned upon the raising of a revenue for a term of years. That had been done by act of assembly in 1702, for a term of seven years. It was now about to expire. But Cornbury's conduct had taught the colonists a lesson, and they saw the advantage of voting a revenue only from year to year and to accompany the grant with specific appropriations to the purposes it should be used for. This issue prepared a battle ground for years to come, resulting finally in victory and independence for the colonies.

The history of the English continental colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century was largely made up of petty bickerings between

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\*Journal of the Legislative Council of New York, 1, 276, 277.

the popular assemblies and the royal governors. The principle at stake was important, a fixed salary grant would have been in the nature of a tax imposed by the crown. The acrimonious contention was greatly disturbing to all material interests, but it served as a most valuable constitutional training school for the Revolution."<sup>\*</sup>

The assembly of New York were not a whit behind their brethren of the other colonies in standing by their colors. Lord Lovelace, however kindly of heart, and described by one of their own officials as "a Gentleman of those Qualifications, Excell<sup>t</sup> temper, and goodness, that, had he lived longer with us, he wou'd have reviv'd the country from its former calamity."<sup>†</sup> yet was the representative of the crown, and the representatives of the people were now abnormally sensitive to any possible encroachments on their rights, and correspondingly suspicious of the exercise of any governor's functions. They resolved not to accede to his request for the repetition of the grant for a number of years; and for this reason Baneroft exalts this peaceable and pleasant conference, the first and last session of his provincial legislature which the new governor was permitted to attend, into a distinctive and pivotal episode in the great contest which created our Republic of the United States. He does not hesitate to say of it:

The assembly which in April, 1709, met Lord Lovelace, began the contest that was never to cease but with independence.<sup>‡</sup>

We turn aside, however, from these more general considerations affecting the being of the commonwealth to note what of interest may be discovered in the history of the city during Lord Lovelace's very brief administration. At this time the office of mayor was occupied by Ebenezer Wilson, he having received his appointment in 1707, and serving until 1710. He was the son of Samuel Wilson, who had emigrated from England and had settled in New York shortly after the final cession of the province to the English in 1674. The elder Wilson had succeeded in amassing a considerable fortune, and lived in a comfortable mansion on the south side of Wall street, near what is now Pearl street. He died in the eventful year 1689, leaving a widow and two sons. One of these followed the sea, and became captain of a merchant vessel. The other, Ebene-

<sup>\*</sup> "The Colonies from 1492-1750," by Reuben G. Thwaites (New York and London, 1891), p. 271.

<sup>†</sup> Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 80.

<sup>‡</sup> "History of the United States" (ed. 1883), 2, 43.

zer Wilson, like his father, attained prominence in business circles and in political life. A census of the city made in 1703 represents his household as composed of himself and wife and four children, with two male and two female white servants, beside a negro man and woman. As he lived in the paternal mansion he was within but a few steps of the city hall, on the corner of Wall street and the present Nassau street, where now stands the United States sub-Treasury building. The simple fact of its location affords an instructive commentary in itself on the change of conditions in the city within a period of less than fifty years. In 1656 there had been an Indian massacre, and for years thereafter there was still apprehension of Indian attacks; so that the citizens who lived outside the line of the palisades running along Wall street, had need for special watchfulness. Now the chief municipal building stood on ground to the north, and thus outside of that line of necessary defense. The division of the city into six wards, adopted in the days of Governor Dongan, still prevailed, and each of these returned one alderman and one assistant alderman, so that the common council was composed of twelve men besides the chief magistrate. Cornbury's objectionable conduct, which has been noticed as having caused the fusion of opposing parties in provincial affairs, had doubtless had the same effect upon local politics, for there was no repetition of the troubles which had attended the induction of Mayor Noell into office in 1702.

Mayor Wilson's municipal responsibilities were limited to a very small fraction of territory as compared with that over which extends the sway of a mayor of New York in our day. The city hall in Wall street must have been built on somewhat the same principle as the one erected over a century later in the Park or Commons, the rear of which it is said was constructed of a less expensive material because it was not supposed that a majority of the residents would ever be called upon to view it from that side. But a few scattered houses were to be found above John or Fulton street; and all the region north and west of Park Row and Vesey street was mostly unoccupied and uncultivated. In the city proper much was done in the time of Mayor Wilson in the way of improvements. The price of lots was about £30 (\$150); and farms bordering on the city line or within it above Wall street were being diligently laid out and sold for dwelling purposes. In 1703 a point of land jutting out into the fresh-water pond or creek



and called the Kalek Hoeck was sold for about £100. There seemed to have been no thought in the mind of the purchaser of building houses or of laying out streets. Indeed the depth of the pond there was considered unfathomable, and thus quite incapable of being filled; a theory which the sight of Center and adjoining streets and of the solid Egyptian walls of the Tombs effectually disproves to the citizen of to-day. The tongue of land remained for many a day a

“ . . . . . fairy foreland, set  
With willow weed and mallow.”

the resort of the angler or the huntsman in pursuit of ducks, perhaps a favorite place for summer-day parties. Those fond of a walk in the country could have had that pleasure easily gratified, even if their residence were on Bowling Green or Hanover Square. At the corner of Maiden Lane and Broadway they would have left the houses behind them. Then passing along the line of Boston road or Park Row, or crossing the uncultivated fields of the Commons, over the site of the post-office and the municipal and other buildings they would finally come to the banks of this cool lake. Yet the city itself afforded many an umbrageous thoroughfare, the sides of most of the streets being planted with beech trees and the fragrant locust. During Mayor Wilson's term a special permission was given the residents on Broadway to plant trees (but not tie posts for horses) along their house fronts; while at the same time this street received a pavement extending from Bowling Green to Wallstreet, doubtless to facilitate attendance at “Old Trinity” in all weathers. A walk along the present Pearl street would have given an uninterrupted view of the East River as a similar samter along South street does to-day. Here then, as now, was the chief moorage for large sailing vessels coming from or going on long sea voyages. But around on the other side of the island, along the North River front, virgin nature was as yet undisturbed. The shores of New Jersey far beyond the broad stream were not more verdant and free from the presence of shipping than those of the future location of the scores of piers for “ocean greyhounds” and the palatial steamers that swiftly cleave the waters of the Hudson every summer day. Indeed West street itself, with all its surprising characteristics (some not very creditable to our city), had yet to be created out of the shelving beach or submerged

rocks that permitted the tides to lave the rear of Trinity churchyard.

The mode of paving the streets deserves a word. The pavements in those early days did not extend all the way across the thoroughfare. Along the houses ran a narrow foot-path of large red bricks laid flat; a sidewalk it might be called, but not as now raised above the level of the general roadway. Next to this ran a strip of cobble-stone pavement, not above 10 feet in width, measured from the line of the houses on either side. This left the center of the street in a "state of nature," of which the rain knew how to take advantage, scooping out for itself gulleys or gutters, by means of which so much of it as was not absorbed by the soil sought the rivers or ponds or pools. And this improvised and "self-made" sewerage, or involuntary surface drainage, was all the sewerage which the city then possessed. Yet in this way also were replenished the half dozen wells or cisterns placed in the center of prominent thoroughfares, whence were drawn supplies of water in case of fire. Just at this time, too, "new and more stringent regulations were passed in respect to fires, the fire wardens were directed to keep strict watch of all hearths and chimneys within the city, and to see that the fire buckets were hung up in their right places throughout the wards; and two hooks and eight ladders were purchased at the public expense for the use of the embryo fire department."\* Careful and provident as the measures against fire have ordinarily been in our city, yet it is curious to observe that each of the three centuries of its history has known a general conflagration; that of 1627 or 1628, as told by Domine Michaelius; that of 1776, when the British were in occupation; and that of 1835, within the memory of men still living. Then, as always, the commerce of the city was assured, giving large returns, though not even yet without the taint of collusion with piracy. As for manufactures, the history of these had not yet begun for our great city. The citizens, indeed, were yearning to put forth their enterprise and skill and wealth in this direction. But it was systematically repressed and sternly forbidden by the mother country. Nothing must be done to the "prejudice of our manufactories at home," was the constant reminder. Yet American industry was irrepressible. The people of the city and province were

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\* Miss Booth, "History of New York City," p. 284.

"already so far advanced," wrote Col. Caleb Heathcote in 1708, "in their manufactories that  $\frac{3}{4}$  of ye linen & wollen they use is made amongst them, espetically the courser sort." The great land-owner himself ached to enter upon a very important branch of industry, that of shipbuilding.

I hoped and believed and am morally sure, as to myself even beyond a doubt, that I could have built and furnished the crown with all the light frigates that would have been wanted for this coast and the West Indies.\*

But Heathcote had to content himself with a deliberate refusal, and bear it with the best grace a royal Briton could. Yet the lords of trade were perfectly willing to make this country a depot for naval stores. Lord Lovelace, in a letter dated March 9, 1709, and which therefore probably never reached him, was enjoined to encourage the making of pitch and tar, and "to consider a proper method for preserving the masts and timber in the woods that are fit for the use of her majesty's royal navy.† But beyond this the American colonists must not presume to go. And thus the mother country checked the best development of her transatlantic citizens; thus she fondly and foolishly prepared the way for their violent separation, while imagining that her course in this matter would prevent that very issue.

By restricting American manufactures the board of trade, the ministry, the united voice of Great Britain, proposed to guarantee dependence. No sentiment won more universal acceptance. The mercantile restrictive system was the superstition of that age. Capitalists worshiped it; statesmen were overawed by it; philosophers dared not question it.‡

Unfortunately for England, it led to the Revolution, and that great shock awakened the mother country to her folly.

The brief administration of Lord Lovelace, which some writers dismiss with a single sentence, and to which even elaborate histories of our city devote not more than a paragraph,§ was nevertheless distinguished by two notable circumstances. Attention has already been called to one of these: that Bancroft saw in this period the beginning of that great legislative battle

\* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 63, 64.

† Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5; 72.

‡ Bancroft, "United States," 2, 241, 242.

§ It is worthy of mention that in Cooper's "Water Witeh" there is no allusion to Lord Lovelace at all; but Governor Hunter, called "Mister Hunter" by Cornbury, is scornfully referred to by the latter as immediately succeeding him.

which resulted in our national independence. But to this administration is also to be traced the beginning of German immigration to America. Germans had been found in New Amsterdam from its earliest settlement. The first director-general, Peter Minnit, is by many thought to have been one, and it is certain that he was born in Wesel, a city of Germany. Director Stuyvesant had an opportunity to annoy a body of German Lutherans by sending back to Europe the pastor they had presumed to call. Jacob Leisler was a German, but a communicant of the German Reformed Church, and not a Lutheran, for this reason readily affiliating with and even bearing office in the Dutch Reformed Church. But not until the time of Lord Lovelace had there been any large body of German people come over together. Such a movement has usually been thought to have commenced under his successor. But the thousands of souls that came over with Col. Hunter formed but a wave in that great tide of immigration which had already set in toward these shores.

As Lord Lovelace was appointed in March, 1708, there was laid before the Queen in June a petition from the Rev. Joshua Kochertal, asking that he himself and 14 other persons of the Protestant Lutheran religion, from the provinces of the Palatinate and Holstein, might be sent to America at the expense of the English Government. In this petition and in other documents that passed in correspondence on the subject, mention is made of 41 other people of the same nationality and religion who had already been granted the privileges asked for, and who were soon to sail.\* If having been carefully ascertained that these 14 additional persons had truthfully presented their case, and that they were equally in need and worthy of aid as objects of her charity, the Queen graciously gave them their wish. One strong plea in favor of these Germans at this time was that they were sufferers at the hands of the common enemy—the French. It is not at all necessary to go back to the Thirty Years' War, which had ended sixty years before, to find the causes for their present exceeding distress.† The Palatinate had been swept with fire and sword by Louis XIV in 1688; and again, during the war now in progress, these parts of Germany had been made to feel the brunt of the conflict

\* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 44, 53.

† Mrs. Lamb's "History of New York," 1, 481.

until the battle of Blenheim, in 1704, had driven the armies of France back across her borders.\*

These 55 German emigrants were distributed among 13 families, consisting of 29 adults and 26 children, the latter ranging between the ages of 15 years and 6 months. Besides the minister, the occupations of the others were as follows: Eleven farm laborers, some of whom were also vine-dressers; one a "stocking-maker," and one a blacksmith. There was also one carpenter and joiner in the party, and one is registered as a clerk. As Lord Lovelace was proceeding to America at the same time, he relieved the government of the charge of two of the men, whom he engaged as servants for himself and family.† The board of trade also recommended that before their departure from England they be invested with the rights of British citizenship, and that the usual allowance of £20 (\$100) for books and clothes to clergymen of the Church of England on going out to the colonies be granted to Mr. Koehertal. Lord Lovelace was also directed to see to it that the minister received a portion of land for a glebe, not exceeding 500 acres.‡ These preliminaries having been made, the Germans were embarked upon the *Globe*, one of the vessels of the squadron which was to convey the governor to New York; and we learn from his letter to the lords of trade that, in addition to the roughness of the voyage, the emigrants and recruits upon this vessel suffered from a scarcity of water, which the others could not re-

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\* The thousands of Americans who have made pilgrimages to Heidelberg to look upon the picturesque ruins of the old castle will hear with regret that at the present writing the Grand Duke of Baden is considering plans for its restoration. Several months ago a commission was appointed to examine the architectural condition of the former residence of the Comts Palatine, and to decide whether its restoration was possible. The report of the commission, which has just been made public, is favorable to the grand duke's plan, declaring that the castle can be readily transformed into a fitting home for his royal highness. The people of Heidelberg, however, object seriously to the proposed restoration, and it is possible that they will be able to prevent it entirely. They well know that the famous castle, with its broken walls and shattered towers, is the chief attraction for strangers in the city on the Neckar, and declare that if it be restored half of their revenue at least will be lost. The Grand Duke of Baden is wealthy, and has already many palatial homes. Paradoxical as it may seem, it would be inexcusable vandalism on the part of his royal highness to destroy the most interesting ruins in Europe by transforming them into a modern home.

† Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 52, 53.

‡ *Ibid.*, 5, 54, 63.

lieve, because the tempestuous weather prevented access to her.\* In the summer of 1709 another large number of Palatinees were sent over by the English Government, at a cost of between £3 and £4 pounds each; they were generously supplied with agricultural implements and building tools at an expense of 40 shillings each, and for their subsistence in America for one year after settlement on "waste lands" along the Hudson, provision was made at the rate of £5 each. But some of her majesty's subjects murmured, and "objected that should these people be settled on the Continent of America they will fall upon Woollen and other Manufactories to the prejudice of the Manufactures of this Kingdom now consumed in these Parts." The lords of trade at once quieted these fears by reminding the objectors that the province of New York was not under a proprietary, but a crown government, and hence "such mischievous practice may be discouraged and checked much easier" there than elsewhere.† Thus, in extreme poverty and feebleness, with much distress and suffering, began that mighty flow of German emigration which attained such enormous proportions in our own century, and which, while supplying our entire Republic with millions of valuable citizens who have called forth untold treasures from our natural resources, as well as in the way of manufacturing industries, has at the same time made New York third or fourth in rank among cities populated by Germans.

Not five months had elapsed since Lord Lovelace had landed in the city, the assembly of the province was still in session, and was about to pass upon its first act, when the whole community was startled by the news that the governor's illness, which had never left him during all his stay, had suddenly taken an alarming turn. One of his children, Wentworth, the second son, had already succumbed to the same complaint in April; another, John, the oldest, was seriously affected by it; and doubtless grief at his child's death aggravated the father's malady. The skill of the physicians of that date could hardly be expected to cope successfully with pneumonia, which so ruthlessly and swiftly carries off its victims even to day. Ere long, therefore, on May 6, 1709, the dreaded announcement came that Lord Lovelace had died, in the flower of his age and upon the threshold of a new and honorable career. A genu-

\* *Ibid.*, 5, 67.

† *Ibid.*, 5, 87, 88.

ine sorrow filled every citizen, increased, it may well be supposed, by sympathy with the bereaved lady, watching by the side of the hopeless sick bed of her eldest born, who followed his father to the grave within two weeks.\* To give outward expression to this general and proper sentiment, insignia of mourning were everywhere apparent, and the council directed the mayor to "prohibit the acting of any play or plays, and the fighting of any prize or prizes, till further orders."† A few days later (May 12) the obsequies took place, on which occasion the Rev. William Vesey preached a sermon from the text in Psalm xxxvii, 37, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." At the close he spoke these appropriate and appreciative sentences:

I was once almost resolved against Funeral Panegyrics, as being full

\* It was not long after this that the line of the barons of Hurley became extinct. The third son, Nevil, succeeded as baron in 1709, but died in 1736 without issue. At the time that the older branch failed in male descendants, and Governor Lord Lovelace succeeded to the title as fourth baron, Martha, a daughter of the third baron, became Baroness Wentworth in her mother's right. She married Sir William Noel, from whom descended Anna Isabella Noel, daughter of Sir Ralph Milbank, Lord Byron's wife. Lady Byron afterward succeeded to the title of Baroness Wentworth. Byron's daughter, Ada, celebrated in "Childe Harold," was married in 1835 to Viscount Ockham. In 1838 this nobleman, who is still living, was created Earl of Lovelace, the name being revived in consideration of the fact that his wife was the representative of the family whose name had become extinct through failure of male issue—a family whose founder appears among the six hundred and twenty-nine names of William the Conqueror's chiefs borne on the Battle Abbey Roll of 1066, who shared the lands and distinctions of the followers of the defeated Harold. What has happened to the Lovelaces has occurred to many even more illustrious English families. Alnwick Castle has been charmingly described by an American poet, who was there in the summer of 1822, as "Home of the Percy's high-born race;" but the last of the line died more than two hundred years ago, and for a century the proud dukes of Northumberland have been descendants of a female branch, bearing, not the knightly name of Percy, but the prosaic one of Smithson, and it is to a member of that family that our nation is indebted for the noble endowment known as the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C. (See Banks' "Dormant and Extinct Baronages," III: 498, 499; also Burke's "Peerage.") In Motley's "Correspondence" (New York, 1889) II, 301, there is this reference under date July 26, 1858: "I went over to Lord Lovelace's. \* \* \* I like Lady Annabella King, the daughter of Ada Byron, very much. She has much talent, very agreeable manners, and a good deal of fun; plays and paints admirably, and has evidently a very sweet disposition" (p. 333). "Lily [now Lady William Vernon Harcourt] goes up to town every Tuesday, generally passing the day with her friend, Lady Annabella King, at her grandmother's, old Lady Byron."

† "Council Minutes," x, 303 (May 6, 1709).

S. Mis. 173—19

of Difficulty, full of Censure, but on this extraordinary Occasion Duty obliged me to assist with fragrant spices in embalming the blessed Memory, to strew Flowers on the Hearse, and to shed some Tears at the Funeral Obsequies of so great, so good a Man. The supream Governour of the World seemed to have Mark't out this deceased Peer of Great Britain even in his early days, to have made an Illustrions Figure, and to have been an Instrument of much good to Mankind: for Nature had endow'd him with a Magistick and amiable Countenance, an obliging and grateful Disposition, a generous Spirit and yet a humble Mind, quick Apprehensions and a sound Judgment. Our Dread Sovereign, Queen Anne, after he had done considerable service for his country both at Home and abroad, was pleased to commit to his government the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, whose Inhabitants, however divided among themselves, universally conspired to love and reverence his Person and to express their Satisfaction, under his just and benigne Conduct.\*

Immediately upon Lord Lovelace's death the functions of head of the State devolved temporarily upon Col. Peter Schuyler, as president of the council. Richard Ingoldesby had been appointed lieutenant-governor under Lord Cornbury in the year 1702, at the time that the province of New Jersey was added to the jurisdiction of the governor of New York. It was intended by this arrangement that while one officer was present in one province, the other might preside over the affairs of the other. An experience of four years led the lord of trade to recommend to the Queen that she revoke Ingoldesby's commission, with which she complied at once. The order in some way failed to be properly prepared, or it failed to reach him, and thus he retained the position, so to speak, by default, continuing even under Cornbury's successor. Therefore, being the lieutenant-governor *de facto*, if not *de jure*, or by intention of the Queen, on Lord Lovelace's death he was summoned in haste from New Jersey, and took charge of the government on May 9. It was not a new experience for him. At the equally unexpected and sudden demise of Governor Sloughter, in 1691, he had been intrusted with the duties of chief magistrate, on the ground of being the next in military command. He had remained in the colony under Fletcher and Bellomont, but served only in a military capacity until 1702. No sooner did the news of Governor Lovelace's death, and the consequent elevation of Ingoldesby, reach the lords of trade, than they forthwith renewed their application for his removal. On September 17 of this same year Queen Anne signed the second revocation, and care was taken that it was properly transmitted. On

\* New York Historical Society Collections for 1880. pp. 321, 336, 337.



receiving the document which constituted his official decapitation, Ingoldesby resigned the government into the hands of the worthy Dr. Gerardus Beekman, who in the absence of Peter Schuyler was senior member and president of the council.\* This occurred in April, 1710; and three months later Robert Hunter, the next governor, arrived.

Ingoldesby signalized the beginning of his administration by exercising his authority in an exceedingly unworthy manner, by behavior not only ungentlemanly, but inexcusably unfeeling. This was the harsh treatment of Lady Lovelace, the bereaved wife and mother. It was of such a nature, indeed, that she found it expedient to betake herself to the ship which was to carry her back in her forlorn condition to Europe as if she were a fugitive from justice. Her own words best describe the disgraceful episode. In a letter to the lords of trade she writes:

Soon after the dismal death of my Dear Husband, and Eldest Son, in the midst of my afflictions (which were and are the most sorrowful that ever befell a poor Woman) Col. Ingoldesby came to me, and Demanded the Papers I had in my hands; I told him they were sent for by Lord Sunderland Secy of State, and show'd him his Lord<sup>sh</sup> lett<sup>r</sup>, he told me he did not value Lord Sunderland's lett<sup>r</sup>, 'twas nothing to him, and in very ruff and threatening terms told me that I shou'd not stir from New-York 'till I had given him the said papers; Both my self and friends told him I shou'd

\* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5: 89, 90, 91. An extract from the "Council Minutes" (10: 473) is both interesting and instructive on this point of the summary dismissal of Ingoldesby: "April 10, 1710 (Gerardus Beekman, President) Coll. Beekman Communicated to the Council a Lett<sup>r</sup> which he rec'd yesterday und<sup>r</sup> her Majesties Signett & Signe Mannall given att Windsor the 29th of October Last directed to y<sup>e</sup> President of the Council in y<sup>e</sup> Province of New York Signifying that her Majestie has been informed that Severall undue grants of Land in the Province have been passed since the Death of my Lord Lovelace for the Preventing the like abuse for the future her Majestie does thereby Signify that She has thought fitt with the advice of her Privy Council to ord<sup>r</sup> that noe Grants of Land be made in this Province till the Arrivall of Robert Hunter Esq. Governour appointed for the same and her Majestie haveing thereby likewise thought fitt to revoke annull and determine the Commission formerly granted to Richd Ingoldesby Esq. constituting & appointing him L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> said Province the administration whereof will devolve upon the President of the Council does therefore declare unto him her Pleasure concerning the Premises prohibiting the Passing any Grants of Lands in the said Province. And Coll. Schuyler being att Present absent from this Province Coll<sup>o</sup> Beekman who is the next Councillor named to him in her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Instructions does think fitt to order by the advice of this Board that y<sup>e</sup> sa<sup>d</sup> Letter be Immediately Published att the City Hall in the usual manner."

complain of his severe usage when I came to England, he answered he valued it not, and that England was at a great Distance, and he well knew when another Gov<sup>t</sup> came over he shou'd be removed: but notwithstanding his Hectoring me, I did at midnight get the trunk of Papers and myself on Ship board, and so prevented my confinement. . . . Also Captain Symons belonging to one of the Companies in a very bullying manner wou'd not let me Remove several things that we put into the Fort and paid for."

Fortunately the rule of this man was brief, but it was not brief enough to prevent his disgracing himself by conduct such as this, as well as by that reckless granting of valuable lands to himself and friends which had been the bane of former administrations. But one enterprise, the first of its kind in the eighteenth century, which had been set on foot before his incumbency, ripened into action just as he entered upon his functions, and lends some luster to his otherwise undignified rule.

A few months before the death of Lord Lovelace, on March 1, 1709, the Queen addressed to him a letter, officially informing him that "at great expense" the authorities in England were fitting out an expedition to Canada, to be placed under the direction of Col. Samuel Vetch. In this paper the governor was directed to allow himself to be guided in all matters pertaining to this enterprise according to the instructions and plans of which the colonel was the bearer. For fear that the latter might not reach New York in safety, or might not reach it soon enough, a letter reiterating these instructions substantially was sent by post on another vessel. In this document, bearing date April 28, Lord Sunderland carefully detailed the plan of campaign which had been decided on by the ministry in England; and also the mode of preparing for it in America is indicated. Lord Lovelace died before either Col. Vetch or the secretary's letter reached him, but the expedition had been so thoroughly determined on and such earnest provision was made for it that this important business was not in the least interrupted by that sad circumstance.

It may readily be appreciated that the people of the colonies must have been ripe for such an enterprise and would heartily

<sup>1</sup> Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 89, 90. The letter is dated September 3, 1709. By the same ship came Ingoldesby's letters announcing the death of Lord Lovelace and his own assumption of the government. On September 5 the order revoking his commission as lieutenant-governor was passed by the royal council, the Queen being present.

join in the efforts of the home Government. "Queen Anne's war," corresponding with that of the Spanish succession in Europe, had precipitated hostilities on the southern borders in its very beginning, in 1702. The English there had taken the initiative against the Spanish settlements. Governor Moore, of South Carolina, attacked the Spanish town of St. Augustine, in Florida. The town itself was easily taken, but the castle held out until reinforcements compelled Moore to raise the siege and even to abandon his stores in the retreat. A second expedition was organized and assailed the Indian allies of the French and Spaniards dwelling about Appalachee Bay. As a result of this exploit several tribes submitted to the jurisdiction of Carolina. In the year 1706 a French fleet sailed from Havana, intending to reduce Charleston, but the people beat off the enemy, who had effected a landing, with a loss of 300 men killed or prisoners. At the north there hung the ever-threatening cloud of French and Indian invasion, with its accompanying atrocities. The Deerfield massacre had thrilled New England with horror in 1704. It was succeeded by the assault upon Haverhill, on the Merrimac, on August 29, 1708, and fresh horrors might be expected at any moment. It is to be regretted that so gallant and noble a people as the French must ever stand charged at the bar of history with having deliberately incited or encouraged, or at least countenanced, such barbarities. In a burst of righteous anger Col. Peter Schuyler—Quider, the friend of the Indians—sent a message of rebuke and remonstrance to Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada:

My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery.\*

What wonder that the people rose almost en masse to resist this unnatural and wicked combination of civilization and savagery, and to uproot the power of the French in Canada. Bancroft tells us that during one year in the course of the war actually one-fifth of the entire population able to carry arms were enlisted as soldiers, and that there was universally "fostered a willingness to exterminate the natives."

Colonel Vetch came over with instructions, similar to those which have been noticed as addressed to Lord Lovelace, for the governors of Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Is-

\* Bancroft, "United States" (ed. 1883), 2: 198.

land. While large supplies were cordially voted and the requisite number of levies made in the more northern colonies, considerable opposition was encountered in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey legislatures, by reason of the prevalence of the Quaker element there. The New York assembly pledged itself to raise the sum of £10,000,\* and early in the summer of 1709 its quota of soldiers was already on the way. The plan of campaign as laid before Lord Lovelace was to be as follows:

It is resolved to attack at the same time both Quebeck and Montreal, the first by sea and the second over the lake from Albany, with a body of 1500 men who are to be raised and armed, as you will see in the enclosed instructions. Her Majesty is now fitting out her Commander-in-Chief of the said expedition, with a squadron of ships and five Regiments of the regular troops, who are to be at Boston by the middle of May, and there to be joined with 1200 of the best men of New England and Road Island. They are then to sail with all expedition to attack Quebeck, being provided with Engineers, bomb vessels, and all sorts of artillery for such an enterprise. At the same time the 1500 men from Albany, under the command of one whom you shall appoint, are to make the best of their way to Montreal, which place they are to attack, and if possible to reduce to Her Majesty's obedience.†

The chief command over the land forces of the United Colonies was intrusted to Col. Francis Nicholson, who was lieutenant-governor of New York under Sir Edmund Andros, and had since been governor of Virginia. Col. Vetch, to whose experience and zeal the expedition owed its inception and most of its present active preparation, was placed next to him in authority. He was of Scotch birth, and had first come to America in connection with that strange scheme of colonization of the Isthmus of Darien projected by William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England. When the Darien bubble burst, Vetch, a young man of not quite thirty years, settled at Albany, attaining success as a trader, and married the daughter of Robert Livingston in 1700. In 1705 Colonel (then captain) Vetch was appointed by the governor of Massachusetts a commissioner to Quebec to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and also, if possible, a treaty of peace or truce. Vetch remained in Canada several months, and he kept his eyes wide open as to the chances of a capture of its chief cities. He "devoted himself to the study of the topography and resources of the country. There were even those who said that, by intelligent

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\* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 81.

† *Ibid.*, 5, 73.

and none too open observation, he learned more of Canadian weakness than was right for an Englishman in time of war to know.\* He was thus well fitted to recommend the Canadian expedition to Queen Anne and her ministry, and to suggest besides the details of the campaign. Having promoted the enterprise also on this side of the Atlantic as vigorously as he had done, he was certainly entitled to be the second in command. It was well understood that in case of a successful issue he was to receive the appointment of governor of Canada.

The rendezvous for the land forces, as directed by the instructions, was Albany. Here the men from the different provinces collected during the month of June, and meanwhile the commander and his staff were utilizing the time by gathering all available information from Indians. Indian scouts had previously been sent far into the enemy's country, some even reaching the villages of the natives along the St. Lawrence. These now began to come in, and much valuable intelligence was gained from them.† On June 28 all was ready for the march upon Montreal. Col. Nicholson, accompanied by the Indian contingent from the ever-loyal Five Nations, under their trusted friend Col. Schuyler, led his little army as far as Stillwater, destined to be a field of glory in a cause more important than even the present. Here was hastily constructed a redoubt, which, in honor of the lieutenant-governor of the province, Nicholson named Fort Ingoldesby.‡ Then crossing the Hudson at a favorable point, many of which the quiet flow of its shallow waters here afforded, the colonial forces traversed the tangled wilderness and primeval forest, and halted and encamped on Wood Creek, at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain. Here news was awaited in regard to the movements of the cooperating fleet. Col. Vetch had gone to Boston at the same time that Nicholson led forth his forces from Albany upon the northern march. The fleet from England, as promised in the instructions, was to have arrived the middle of May. It was essential that the two attacking forces should have a knowledge of each other's situation and progress, and

\* Article in *International Review*, November, 1881, on "An Acadian Governor," p. 467.

† Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 5, 85.

‡ "Letters of Hessian officers during the Revolution," translated by William L. Stone, p. 134, note.

Vetch went to arrange some means of communication between them; but when he reached Boston, early in July, the fleet had not yet arrived. After many weary weeks of waiting, instead of a fleet a solitary vessel entered the harbor, a dispatch boat bringing the disheartening news that no English fleet was coming at all. The conduct of the war on the Spanish peninsula having gone against the Portuguese, the allies of England, the destination of the promised squadron with its five regiments of regulars had been changed from Boston to Lisbon.\* In September, 1709, this news reached the colonial camp on Wood Creek, in the wilderness of northern New York. Of necessity the expedition against Canada was at an end. The aimless waiting had already depleted the ranks of the little army, and some intentional or unintentional defilement of the waters of the creek near its source had caused a frightful rate of mortality. By October 5 the forces had dwindled down to a mere handful, and these now abandoned the camp and returned to their homes.

With nothing accomplished and after expenses incurred that far exceeded their means, the people of the northern colonies were confronted with the burden of an oppressive debt, in addition to the still threatening perils of French and Indian atrocities. In spite of this almost ridiculous failure, however, Col. Schuyler was determined to force the Canadian, or the French and Indian, question upon the attention of the English court. "I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor," he had said, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties." At the end of this same year (1709) he took with him to England, at his own expense, five chiefs of the Five Nations.

In London, amid the gaze of crowds, dressed in English smallethoes of black, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles edged with gold for their blankets, they were conducted in coaches to an audience with Queen Anne, to whom they gave belts of wampum and avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet for the reduction of Canada.†

To this effective expedient on the part of the indefatigable Schuyler we may doubtless trace the better-sustained attempts against Canada of subsequent years, finally resulting in its complete reduction under the empire of Great Britain.‡

\* "An Acadian Governor," as cited, p. 495, note.

† Baneroff, "History United States" (ed. 1883), p. 199.

‡ In recognition of his noble services in this connection and to com-

memorate this remarkable visit, Queen Anne presented Col. Schuyler with a handsome vase, which is still a cherished heirloom in the family, and of which an illustration is to be found in the text. Since Col. Nicholson went over in the same ship with Schuyler and his Indians and also naturally had much to do with presenting them to the Queen, some English historians of that date, with characteristic carelessness in such matters, suppress all mention of the Dutch-American and colonial officer, ascribing the merit of the undertaking to Francis Nicholson alone.

The following is the inscription on the vase: "Presented by Anne Queen of England to Col. Peter Schuyler, of Albany, in the Province of New York, April 19, 1710. To commemorate his visit to England by request of the Provincial government, accompanied by five sachems of the Mohawks."

