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THE ALLIES AT YORKTOWN

1781

The popular idea that the war of the revolution was a series of skirmishes without preconceived plan or interdependence is erroneous. From its beginning to its close it was conducted upon an intelligent system of offence and defence—methodical attack was answered by methodical resistance. In the earlier campaigns, when the American troops were but an undisciplined militia and the line officers of little more experience or authority than the men they commanded, examples may be found of the highest strategy. It is sufficient to name Washington's reduction of Boston and retreat from New York. Later, when the regular regiments had acquired consistency and permanence on the Continental establishment, the movements of the war displayed an equal understanding of tactical evolution. During the Southern campaign (1780–1781), the last active period of the war, which opened with the disaster of Camden, and of which the capture of Yorktown was the brilliant and decisive episode, the Continentals proved themselves the equals of the best troops in the world, whether tested in hostile or friendly rivalry. At Camden the Maryland and Delaware regiments made gallant defence against a superior force of English veterans, and in the rout of the army saved the honor of their flag. At Cowpens the Maryland light infantry led by Colonel Howard made reckless Tarleton feel the touch of the American bayonet. Nor were the Northern regiments less thoroughly drilled or less ably officered. This proficiency was the result of intelligent and incessant labor on the part of the officers.

In the operations of the allies before New York the discipline of the American troops was the marvel of the French for its extreme severity; not less the admiration of Rochambeau, himself the veteran of an hundred fields, for their order, their silence, their celerity on the march.
They too had received their baptism of fire, and learned the severer lesson of un murmur ing obedience in the rigor of season and privation of raiment and of food.

In the solution of the problem the British ministry had assumed—the subjection of the Colonies by conquest—the British fleet was an important factor, enabling them to shift the scene of military operations from one to the other extremity of the continent. In the earlier years of the war this superiority had on more than one occasion baffled the enterprise of the American commanders. It had compelled the evacuation of New York. It provided the means for Clinton's safe retreat after the battle of Monmouth. The French alliance in a measure compensated for this inequality. The fleet which it brought to the service of the American cause confined the action of the opposing squadron and neutralized its effective force, but until the grand movement which, in its combination of land and naval armament, the extent of land and waters traversed to reach the point of junction, and the precision of the final blow, is one of the finest examples of high strategy, there had been no concert of operation between the two arms of the French service and their American allies. This has been the occasion of much and unjust censure of the intentions and temper of France by overzealous historians forgetful that her operations on the Continent were properly subordinate to the safety of her own islands in the West Indies, which were in their isolation a constant source of solicitude to the parent state. At last, by the unexampled exertion of the French ministry, a fleet was gathered of sufficient force in guns and men to protect their own possessions and give material aid to their allies. The magnificent armament of de Grasse far exceeded in strength any that had ever appeared on the coast of the American continent.

The plan for the summer's campaign, originally discussed by the allied commanders at Wethersfield, contemplated the alternative of a movement to relieve the Southern States in case an attack on New York should not offer sufficient probabilities of success. The solution of the question was sudden and simple. On the same day (11th August) that a body of reinforcements reached Sir Henry Clinton at New York, a French frigate (La Concorde) arrived at Newport with despatches from Count de Grasse to Count de Barras, who still lay with his vessels in the harbor, engaging to reach the Chesapeake with his fleet and the military force under the Marquis de St. Simon by the close of August. In his letter conveying the news to Washington Count de Barras urged the anxiety of de Grasse that every thing should be in
readiness to commence operations immediately on his arrival because of his own particular engagement with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the middle of October. It was on receipt of this news that Washington finally resolved upon a movement to the southward, where Lord Cornwallis, in his self-confidence and utter ignorance of the presence of a French squadron in American waters, had ventured into a position from which Washington, with his military eye and intimate knowledge of the country, saw that escape could be prevented.

Instantly forming his plans (15th August), he despatched a courier to the Marquis de Lafayette, "requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second his views, and to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis towards Carolina." He was also directed to halt the troops under the command of General Wayne, if they had not made any great march to join the Southern army then in the Carolinas under the command of Greene. Letters received the next day from Lafayette and others informed Washington that Lord Cornwallis had further enmeshed himself in the toils that were being laid for him, and "with the troops from Hampton Road he had proceeded up York river and landed at York and Gloucester Towns," where they were throwing up works. It was now evident that the British commander intended to take permanent post in Virginia.

The Yorktown peninsula, now to become the theatre of memorable war, is about twenty-five miles in length; at its neck about three miles, and at its foot twelve miles in width; in shape it resembles a cleaver. York river and the Chesapeake bay bound it on the north and east, and the James, flowing by its southern shore, mingles its waters with those of the Chesapeake at Hampton Road. Between this and Cape Henry, the eastern point of the main land beyond, is Lynn Haven bay, an easy, sheltered and commodious harbor. Yorktown, the county seat, one of the most ancient of Virginia cities, lies on the York river, about eleven miles from its mouth. Opposite, to the northward, on the other side of the stream, is Gloucester, the shire town of the county of the same name. They are respectively about seventy miles distant from Richmond, the capital, and thirty-five from Portsmouth, then the chief seaport of the State.

The two commanders who faced each other on this limited area were worthy foes. It has been too much our habit to look upon the sentimental side of Lafayette's character, and in our admiration for his devotion to liberty, a devotion antique in its purity and classic simplicity, to forget that his youthful ardor was tempered by a prudence
beyond his years, and that on every field in which he was entrusted with supreme command he displayed military qualities of the highest order. Eager for fame, burning with desire to illustrate his name, his race, and his country by brilliant service, he had obtained in the spring from Washington, who, notwithstanding their disparity of age, trusted him as an officer not less than he valued him as a friend, the command of an expedition which had been directed, in concert with a detachment of the French fleet from Newport, to the reduction of Portsmouth, where the infamous Arnold was harassing the defenceless population of Virginia with an atrocity all his own, gratifying his revenge with the blood, and his avarice with the plunder of his countrymen. The failure of the French contingent to co-operate in the movement, notwithstanding the gallant combat between the fleets of Destouches and Arbuthnot off the capes of the Chesapeake frustrated the well-concerted scheme. The story of the dangerous situation for six weeks of the American forces blockaded in Annapolis by the British men of war and of their release by the ingenious device of Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens, chief of the artillery of the expedition, bravely executed by Commodore Nicholson, has been told from the papers of the former officer. Upon the failure of the expedition, the young marquis returning to the Head of Elk, found orders from Washington to march with his troops to the southward and to take the orders of General Greene. He refitted his troops in Baltimore, with the aid of the merchants upon his own credit, and with the hearty practical co-operation of the inhabitants of the patriotic city, the ladies themselves making the uniforms of his corps; then moving by forced marches he occupied Richmond in time to preserve it from the threatened attack of General Phillips, who had been sent from New York to the reinforcement of Arnold. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, the Marquis maintained himself on the north side of James river, but was unable to prevent the junction at Petersburg on the 20th May of the forces lately under General Phillips (that officer had fallen a victim to disease a few days after his occupation of this post) and the troops which Cornwallis had brought from the Carolinas.

Lord Cornwallis was at this period at the very summit of his reputation. He had taken part in the campaigns of '76 and '77 on Long Island, at Fort Washington, Germantown and Redbank, in the course of which he had not only familiarized himself with the nature of the American contest, but had measured swords as a commander with Washington himself. Reinforcing Sir Henry Clinton before Charleston
in the spring of 1780 he had been left by his commander in chief on his return to New York in supreme command of the British forces in the Carolinas. His victory over Gates near Camden in the following August commended him to Lord Germain as the hope of the ministry, who preferred his ruthless severity to the milder conduct of his wiser, more politic superior, and eventually entrusted to him the direction of the war. The wail that rose from patriotic hearts over the loss of Charleston and the defeat at Camden that the Southern States were lost to the cause of independence was justified by the rapid manner in which the enterprising and skilful commander immediately took advantage of his success. But notwithstanding their irregular and spasmodic action, there was abundant resolution and tough fibre in the hardy men whom Shelby and Sevier and Campbell led down from the mountain fastnesses to punish the invader and betrayer of country and home; and the severe lesson administered at King’s Mountain to Ferguson’s marauders taught caution to the unscrupulous foe. Later the military skill of Cornwallis was met by a strategy equal to his own; and on a new and unfamiliar field Greene, Washington’s trusted lieutenant, displayed the remarkable qualities which proved him the match of the best of the English generals and entitle him to a place in the very front rank of military commanders. Joining Morgan a few days after the battle of the Cowpens, Greene divined the purpose of Cornwallis to undertake the conquest of Virginia, and manœuvred to defeat his plans or take advantage of the extended field of operations to rescue the Carolinas. A series of movements in which the Dan which skirts the Virginia frontier was crossed and recrossed by both armies terminated in the doubtful action at Guilford Court House. The Americans were temporarily discomfited, but rapidly rallied and within a few days turned upon the enemy. But Cornwallis not waiting for another action abandoned his position, and, leaving his wounded behind, retreated, closely pursued by Greene, whose troops were eager to renew the contest. On the 28th March the British crossed Deep river at Ramsay’s mills. Arriving a few hours later, Greene found the bridge destroyed, and, recognizing the folly of further pursuit, turned to the recovery of the Carolinas. Cornwallis, relying upon Rawdon’s ability to hold the Southern ports, and eager to assume the extended command which the instructions of the ministry with the reinforcements from Clinton opened to him in Virginia, marched by way of Wilmington and Halifax to Petersburg, the assigned point of junction, where, as has been stated, he arrived on the 20th May, and took command of the united forces and the
entire department of the South. Petersburg is on the southern bank of
the lower branch of the James; Richmond, where Lafayette had taken
post, is on the northern bank of the upper branch of the same river,
about twenty-five miles distant in a nearly northerly direction. It was
at this time, in his pride and exultation, with a sufficient force, abundant
supplies, and uninterrupted communication by water with New York
and Charleston, both strongly held by land and naval armament, that
Cornwallis wrote in scorn of his youthful adversary: “The boy cannot
escape me.” A boy indeed in years was Lafayette. He had not yet com-
pleted his twenty-fourth year, but the grave Congress had commended
him by letters to his sovereign three years previously as “wise in council,
brave in the field, and patient in the fatigue of war.” Cornwallis soon
found that on the young shoulders, beneath which beat a heart as impetu-
ous as his own, there rested a head trained, in prudent, wary watchful-
ness, in the great school of Washington. With all his vigor and fertility
of resource and stratagem, the wily general could not force Lafayette to
an engagement. Compelled to confine himself to ravaging the country
with his light troops, he was not even able to prevent the junction of
Lafayette with the detachment of the Pennsylvania line, chiefly veterans,
which Wayne brought to him by order of Washington. A series of
strategic movements ensued, in which Lafayette manœuvred with such
skill that Cornwallis, deceived as to the extent of his force, evacuated
Richmond and marched to Williamsburg, devastating the country on
his way, but closely followed by the Americans. The force under
Lafayette at this period amounted to 3,900 men, of whom 1,500 were
regulars, 400 new levies, and 2,000 militia, while the army of Corn-
wallis reached 4,000 regulars, of whom 800 were cavalry, freshly and
admirably mounted, with Tarleton at their head. At Williamsburg
Cornwallis received orders from Clinton to return to him a consider-
able part of his force, and take strong post in a healthy station. On the
4th July he began his march for Portsmouth. The same day he reached
James Island, closely followed by Wayne. A sharp skirmish ensued on
the 6th without serious consequences. On the 8th Cornwallis, crossing
the James, marched to Portsmouth, while the Marquis held the com-
manding position of Malvern Hill.

Hardly were the British troops embarked than letters came from Sir
Henry Clinton, who had recovered from his immediate dread of an attack
upon New York, countermanding his former order and directing Corn-
wallis to take and fortify stations for the secure holding of the Ches-
apeake. Taking advantage of the vessels which Clinton had sent to him,
he transferred his entire force to York and Gloucester, and at once proceeded to fortify the posts. Sir Henry Clinton had indicated Old Point Comfort as the proper position for the erection of works to cover a naval station. Mr. Bancroft says that Cornwallis' engineers, "after careful and extensive surveys, reported unanimously that a work on Point Comfort would not secure ships at anchor in Hampton Roads." But Sir Henry Clinton, in his manuscript notes to Stedman's History, comments on the movement with severity and bitterness, after explaining how the "narrow channel might have been still further narrowed by the sinking of vessels, and consequently could not be forced by an enemy's fleet exposed to batteries on Point Comfort, or ships placed within Hampton Roads. Any number of ships might have been laid either across from Old Point Comfort to Willowby's Point, or up the James River out of reach of any batteries the enemy might have on either shore; had Lord Cornwallis obeyed the only order he ever received from Sir H. Clinton (the notes are made in the third person) to fortify a place of arms to cover a naval station for ships of the line, he would have occupied the peninsula of Old Point Comfort; and had he done so the fleet he lost in York river would have been saved, and the army under his command succored; for the French fleet he well knew would not have ventured to remain long in Lynnhaven bay, and in the other roadsteads they could not forbid the entrance into James river. Lord Cornwallis chose, however, to disobey the commander-in-chief's order once more, and without waiting for his approbation to remove the naval station to York river, alleging as a reason that "it was there alone he could hope to give effectual protection to line-of-battle ships."

Lafayette was quick to perceive that the abandonment of Portsmouth cut off one way of British retreat to the Carolinas. Of this movement, made on the 6th August, Washington received advice from Lafayette on the 16th. Marching orders for the advance guard of the allied forces were issued the same day. The troops were put in motion; King's ferry was crossed between the 19th and 20th—the Americans in the van, the French following—marching over different roads with celerity; Philadelphia was reached in the first days of September. The march seemed rather one of triumph than of manoeuvre. The people thronged to witness the unusual sight of the gay French uniforms, and hailed their appearance with acclamations of joy. An aureole of victory encircled the advancing host. The excitement in Philadelphia was intense. The Congress took part in the rejoicings. The house of the French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, was besieged by enthusiastic patriots.
eager for a view of the leaders of the gallant army—approved veterans of many a hard fought field, gay noblemen who had left the tape-tried halls of Versailles to strike one blow for the new born nation, long their enemy, now the ally of their generous King. Cries of Vive le Roi, and Vive la France, mingled with the shouts which welcomed the steady tramp of the war-worn Continentals. The light troops of the Americans halted but a day and pressed on to Chester. Rochambeau followed immediately with the first division of his army. At Chester the joyful news was received of the arrival of the French fleet at the mouth of the Chesapeake. The ardor of the troops redoubled their energy. On the 2d September the first division crossed Christiana bridge and marched to Elkton. At the Head of Elk Washington, finding the transports insufficient for the movement of the entire army, determined with Rochambeau to divide the forces. The first embarkation to consist of one thousand of the American troops, including Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery, the grenadiers and chasseurs of the brigade of Bourbonnais with the infantry of Lauzun's legion, was to be immediately pushed forward, while the remainder of the troops was to march to Baltimore by land or water as circumstances admitted, and the cavalry and teams to go round by land.

These dispositions made, Washington, to use the words of his diary, determined to set out for the camp of the Marquis de Lafayette without loss of time, and accordingly, in company with the Count de Rochambeau, who requested to attend him, and the Chevalier de Chastellux, on the 8th reached Baltimore, where he received and answered an address of the citizens.

For days Baltimore had been in a fever of delight and expectation. The first news of the arrival of the fleet of the Count de Grasse was received on Tuesday, the 4th, at half past one o'clock in the afternoon, by the French cutter La Serpente, commanded by M. Anne de la Lanne, who brought dispatches for General Washington from the Admiral. There was an immediate impromptu gathering at Lindsay's Coffee House, on Fell's Point, and a feu de joie was fired in honor of the event. The toasts drank on the occasion are fortunately recorded. In their hearty spontaneity they well characterize the ardor of the occasion.


Not the most punctilious master of diplomatic courtesy and national etiquette could have more happily ordered these tributes of honor. In the evening the entire city was brilliantly illuminated. The records of the day best describe the reception of Washington:

“Last Saturday afternoon his excellency General Washington (accompanied by Adjutant-General Hand and other officers of distinction) arrived at the Fountain Inn in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in this vicinity and escorted to his quarters by Captain Moore’s troop of light dragoons, where he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general seemed to vie with each other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character. In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and undoubtedly of the last importance.”

The arrival of the French officers is likewise recorded: “On Sunday morning the Count de Rochambeau, Major-General and commander of his most Christian Majesty’s troops in America (under the orders of General Washington), with his suite, arrived in town, and after a short stay proceeded southward. This great officer received every mark of respect from the inhabitants that his short continuance here admitted.

* * The same evening Brigadier-General Chatteleux, of his most Christian Majesty’s forces, also arrived here, and the next morning set out for Virginia.”

The address of the citizens of Baltimore was presented on their behalf by a committee of gentlemen—Messrs. William Smith, Samuel Purviance, Jr., John Moale, John Dorsey, and James Calhoun. It expressed their esteem for the character of their illustrious guest, their respect for his services, their congratulations on the many signal successes that had lately attended the American arms in the Southern States, and on the arrival of the French fleet.

Washington replied in the same tone of dignity and feeling. He accepted their congratulations with the warmest sense of gratitude and affection. He rejoiced in their felicity, in that it was based upon their good opinion of his services during a long and trying period. He expressed his pleasure and delight at “the happy and eventful successes
of the troops in the Southern States, as they reflect glory on the American arms, and particular honor on the gallant officers and men immediately concerned in that department." He declared "the active and generous part the allies were taking in our cause, with the late arrival of their formidable fleet in the bay of Chesapeake to call for our utmost gratitude, and with the smiles of heaven on the combined operations to give the happiest presage of the most pleasing events—events which, in their issue, may lead to an honorable and permanent peace."

The heart of the stern soldier seemed to warm with unwonted feeling as he approached once more the home of his childhood, and hope blossomed into certainty that these scenes of his predilection were to be those of the triumph of his country's arms. The Fountain Inn where Washington lodged plays a conspicuous part in the annals of the city, and in the days after the revolution became, to quote the words of Baltimore's faithful chronicler, Colonel Scharf, "the pet of the Presidents."

Taking advantage of the momentary respite afforded him by the delay at Christiana and the Head of Elk, Washington paid a short visit to "his own seat at Mount Vernon," distant, as he records it with military precision, 120 miles from the Head of Elk. According to Bancroft, this distance was made on horseback by Washington, Rochambeau and Chastellux, riding sixty miles a day. Certain it is from the testimony of the newspapers, as well as from Washington's own diary, that he received and answered the address of the Baltimore citizens in that city on Saturday the 8th, and he himself records that they reached Mount Vernon on the 9th. It was his first visit since he took command of the American forces—almost his first hour of repose. The imagination loves to dwell upon the scene: the stately mansion sheltered by ancestral trees; at the foot of the green-clad, terraced heights the broad, silvery Potomac stretching far as eye can reach its bright and undulating course—a landscape peaceful, motionless, and silent. The dignified and gracious host; the courteous, graceful guests; "the court, the camp, the grove," the theme of converse; the homely fare, moistened by wine of generous vintage and cheered by hospitable and patriotic toasts to king and to country.

Not long the stay. On the 12th the party took to saddle again, and on the 14th rode into Lafayette's camp at Williamsburg. Impossible here to dwell upon this meeting of the young soldier, who delighted to call himself the son of Washington in filial affection, with his adored chief and the chosen generals of his King. On the 17th the necessity
of agreeing upon a proper plan of co-operation with the Count de Grasse induced Washington to visit him on board his ship, the Ville de Paris, which then lay with the squadron off Cape Henry. He was accompanied by the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevalier de Castellux, Generals Knox and Duportail. The vessel which carried him to this interview with the Admiral he himself notes in his admirable diary was the "Queen Charlotte."

Well might the French Admiral feel proud of his high command. He had sailed from the port of Brest with an immense convoy of 250 ships, valued at thirty million of livres. The shores were lined by crowds of people as the fleet sailed into the offing, and spread itself like a forest over the sea. The Minister of Marine, M. de Castries, had come up in person from Versailles to wish the gallant armament God-speed, and, surrounded by his suite, watched the departure from the Port de Ric, an elevated fort commanding the roadstead. The grand armament was the result of his intelligent labors. It carried with it not alone the hopes of France, but the fortune of a continent. The breezes favored, and by the close of April the fleet was before Martinique and broke the English blockade. Capturing all the craft which fell in his way, and overawing the British vessels on the stations, De Grasse, on the 5th August, sailed from St. Domingo, stopped at the Havana for a supply of coin, and passing out through the Bahama channel came to anchor on the 30th August in Chesapeake bay. On the evening of his arrival off Cape Henry he was boarded by an officer whom Lafayette had posted at the cape to inform him of his own position and that of Cornwallis. Cornwallis was at York, his supplies and communications with the sea secured by the Guadeloupe of 24 guns, several corvettes, and a large number of transports. As the Glorieux, Aigrette, and Diligente, cruising in advance of the French fleet, entered the bay, they sighted the frigate Guadeloupe anchored off Cape Henry, attended by the corvette Royalist. The frigate was pursued to the mouth of York river, the corvette was captured. The Glorieux, accompanied by two frigates, anchored at the mouth to complete the blockade; they were next day reinforced by the Vaillant and Triton. The mouth of the James, four leagues south of the York, was also occupied. L’Experiment, l’Andromaque, and several corvettes were posted in the river to cut off all possible retreat by way of the Carolinas and to protect the transports which were sent up the James with the troops of the Marquis de Saint Simon, a distance of about eighteen leagues from the harbor of Lynn Haven, where the fleet lay. The Marquis de
Saint Simon landed at Jamestown with his corps, amounting to 3,300 men, on the 27th, and was immediately joined by the Marquis de Lafayette, who on the 3d September proceeded to the investment of York, marching to Williamsburgh, fifteen miles distant, and at the same time throwing a body of militia to the north bank of the York river in front of Gloucester. The investment was now complete. The Marquis de Saint Simon strongly urged Lafayette to make an assault upon the works at Yorktown, which Cornwallis had not yet completed, but the youthful general resisted not only his entreaties, but persuaded the Count de Grasse, who was anxious to reach the West India station, where he was expected by the Spanish fleet, to await the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau.

The French fleet was awaiting the return of the boats and sloops which had carried the troops of Saint Simon up the river when at eight o'clock on the morning of the 5th the frigate cruising outside signaled twenty-seven sail to the eastward, heading for Chesapeake Bay. Little by little it was ascertained that the fleet signaled was that of the enemy, and not that of Count de Barras, which was daily expected from Newport harbor. It was in fact the English fleet. Sir Samuel Hood appeared before Sandy Hook on the 28th August with fourteen ships of the line and four frigates. He brought news to Admiral Graves, who was in command of the squadron in New York harbor, of the departure of de Grasse from St. Domingo for the Northern coast. The same day news reached New York that M. de Barras had sailed from Newport with all his ships and transports. Admiral Graves, taking command of the two squadrons, hastened to sea and made all sail for the capes of the Chesapeake, hoping to prevent the junction of the two French fleets, and to defeat de Barras separately. To his surprise he found the vessels of de Grasse at anchor at the mouth of the bay. Count de Grasse immediately gave the signal to weigh anchor. At noon the tide served to set sail, and the captains manœuvred with such skill and speed that in less than three-quarters of an hour the line of battle was formed. The order of battle is given in the “Account of the Campaign of the Naval Armament under Command of Count de Grasse, printed by his order on board the Ville de Paris.” The Admiral commanded in person. The rear guard was under the orders of M. de Monteil, in the Languedoc.

The French fleet consisted of twenty-four ships and two frigates, and according to M. Chevalier in his “History of the French Navy,” carried 1826 guns. The English squadron counted twenty-one ships, two of which—the London, on which Admiral Graves hoisted his pennant, and
the Harfleur, commanded by Sir Samuel Hood — were three-deckers; they carried 1694 guns. After some preliminary maneuvres the combat began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued for about an hour, with a very sharp fire on either side. The superior sailing qualities of the English enabled them to engage or decline action at pleasure. The French rear line, consisting of five vessels, could not be engaged, the English rear refusing the combat. The weight of metal was with the French, but this was more than compensated by the want of uniformity in speed, some of their ships not being coppered. In this may be found the true cause of English naval superiority in the last century over their French rivals. In the action of the 5th the French lost Messrs. de Boudet, Captain commanding the Refléchi, Dupé d'Orvant, Lieutenant and Major of the Blue squadron, Riamb, ensign on the Diadème, eighteen officers wounded, and about two hundred men killed and wounded. The English were roughly handled; five of their vessels were greatly damaged, and the Terrible, carrying eighty-two guns, and the sixth of the English line, was so badly injured that she could with difficulty be kept afloat. From the 6th to the 10th the French fleet manœuvred to obtain the weather gauge of the enemy and compel them to a general engagement, but in vain. Setting fire to his crippled ship, Graves turned to the northward and made sail for New York, and de Grasse returned to his station at the mouth of the bay, where he was agreeably surprised to find the fleet of de Barras which had arrived on the evening of the 9th — the day previous. On his way in de Grasse captured two frigates, the Richmond and Iris, which, according to his narrative, had been sent out from Chesapeake bay to cut the buoys set for his fleet and fell into his hands on the 11th. Chevalier does not agree with this, however, but says that the two frigates had been detached from Graves’ squadron to communicate with Cornwallis. Balch, in his Français en Amérique, says that the frigates were captured by de Barras at the entrance to the bay, and that on board the Richmond were found Lord Rawdon, Greene’s late antagonist in the Carolinas, and Colonel Doyle. This seems hardly probable, as de Grasse left behind him two ships, the Glorieux and the Digidente, at the mouth of the rivers, James and York, and two corvettes to cruise on the bay; moreover the Diligente, on board of which Balch, on the authority of the Count de Deux Ponts, says that Lord Rawdon was a prisoner, was, as has been seen, one of the fleet of de Grasse. Deux-Ponts states that Lord Rawdon was taken on the packet “Queen Charlotte;” and in fact, Rivington, in his New York news of the 12th, says that Rawdon was taken “on his passage to England on board a
South Carolina packet, in an infirm state of health." Had he been captured on the 9th by de Barras the news could not have reached New York on the 12th, and there is besides, the positive evidence in a letter written by a gentleman in Northumberland county to a friend in Baltimore, dated the 7th of September, announcing the arrival of de Grasse, which states that "Lord Rawdon, on his passage to England, was taken by the fleet, and is now in Virginia." The capture of Rawdon, who had been guilty of gross atrocities, notably in the hanging of Colonel Hayne, alarmed the British, who dreaded possible retaliation on his own person, but in the words of Rivington's Tory press already quoted, "the disaster was somewhat softened in the reflection that his lordship had become prisoner to a power ever distinguished by the most elegant manners and the tenderest sensibility."

In the interval of the absence of de Grasse, the military situation had greatly changed and his return was awaited with impatience. de Barras had brought with him the heavy artillery left behind when the French moved from Newport to join Washington before New York, and with it M. de Choisy and the six hundred men left to garrison that post. The troops now gathered under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette were quite sufficient to prevent the escape of Cornwallis if he should venture to take the field. They were an admirable body. The army with which the Marquis had baffled Cornwallis in the field were all picked men. They were the Light Companies which Washington, without interfering with the general ordering of the Light Infantry for the campaign, had selected in February for the expedition to Portsmouth against Arnold. They were taken and formed into companies from the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire lines. They were arranged in two battalions, the first under Colonel Vose and Major Galvan; the second under Colonel Gimat and Major Thorpe. In addition, the Pennsylvania line, under the impetuous Wayne, the hero of Stony Point. A few days later they were joined by the Fourth Maryland regiment, commanded by Major Alexander Roxburgh, which marched from Annapolis. This regiment was completed to its full complement, upward of six hundred rank and file, and was considered to be composed of the best men enlisted in the State since the war. Its ranks had been filled with remarkable rapidity. Steuben, in a letter to Greene (9th Sept., 1781), describes the spirited manner in which Maryland and Virginia rallied on the appearance of the French squadron. "The whole country," he wrote, "is flying to arms." Lafayette's total force at this period did not vary far from five thousand men.
The French troops, 3,900 in number, brought by the Marquis de Saint Simon from St. Domingo are described as a remarkable body of men. A gentleman writing from Lafayette's camp says of them to his friend, "You have seen the British troops and troops of other nations, but you have not seen troops so universally well made of such an appearance as those General St. Simon has brought to our assistance." Of their commander, he says: "I pretend to see a General in the Marquis de St. Simon, an affectionate politeness in his French army." In the record of his service contained in the manuscript extracts from the French Etats de Service of the French officers who were on duty in America, belonging to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, he appears to have entered the army in 1754, been promoted Colonel in 1758, Brigadier in 1770, and Maréchal de Camp 1st March, 1780, and it is noted opposite to his name 'that he is as brave a man as lives;' high praise in a dry record. The regiments in his command were, 1st, that of Touraine, of which he had been the titular Colonel since 1775, but under the direct command of the Vicomte de Pondex, Mestre de Camp. The Lieutenant Colonel M. de Montlezun; the Major, M. de Ménonville, to whom as Aid Major General is owing one of the most precise journals of the siege. 2d, of Agénais under the command of Colonel, the Marquis d'Audechamp, an officer of the highest distinction, noted by the war office as 'full of talent, activity and firmness.' The Lieut. Colonel, the chevalier de Cadignan, the Major, Pandin de Beauregard. 3d, that of Royal Auvergne, commanded by Colonel, the Marquis de Rostaing, Lieut. Colonel, Claude de Lestrade; Major, Chapuy de Tourville. 4th, the regiment of Gatinois a dedoublement or auxiliary of the Royal Auvergne; also under the orders of the Marquis de Rostaing. The troops of Touraine and Royal Auvergne were veterans of ten years service in the German wars of 1752 to 1762, and those of Agénais had seen some service. In the paper on the "Allies before New York, 1781," published in the January, 1880, number of the Magazine [IV., I], the uniforms of the French regiments which landed at Newport were described. The same authority then used gives those of the troops under the Marquis de St. Simon. The uniforms were white; the distinguishing marks as follows: Royal Auvergne wore violet lappels, violet collars and yellow buttons; Gatinois, violet lappels, dark yellow collars and white buttons; Touraine, iron gray lappels, dark yellow collars and white buttons; Agénais, pink lappels, green collars and white buttons.

Such were the men who, to use the words of the anonymous gentleman just quoted, were "to complete the gordan knot in which our
second Fabius, Fayette, has been entangling his lordship. But notwithstanding his lordship is perhaps the first officer in the British service, yet he may not be in possession of the sword of Alcides."

The news of the arrival of de Grasse hastened the movement of the northern army. They were all at the Head of Elk on the 7th September. Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens, who was in charge at Christiana bridge, had pushed the movement of the artillery and stores with the greatest energy, for which he was thanked in general orders at the close of the campaign. On the 9th the army divided on the plan concerted between Washington and Rochambeau before they left the troops. Lauzun's legion marched for Baltimore, which they reached on the 12th. So far they were accompanied by Baron Cromot du Bourg, and Baron de Closen, two of Rochambeau's aids left behind by him. The legion halting for a day the impatient gentlemen pushed on through Queen Anne, Marlborough, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, Horse Ferry, and Boyd's Tavern to Williamsburg, which they reached on the 18th. They were warmly received by Lafayette, and made his house their headquarters. They found their chief had left the evening before for the fleet. Lauzun himself seems not to have accompanied his cavalry. His memoirs state that he preferred to remain with his infantry, which he expected would first see service, and went with them by water. He complains of the detestable and dangerous condition of the transports, some of which foundered, and of the bad weather. At Annapolis orders reached him from Washington to disembark. The absence of de Grasse's fleet caused some caution. Three days later a corvette brought up orders to sail. The troops were put on board again, and with contrary winds were ten days in reaching the mouth of the James. On his arrival the legion was sent to Gloucester to join the corps under General Weedon, a body of Virginia militia. To these were added eight hundred French marines, and the whole body was placed by Washington under the command of M. de Choisy, a brilliant and competent officer, who took post close before the town, not, however, without some opposition. Tarleton, with his cavalry, useless within the invested town, had been ordered to the Gloucester side, where Lt. Col. Dundas commanded the British post. This dashing officer was not the man to remain idle while the cord was tightened about him. On the approach of the investing force he made a sally, but was met by Lauzun with his hussars, and after a sharp engagement, in which the Duke repulsed two charges, and led a third in person, the British were driven to their entrenchments with considerable loss, Tarleton himself unhorsed and
Moor's House. Yorktown, Virginia

scene of capitulation.

Not the most punctilious master of diplomatic courtesy and national etiquette could have more happily ordered these tributes of honor. In the evening the entire city was brilliantly illuminated. The records of the day best describe the reception of Washington:

“Last Saturday afternoon his excellency General Washington (accompanied by Adjutant-General Hand and other officers of distinction) arrived at the Fountain Inn in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in this vicinity and escorted to his quarters by Captain Moore’s troop of light dragoons, where he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general seemed to vie with each other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character. In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and undoubtedly of the last importance.”

The arrival of the French officers is likewise recorded: “On Sunday morning the Count de Rochambeau, Major-General and commander of his most Christian Majesty’s troops in America (under the orders of General Washington), with his suite, arrived in town, and after a short stay proceeded southward. This great officer received every mark of respect from the inhabitants that his short continuance here admitted.

* * The same evening Brigadier-General Chatteleux, of his most Christian Majesty’s forces, also arrived here, and the next morning set out for Virginia.”

The address of the citizens of Baltimore was presented on their behalf by a committee of gentlemen—Messrs. William Smith, Samuel Purviance, Jr., John Moale, John Dorsey, and James Calhoun. It expressed their esteem for the character of their illustrious guest, their respect for his services, their congratulations on the many signal successes that had lately attended the American arms in the Southern States, and on the arrival of the French fleet.

Washington replied in the same tone of dignity and feeling. He accepted their congratulations with the warmest sense of gratitude and affection. He rejoiced in their felicity, in that it was based upon their good opinion of his services during a long and trying period. He expressed his pleasure and delight at “the happy and eventful successes
persistent labor and research a mass of valuable material has been brought together and made available for future use, and arrangements have been made for original papers on a variety of subjects, historic and literary.

The publishers have shown the utmost liberality in an unquestioning acquiescence in every suggestion of improvement. In this connection it is proper to say that from the inception of the enterprise the Magazine has been, as it now is, the joint property of the Publisher and the Editor, each untrammeled in his sphere. To both it is a matter of pride that the Magazine has always been self-supporting, independent of extraneous aid or influence.

It has never been, is not, and under its present management never shall be the organ of any societies or clique of individuals or special class. It is liberal in its views and national in its aims, as becomes a Magazine of American History.

The subscribers who take a real interest in the Magazine should remember that upon them in great measure depends its success. The cost of the numbers does not admit of gratuitous circulation or general advertisement. Only by the individual commendation of those who are familiar with the devoted care and attention which such a periodical requires, can its merits and value be properly presented and urged upon the public.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

January, 1881.
wounded. For this gallant action, which occurred on the morning of the 2d, Lauzun was thanked by Washington in general orders. Captain Dillon, serving under him, was wounded.

The same day (the 9th) the French grenadiers and chasseurs, under the orders of M. de Custine (Colonel of Saintonge), the French and American artillery, and one battalion of the Jersey troops were embarked, and on the 11th dropped down the bay to Annapolis, where they remained till the 15th, and then resumed their journey. On the 12th the other battalion of Jersey troops, Colonel Hazen's regiment of Canadian volunteers, styled Congress's Own, embarked on the flat-bottomed boats which Washington had ordered to be constructed on the Hudson and brought down with the army overland on wagons. The Light Infantry under Colonel Scammel leaving at the same time were also embarked. A diary of one of the Connecticut officers, Lieutenant Sanderson, states that they reached Annapolis on the 12th, a sail of seventy miles, and that on the 15th the entire fleet dropped down the river two miles and stopped; on the 16th fell down to Poplar Point, thirty miles. On the 17th they were at Portsmouth, on the 18th in York river; on the 20th Williamsburg was reached, and the Light Infantry went into camp near the shore.

The main body of the French troops and the New York Brigade, consisting of the first and second regiments, Colonels Goose Van Schaick and Philip Van Cortlandt, commanded by Brigadier-General James Clinton, marched around the head waters of the bay to Baltimore, and thence to Annapolis. The French troops were the regiments of Bourbonnais and Soisonnais, Saintonge and Deux Ponts, under the command of the Baron de Viomenil. They marched into Annapolis about four thousand strong with their train of artillery on the 19th, and went on board the frigates, which de Grasse sent up to meet them, the next day. The New York brigade embarked at Fell's Point, Baltimore, on the evening of the 24th September.

On the 19th the French advance guard arrived at Williamsburg. Their commander, the Count de Custine, accompanied by two others of Rochambeau's aids, Messieurs de Lauberdiere and de Vauban, and M. Blanchard, the Commissary-General of the French army, had preceded them in a swift sloop some days. They were landed on the 23d on the James river, and marched to the camp at Williamsburg the same evening. The little French squadron, the Romulus, Gentille, Diligente, Aigrette, and the Iris and Richmond, the two recent captures pressed into service, were more fortunate in the weather they encountered. Sailing
from Annapolis at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st, they sighted the fleet at the mouth of the York at four o'clock the following day. The next morning they sailed up the James, and were landed at Hog's Ferry on the 25th, and went into camp at a half mile distant. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th they marched to Williamsburg. Washington describes the landing-place as above the College Creek, the usual point of debarkation. This spot is distant about a mile from the town. The artillery was landed the same day. The disembarkation was completed on the 26th. About this time also the third Maryland regiment, under the command of Colonel Adam, reached camp.

Washington, having settled most points to his satisfaction with de Grasse concerning the cooperation of the fleet, reembarked at noon of the 18th on the Queen Charlotte, and set out on his return. On his leaving the Ville de Paris he was saluted by thirteen guns. The Queen Charlotte was no doubt the vessel which Count de Deux Ponts names as the packet on board of which Rawdon was captured. The return was slow, the winds were strong and contrary, and Williamsburg was not reached till the 22d. On landing, he learned of the arrival of Admiral Digby at New York with a reinforcement of six ships of the line, and instantly dispatched the Baron de Clossen to Count de Grasse with the intelligence.

On the 27th Washington issued his general orders with an Order of Battle for the army, which, though little known, deserves a place among the martial bulletins of history.

"The American Troops comprising the right wing will be formed into two Lines, the Continental Forces in the front line, consisting of the following divisions and in the following order, viz., Muhlenbergh and Hazen's Brigades to form the Division on the right under the Command of the Marquis de la Fayette, Wayne's and the Maryland Brigade; the Division of the Centre for the present to be commanded by Baron de Steuben—Dayton's and Clinton's Brigades that on the Left—The Senior Continental Officer will command the Right Wing, and his Excellency Count Rochambeau the Left wing, of which he will be pleased to make his own disposition—The two companies of Delaware are for the present to be annexed to the 5th Maryland Regiment. Stevens' and Lawson's Brigades of Militia will form the Second Line—the Park of Artillery—the Corps of Sappers and Miners and the Virginia State Regiment will be posted between the two Lines in the order above mentioned, commencing from the right. The whole army will march by the right in one column at 5 o'clock to-morrow morning.
precisely * * * General Muhlenberg's Brigade of Infantry, with the Artillery attached to it, preceded by Colonel Lewis' Corps of Riflemen and the light Dragoons, will form the advanced guard."

In the same orders "the General-in-Chief particularly enjoins the troops, in case of attack, to place their principal reliance on the Bayonet—that they may prove the Vanity of the Boast which the British make of their particular prowess in deciding Battles with that Weapon." He expressed his trust that "a generous Emulation will actuate the Allied armies; that the French, whose National Weapon is that of close fight, and the troops in general that have so often used it with success, will distinguish themselves on every Occasion that offers—The Justice of the cause in which we are engaged and the Honour of the two Nations must inspire every breast with Sentiments that are the presage of Victory."

The opening of the siege can not be better described than in the words Washington himself records on the 28th:

"Having debarked all the troops and their baggage, marched and encamped them in front of the city, and having with some difficulty obtained horses and wagons sufficient to move our field artillery, intrenching tools and such other articles as were indispensably necessary, we commenced our march for the investiture at York. The American Continentals and French troops formed one column on the left, the first in advance. The militia composed the right column, and marched by way of Harwood's Mill. Half a mile beyond the Half Way House the French and Americans separated. The former continued on the direct road to York by the Brick House, the latter filed off to the right for Munford's bridge, where a junction with the militia was to be made. About noon the head of each column arrived at its ground, and some of the enemy's pickets were driven in on the left by a corps of French troops advanced for the purpose, which afforded an opportunity of reconnoitering them on their right. The enemy's Horse on the right were also obliged to retire from the ground they had encamped on, and from whence they were employed in reconnoitering the right column. The line being formed, all the Troops, officers and men, lay upon their arms during the night."

On the 29th Washington moved the American troops more to the right, and encamped on the east side of Beaver Dam creek, with a morass in front about cannon shot from the enemy's lines. He then spent the day in reconnoitering the enemy's position and determining on a plan of attack and approach. On the 30th he records that the "enemy abandoned
all their exterior works and the position they had taken without the
town, and retired within their interior works of defence in the course of
the preceding night; immediately upon which we possessed them and
made them on our left, with a little alteration, very serviceable to us." He
also began the two enclosed works on Pigeon Hill between that and the
ravine above Moore's mill. From this time till the 6th of October
nothing occurred of importance. These days were spent in bringing for-
ward stores and cannon from Trebell's landing on the James river, six
miles distant, to camp, and preparing fascines and gabions for the siege,
and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy. The teams which had
been sent round from the Head of Elk arriving, the heavy artillery was
moved with dispatch, and everything being prepared for opening
trenches, 1,500 fatigue men and 2,800 troops to cover them were ordered
for this service. Before morning on the 6th the trenches were in for-
wardness sufficient to cover the men from the fire of the enemy. The
work was carried on with such dispatch and vigor that the British were
not aware of its approach until the dawn of day discovered it to them.
On the contrary, the French parallel on the left, which the regiment of
Touraine were constructing close up to the enemy's advanced redoubt
on the right of their position, was sharply cannonaded. Its approach
had been betrayed to the British by a deserter from the Legion. The
attention paid to it, however, diverted the British from the real attack.

The story of the siege has been often told. The mathematical pre-
cision with which trenches are dug and parallels advanced bring the
duration of such investments within ascertained terms, and admit of
little incident or variety. Given the force of the besieged and its power
of resistance, and the days of an operation are numbered. The pen of
a Froissart would find but little scope in modern days for picturesque
description. The late numerous contributions to the literary history of
this campaign in the journals of Fersen and du Bourg; the official
reports of the French Engineers and of M. de Ménonville, supply
some interesting details which are worthy of collation and presentment
in a simple group. Before entering upon this rapid summary, allusion
must be made to the tragic event which attended the opening of imme-
diate hostilities. It is graphically related in a letter of Colonel Wil-
liam S. Smith, written from the headquarters before York on the
10th October, 1781, to Colonel Samuel B. Webb, of the Connecticut
line, who had served on Washington's staff. Smith was at the time
of writing one of the General's military family. It refers to the sad fate
of Colonel Alexander Scammell, of the Light Infantry, one of the most
esteemed officers in the service. He had distinguished himself in various branches of the service, was wounded at Saratoga, the Adjutant-General of the army from early in 1778 to 1781, on the first of January of which year he was appointed Colonel of the First New Hampshire regiment of foot. At the time of his death he was in command of the Light Corps which Washington formed for the campaign at his camp at Philipsburg. Of great stature, six feet two inches in height, he was not only a conspicuous figure, but universally beloved for the amiability of his character, as well as admired for his dashing bravery. As Colonel Smith bears testimony to the charges of peculiar atrocity in the manner of his death, a faint reflex of similar cruelty at about the same period in the case of the unfortunate Colonel Ledyard—his own words shall be used:

"Our old friend Scammell paid the last debt of nature on the 6th instant, at the hospital in Williamsburg. I have informed you of his being made a prisoner and wounded, which wound proved fatal, and he is no more to be found in the walks of men. On the morning that the enemy evacuated their advanced redoubts, he being officer of the day, reconnoitered rather too far, fell insensibly among a number of horsemen who were patrolling in front of the lines they had retired to. Two of them addressed him in rather harsh terms, the one seized his bridle and the other presented a pistol to his breast. Thus situated he acknowledged himself a prisoner, when a third rode up, presented his pistol close enough to burn his coat, and shot him in the back; a fourth made a stroke at him with his sword, but the shot having weakened him, he fell from his horse, and the intention of the villains was frustrated. They plundered him of everything he had, and hurried him into their lines. The officers who were present never interfered, nor even after he was carried in did they treat him with any kind of civility or respect. So much for the boasted humanity of Britons—mark it."

He was carried into Yorktown, but permitted to come out on parole the next day. He lingered till the 6th, when he succumbed. Colonel Humphreys of Washington's staff, wrote an epitaph for his tomb at Williamsburg. Thus in the close of the war fell the spirited soldier who had won his maiden spurs as brigade major in the camp at Cambridge in 1775. Truly it seems that the god of victory can only be appeased by the fairest sacrifice.

The General Orders of the 6th gave minute regulations for the service of the siege. Fifty-four in number, they were fitted to meet every emergency. Officers and troops were impatient for a conclusion. The
climate was telling rapidly on the men; the malaria of the peninsula had fastened itself on both armies. The night dews were heavy, and wet through the tents; nearly all the American troops had the fever and ague; before the siege had well begun there were four hundred of the French on the sick list.

On the morning of the 8th October the trenches being prepared, General Knox, who commanded the American artillery, ordered the detachment for the batteries to parade in the afternoon under Colonel Lamb. The next day his brigade orders gave notice that a field officer would be appointed every day to command in the trenches, and instructed them to attend personally to the direction of the fire, prescribing the ricochet of the shot and shells when practicable; the officers to level every piece themselves. A second field officer was to attend in the Park. On the 9th Lafayette's division was ordered to mount the trenches; on the 10th Steuben's, on the 11th Lincoln's, and so alternately till the close of the siege. In like manner Colonel Lamb, Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens, Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington and Major Bauman took their turns of rotation in the batteries and in the Park. Thatcher, in his journal, states that when the American batteries were ready Washington himself (on the 9th) put the match to the first gun, which was followed by a furious discharge of cannon and mortars; the first salutation to Earl Cornwallis.

From the French memoirs it appears that the Marquis de St. Simon, the Chevalier de Chastellux, and the brothers de Viomenil, alternately commanded in the trenches.

On the 9th October the British frigate Guadaloupe, making a hostile movement, the French battery opened upon her with hot shot; she sought shelter under the town, but the Charon, a gunship, took fire, and the flames communicating to other vessels they were consumed in the night. The conflagration, with the accompaniment of bursting shells, is described as a "sublime and magnificent spectacle."

Closely pressed by the enfolding parallels, Cornwallis made one vigorous effort to evade the toils. On the 10th he embarked a large force on flatboats, and an attempt was made to turn M. de Choisy's position in front of Gloucester, but that alert officer soon checked the attempt with his artillery.

The second parallel was begun on the 12th, within three hundred yards, and in some parts of it less, of the enemy's lines. The works were completed on the 14th, and preparations made for an assault. This was the magnificent episode and conclusive event of the siege.
Nightfall was the hour fixed upon. Soon after it was fully dark six consecutive bombshells, fired from one of the French batteries, gave the signal for the sudden dash. Baron de Viomenil commanded the entire movement. Washington in the trenches witnessed and approved all the dispositions at the moment of attack. The American Light Infantry, commanded by Lafayette, stormed the left battery on the river bank; the French grenadiers, led by the baron de Viomenil, the right British redoubt. "The bravery (notes Washington) exhibited by the attacking troops was emulous and praiseworthy. Few cases have exhibited stronger proofs of intrepidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this occasion." Conspicuous for their steadiness were the grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinois, thirty of whom fell in the attack at the first fire. They had promised Rochambeau, who made a personal appeal to them, to suffer themselves to be killed to the last man rather than fail, but entreated to have the ancient name of their regiment restored. The motto of "Auvergne sans tache" had been famous in the army. Rochambeau kept his promise, and the King wrote upon his petition with his own hand, "Bon pour Royal Auvergne." Lafayette, in his report to Washington the next day, of the operations of his command, says that "Lt. Colonel Gimat's battalion led the van and was followed by that of Lt. Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the whole advance corps, while Lt. Colonel Laurens with a party of eighty turned the redoubt. Not a gun was fired, and the ardor of the troops did not give time for the sappers to derange the abattis, and owing to the conduct of the commanders and bravery of the men the redoubt was stormed with an uncommon rapidity." Captain Stephen Olney, of the Light Company of the Rhode Island regiment, was the first to mount the parapet, and was severely wounded. The famous Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, who had returned lately from France with arms and uniforms for his legion, marched as a volunteer to the attack.

The French advanced with equal bravery with the Baron de Viomenil, the Marquis de Rostaing, and the Count de Deux Ponts, leading sword in hand. The men marched with fixed bayonets through a fire which lasted eight or ten minutes. Six of their officers were wounded, Count de Deux Ponts, de Lameth and four of lesser rank.

On the 15th the British made a last desperate effort, and in a strong sortie entered the right battery of the French, and spiked four of the guns, but were repulsed by the reserve under the command of the Chevalier de Chastelleux. Five of the French officers were wounded
in this affair, and M. de Persignan, who commanded the redoubt, was carried off prisoner in the first surprise. The guns were immediately repaired by M. de Aboville, the commander of the French artillery, and were in active service within six hours.

On the 16th, the batteries of the second parallel opened fire from the French side, and the drama drew to a rapid close. So great was the interest excited by the approaching consummation, and such the crowd of spectators in the trenches, that it was necessary on the 16th to direct in General Orders that no officer, except those on duty, should enter them, except the general officers and their aids, and no inhabitant or persons belonging to the army, without a pass from the Major-General of the trenches. On the 17th, the American grand battery, consisting of twelve 24s and 18 pounders, four mortars, and two howitzers, brought the obstinate Earl to terms. The American artillery, under the general supervision of Knox, was immediately directed by Colonel Lamb and Lieutenant Colonels Stevens and Carrington, who took turns in the daily command. The American supply of ammunition was not abundant, that brought by de Choisy from Newport ample for all emergencies. It is related of Stevens, that, warned by Knox to husband his resources, he replied that his friends, the Frenchmen, would make up all his deficiencies. It will be remembered that he had served as Lafayette's chief of artillery in the spring.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the British beat a parley, and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours that commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore in the rear of the first American parallel. Washington replied with a grant of two hours cessation, that terms might be proposed in writing. Finding their general tenor admissible, hostilities were suspended for the night, and Washington proposed his own terms. Commissioners were appointed: Colonel Laurens, the Vicomte de Noailles, and M. de Grandchain on the part of Washington; Lt. Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on that of Cornwallis. The 18th was consumed in negotiations, which Washington brought to a close by having the draft of the agreement copied, sending it in on the morning of the 19th, and demanding that it should be signed by eleven, and the garrison march out at two o'clock.

Rochambeau describes the surrender. "The Americans and French took possession of the two batteries at noon. The garrison marched out at two o'clock between the two armies, drums beating, carrying their arms which were stacked, with about twenty flags. Lord Cornwallis
being ill, General O'Hara marched out at the head of the garrison. When he approached me (Rochambeau) he presented his sword. I pointed to General Washington opposite to me as the head of the American army, and said to him that as the French army was an auxiliary on this Continent, that it was now from the American General that he must take his orders."

The manner of the capitulation was modeled on the harsh terms Cornwallis had imposed on General Lincoln at the siege of Charleston, the previous year. The colors were cased. The defeated army were not permitted to play an American or French tune, and it was to Lincoln himself that the formal surrender was made.

In his General Orders of the 20th Washington congratulated the army on the glorious events of the day previous, and expressed his warm gratitude to the French king and his officers, naming each in his orders with suitable phrase and commendation, and requested the Count de Rochambeau "to present in his name to the regiments of Agénois and Deux-Ponts the two pieces of brass ordnance captured by them (as a testimony of their gallantry) in storming the enemy's redoubt on the night of the 14th inst., when officers and men so universally vied with each other in the exercise of every soldierly virtue."

The victors found the little town of York, which at that time contained about sixty houses in a state of absolute dilapidation. They were literally honey-combed by balls. The British officers complimented the French on the precision of their fire, and confessed that they were the first artillerists in Europe, while the French were equally amazed at the wonderful proficiency the Americans had acquired with their limited experience. The house of Secretary Nelson, of Virginia, which had served as Cornwallis's headquarters, and the most stately building in the town, remained for years a significant witness of the accuracy of the fire of the allies. The object of contention among his heirs, it was mentioned by Rochefoucauld, in 1796, as still a most interesting memento of the siege.

The gladsome news of the capitulation spread rapidly and was hailed everywhere with wild enthusiasm. It was brought to Newton, in Chester, by Colonel Tilghman on the 23d on his way to Philadelphia with the official dispatches. The excitement was intense, and he passed through the town amid the roaring of cannon and every demonstration of tumultuous joy.

The official account reached Philadelphia on the morning of Wednesday the 24th. The proceedings here at the seat of gov-
ernment were marked by stately ceremony. The Vice-President of the State and the members of the Council waited upon the President of Congress, and the members of that august body, and upon his excellency, the minister of France. At six o'clock the entire city was a blaze of illumination. Even the lukewarm and non-combatants hailed the surrender as the harbinger of near peace. In the interior, the demonstrations of delight were more simple, but no less hearty. The instant the Paxton boys received the news they assembled and constructed a grand bonfire pile for a 'solemn feu de joie,' as the report has it. Even the old German settlers of Lancaster County were aroused from their wonted lethargy; a correspondent of the time supplies a characteristic paragraph concerning them. "Some of our stiff-necked people here who used to look like pushing bulls, begin to say, 'I pleef de ging (King) will luce de goondry.' The honest burghers were only anxious to know on which side of the fence to plant their cabbages.

The good citizens of Princeton met at Beekman's tavern on the 23d, Tuesday. They did not wait for the official documents, and enjoyed the occasion awhile over good punch and wine, then decorously repaired to the green in front of the house, where, after an address, "suited to the institution of the day," delivered by one of the Professors of the college, thirteen rounds were fired, and in the evening the town was illuminated.

Trenton, the seat of government of New Jersey, celebrated the victory on Saturday the 27th, when the officials of the State, led by the sturdy Livingston, the war governor, attended divine service at the Presbyterian church, and later met the inhabitants of the town on the common. At dinner they toasted all the friends of America, not forgetting "the great and heroic Hyder-Ali, raised up by Providence to avenge the numberless cruelties perpetrated by the English on his unoffending countrymen, and to check the insolence of and reduce the power of Great Britain in the East Indies." Surely the separation in feeling between England and her whilome colonies was irreparable, when a toast to the terrible chieftain who had hung, to use the expressive words of Burke, like a cloud over the Carnatic, could find response in hearts of English blood.

At New Brunswick the same festivities. "May the lilies of France and the stripes of America wave in triumph from shore to shore," was drank joyfully. But we are told that the greatest order prevailed. "As in the feast of Ahashuerus the King, the drinking was according
to the law, none did compel; for it was appointed that they should do
according to every man's pleasure. The evening being thus spent, each
of the gentlemen drank a good night to the company in a bumper and
retired." At Chatham, and indeed at every village throughout the
State, there were illuminations, and bonfires, and dinners.

The army encamped at Continental Village celebrated in a grand
feu de joie by order of the general in command. There was a public
dinner in the field. Among the army toasts is found the memory of
Saratoga: "The glorious 19th October, and the grateful remembrance
of the ever memorable 17th of October, 1777."

Nor was New York State less patriotic than her sisters. Samuel
Loudon headed the number of his New York Packet with grand display
of type, beginning with "Be it ever remembered," and reverently closing
with "Laus Deo," in largest caps. This patriotic journal was printed at
Fishkill. Here on the night of the 31st an ox was roasted and plenty
of liquor drank, and illuminations, bonfires, rockets and squibs afforded
amusement to numerous spectators. At Newburgh, to enliven the
entertainment, the traitor Arnold was hanged in effigy. At New Wind-
sor and Fredericksburg there were similar entertainments. At Albany
the French and American colors were displayed from the fort, and the
bells rang out their joyful peals for four hours incessantly. A great
bonfire was built on the hill above the town; an ox was roasted, and in
the evening a general illumination and elegant supper closed the
scene.

At Boston on the evening of the 17th November, the Consul General
of France gave a grand ball, which was attended by the French naval
officers in the port, the authorities and principal citizens. The Consul
opened the dances with the lady of the Governor, and the newspa-
pers certify that "everything was conducted with the greatest
decorum."

Addresses were presented by the citizens of the States which the
victory had saved from the invasion. The citizens of Baltimore, per-
sonally attached to Lafayette, made one of special thanks and congratu-
lations to him on the 13th November.

Poems also were written on the event in grave and joyous vein.
Emelia, in the New Jersey Gazette, invites all the Muses from the Aonian
grove to weave the wreath of victory for the heroes of Gallia and
Columbia, while the Cornwallis dance to the popular tune of Yankee
Doodle was the mirth of every banquet. A few verses suffice to show
its spirit and its wit:
THE ALLIES AT YORKTOWN

Cornwallis led a country dance,
The like was never seen, sir;
Much retrograde and much advance,
And all with General Greene, sir.

They rambled up and rambled down,
Turned hands, then off they run, sir;
Our General Greene to Charles Town,
The Earl to Wilmington, sir.

Greene in the south then danced a set,
And got a mighty name, sir;
Cornwallis jigged with young Fayette,
But suffered in his fame, sir.

Europe was startled by the news as by an electric shock. The Duke de Lauzun, in accordance with the ancient etiquette of the French service, having been the first distinguished in action, was the bearer of the first intelligence to the Court of France. Sailing from the Chesapeake in the King's frigate Surveillante, he reached Versailles to find the old Minister, Monsieur de Maurepas, at the point of death. His last hours were cheered by the glad tidings of victory. The King was overjoyed by the intelligence, and profuse in his promises of favor to his gallant army.

At noon on Sunday, of the 25th November, a messenger from the coast reached London with the news of the surrender. He rode straight to the house of Lord George Germaine, who at once went to Lord North. The Minister received the intelligence, says Germaine, as he would have taken a ball in his breast; pacing the room wildly, and crying, “Oh, God, it is all over!” The King took the matter outwardly with cool philosophy. But he knew full well the purport of the event. Kingly prerogative in England received its death wound on the Yorktown plain.

Congress, immediately on the reception of Washington's letter with the information of the signature of the articles of capitulation, which was brought to them by Colonel Tilghman, one of his aids-de-camp, walked in procession, attended by an immense concourse of people, to the Dutch Lutheran church, to return thanks to the god of nations and of battles for the victory. A day was set for national thanksgiving and prayer, and proclaimed. On the 29th of October, thanks were voted to the generals, the officers and the men. Two stands of royal colors taken were voted to Washington, in the name of the United States; two pieces of field ordnance were presented to Rochambeau, with a brief but suit-
able inscription. The Chevalier de la Luzerne was requested to ask the King in the name of the Congress to permit the Count de Grasse to receive a similar testimonial. A horse properly caparisoned and an elegant sword were given to the gallant Tilghman, the messenger of good tidings. Later a medal was struck at Paris, under the direction of Franklin, the American minister at the court of Versailles, with the device of the infant Hercules strangling two serpents, indicative of the enfolding and capture of the armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis; and in perpetual memory of the event the Congress resolved to erect at Yorktown a marble column adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty.

The Duke de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who visited the battlefield in 1796, noting the absence of the monument, remarks in a tone of natural bitterness that the resolution for its creation was as entirely forgotten as many of the American people would be glad to forget the services it was intended to commemorate.

Adequate apology for the national neglect is impossible; but there is extenuation. The French revolution, though founded on principles of liberty and justice, drifted far from the pure intentions of its authors. The Christian Majesty whose generous intervention endeared him to the American people fell beneath the guillotine. The imperial policy which upset and followed the revolution was not friendly to republican government, and on occasion directly hostile to the interests and dignity of the United States. The Restoration had neither the respect nor the sympathy of freemen, and when at last Lafayette himself set a civic crown on the head of the Citizen King, and harmonized for a time the royal authority with the liberty of the people a half century had passed with its alienation and differences. The events of the last fifty years it is needless to recall. To-day how different. Through darkness and despair, through rivers of blood, France has waded to self-government and self-control. The Republic holds in secure grasp every element of power, every condition of existence. Firm and strong she extends to us the hand of friendship. She recalls to us the glory of the elder time. She acknowledges to us her debt of example and erects upon our shores a statue to Liberty illuminating the World.

We cannot be deaf to her call; we must not be blind to her munificence. The centennial anniversary draws on apace. The national spirit is revived. The national wealth and power and pride are at their zenith. The infant Hercules has become the giant Republic. When
the October sun shall hereafter rise in its perennial course may its morning rays as they lift from the Atlantic waves gild the spotless shaft which shall stand for countless ages the witness of a nation's gratitude, and as they fall upon each rood of surface of this broad continent and finally sink in parting effulgence in the deep bosom of the Pacific ocean may we remember, and our children and our children's children after us remember, the obligations we owe to France for our establishment and security in this vast heritage.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

How are the Mighty fallen!

FROM AN EXTRA TO THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL
Printed at Philadelphia, October 4, 1782
APPENDIX

NEWS FROM THE FRONT
From the Journals of the Time

I

_Baltimore, Tuesday, Aug. 7, 1781.—The Invasion of Maryland being Part of the Plan of the British Cabinet (as appears by Lord Germaine's intercepted Letters), the late Embarkation at Portsmouth of about 2000 British Troops, and the subsequent Motions of the Fleet, have given just Cause of Alarm to the Inhabitants of this and the Counties adjacent, who are now exeracting themselves in every District to take the Field at a Moment's Warning.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman, at the Marquis de la Fayette's Camp, dated Melvion Hill, August 1, 1781. "It has been for some Time reported that the Embarkation from Portsmouth was designed to act up the Bay, and Baltimore has been particularly mentioned. Commodore Barron, who is watching their Motions, writes the Marquis, that on the 30th of July 40 Sail of the Fleet weighed from Hampton Road with 12 Barges full of Men, and stood towards the Capes; but having gained the proper Channel, endeavored to stand up the Bay; the Wind not being favorable for this, they Came to Anchor."

It is reported that a Detachment of Earl of Cornwallis' Army under the Command of Brigadier General O'Hara, have landed in Gloucester County, Virginia, near the Mouth of York River, in the vicinity of which, on New-Point Comfort, it is asserted they are erecting a strong fortification.

On Saturday last the Baltimore Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Nicholas R. Moore, Esq., returned hither from the American Camp in Virginia, the late Movements of the Enemy rendering their longer stay there unnecessary. Previous to the Departure of this Corps of Gentlemen they received the thanks of the Marquis de la Fayette and Governor Nelson, as well as General Morgan (under whose immediate Command they were placed), for their patriotic and spirited Behaviour.

On the 27th ult. 45 Transports, with Troops on board, arrived at New York from Chesapeake.

II

_Baltimore, Tuesday, August 14.—Extract of a Letter from Hampton, Virginia, dated August 9, 1781. The recent movements of Earl Cornwallis, giving reason to apprehend that he meant to visit this State, and probably this town, the militia of this county and those adjacent assembled with the greatest cheerfulness, spirit and alacrity, and we are assured by good authority that within two days after the late alarm near 2800 effective men of this county only appeared in arms in town, and were received by General Buchanan, our county lieutenant. They have since been very honourably dismissed in consequence of advice of the enemy (under the immediate command of Earl Cornwallis) having landed at York-Town and Gloucester in Virginia.

I make no Doubt but you have been fully informed of Lord Cornwallis' Movements about Virginia— When he left Williamsburg he crossed James-River with his Army to Cobham, and proceeded to Suffolk, and, after staying a few Days there, went to Portsmouth, doing very little Injuy, except what is common when an Army is marching through a Provision Country.— After Staying about a Fortnight at Portsmouth, his Lordship embarked about 3000 Troops, with some Horse, and proceeded to Yorktown and Gloucester, where they remain, doing very little Injury to the Inhabitants, except taking Provisions, for which they PROMISE Payment.— Yesterday Morning 750 Foot and Cavalry landed at Newport-News; 600 proceeded up to York; 150 Horse were left at Newport-News. I was there last Evening, since then I have not heard from them. But what we have been able to learn, in general, is, that the Enemy are all moving from Portsmouth, it being a sickly place, intending to continue at Gloucester and
York as long as they can; but I am certain they will not be able to hold it long, though they have many very great advantages over us. Our Negroes flock fast to them, and ease the soldiery of the Labourer’s Work. Many Persons in Virginia, with large fortunes, are totally ruined. The Inhabitants in our County have not, as yet, suffered much (only in the Loss of some Negroes), but I fear the Time of our Distress is drawing near; but we must rely on Providence, who has protected us thus far. By the last accounts of the Marquis, he was at Bird’s last Sunday; and was to be in Williamsburg on Tuesday Evening. He has got a good army, consisting of 8000 effective men, and I hope will be able to drive the Enemy from York. I cannot learn whether they have begun to entrench or not; if they have not, the Marquis will be able to attack them to Advantage.”

Another letter from Hampton says that the Enemy have entirely evacuated Portsmouth, and that Colonel Parker (with near 700 troops) must be now in Possession of it.—The Maryland Journal, Aug. 14, 1781.

III

Baltimore, Tuesday, August 21. By latest accounts from Virginia we learn that the British Army, consisting of about 5000 Men, under the Command of Earl Cornwallis, still occupied Gloucester and York Town, where they were erecting strong works, in which they are aided by the Labour of about 3000 negroes.

Several small picaroons from New York now infest our bay. They have lately taken one or two small vessels near the mouth of Potomack.

Lord Dunmore, with two or three regiments and a number of refugees, sailed from England for Virginia about the beginning of last June.

The Marquis de la Fayette’s Head Quarters were, a few days ago, near Ruffin’s Ferry, on Pamonkey, a Branch of York River, in Virginia, 30 Miles Northward of Williamsburg. At the same Time General Wayne, (with his Division of Troops) was at Bottom’s Bridge, about fifteen Miles Southeastward of Richmond, on the Williamsburg Road.—Maryland Journal, Aug. 21, 1781.

IV

Annapolis, September 6.—List of the Count de Grasse’s fleet now in the Chesapeake. Ships of the line: one 110, three 84, nineteen 74, four 64, one 50. Frigates: two 44, two 34, one 18.

The citizens of Maryland and Virginia are called upon by their patriotism, honour, and interest to exert every nerve in providing supplies for the allied forces. Should their important designs fail, or their operations be impeded by the neglect or want of exertion in these states, it would reflect eternal disgrace on their character, and preclude any hopes of further succour.

Maryland Gazette, September 6, 1781.

V

Philadelphia, Thursday, Sept. 6.—By an Express which arrived here last evening, we have the following very important intelligence:

Extract of a Letter from General Washington to his Excellency the President of Congress, dated Chester, September 5, 3 o’clock P. M.

“With the highest pleasure I do myself the honour to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed copy of a letter from General Gist. It announces the safe arrival in the Chesapeake, of Admiral de Grasse, with 28 ships of the line. At this happy event I beg your Excellency to accept my warmest congratulations.”

Copy: Baltimore, September 4, 1781.

Dear Sir—I have the pleasure to inform you that the Serpent cutter, of 18 guns, Captain Amé de Laune, has this moment arrived here, with dispatches for your Excellency from Count de Grasse, who arrived in Chesapeake with 28 ships of the line, the 26th ultimo, and the next day landed 3000 troops, on the South side of James river, in order to form a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette.

The fleet on their passage took a Packet from Charleston with Lord Rawdon on board, bound to Europe.

The grand fleet have taken their station from the Middle Ground to Cape Henry, from whence they detached three ships of the line and one frigate to York river, where one 22 gun ship fell into their hands. Captain de la Laune informs me that he left the fleet the day before yesterday, and that he has particular directions from the Admiral to forward his dispatches to you by one of his officers, but as this gentleman cannot be in readiness to proceed immediately, I have
thought it expedient to forward this intelligence by express to assist your Excellency in the government of such movements as may be judged necessary to adopt on this occasion.

I do myself the honour to inclose a list of the fleet delivered to me by the Captain of the cutter; who will wait here for your orders.

I have ordered all the vessels in this harbour to sail immediately for the reception of the troops at the Head of Elk. I am, &c., M. GIST.

His Excellency General Washington.

NOTE.—The above fleet is exclusive of that under the command of Count Barras.—Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 6, 1781.

VI

Baltimore, Tuesday, September 11.—On Tuesday last, [September 4,] about one o'clock P.M., a cutter called the Serpent, belonging to his most Christian majesty, commanded by M. Amie de la Lanne, arrived in our harbour with dispatches for his excellency, General Washington, from the Count de Grasse, who arrived in Chesapeake on the 26th ultimo, with a formidable fleet of French Men of War, consisting of 28 sail of the line, 4 frigates, and the cutter above-mentioned.

The day this fleet arrived, they took the British ship Loyalist, of 22 guns, and blockaded York river with one man of war and two frigates. By late accounts there lay in York River three men-of-war and one frigate. A vessel of 24 guns, 18 pounders, and several other vessels were stationed in James River to cut off the enemy's communication. The rest of the fleet lay between Middle-Ground and Cape Henry. Three thousand troops have been landed in Virginia from the fleet, with a view of joining the Marquis de la Fayette.

Near the latitude of Charleston, the French fleet met a 24-gun ship and a packet bound to England. Lord Rawdon was on board the latter, and is now a prisoner in the Glorieux man of war.

The following toasts were drank on Tuesday last, at Lindsay's Coffee house on Fell's Point, at a feu de joy, in consequence of the arrival of the French fleet — 1. Louis XVI. 2. The United States of America. 3. The Congress. 4. Count de Grasse and his fleet. 5. General Washington and the allied army. 6. The king of Spain. 7. The states of Holland. 8. The count de Rochambeau. 9. The Marquis de la Fayette and his army. 10. General Greene and the Southern army. 11. The American ambassadors at the courts of France, Spain and Holland. 12. May the alliance between France and America be perpetual. 13. May trade and commerce flourish in America. 14. The state of Maryland. In the evening of the same day, the town and point were illuminated, Fell's point in particular, made on the occasion a most brilliant appearance.

The British fleet, under the command of Admirals Graves and Hood, it is said, sailed from Sandy Hook, supposed for Chesapeake, on Friday, the 30th ult. They consist, it is asserted, of about 40 sail, 21 of which are of the line.

Last Saturday (Sept 8) afternoon his excellency General Washington (accompanied by Adjutant General Hand and other officers of distinction) arrived at the Fountain-Inn in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in the vicinity, and escorted to his quarters by Captain Moore's troop of Light dragoons, when he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general seemed to vie with other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character.

In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and, undoubtedly, of the last importance.

On Sunday morning the Count de Rochambeau, Major-General and Commander of his most Christian Majesty's Troops in America (under the orders of General Washington) with his Suite arrived in town, and after short stay proceeded southward. This great officer received every mark of respect from the inhabitants that his short continuance here admitted.

The same evening brigadier-general Chattelux, of his most Christian Majesty's forces, also arrived here, and the next evening sat out for Virginia.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Northumberland County in the northern part of Virginia,
to his friend in this town, dated Sept. 6-7—1781.

"There has scarce anything happened since the receipt of your favour respecting the movements of the enemy. It is said, indeed, that they have spiked all their cannon at Portsmouth, and evacuated all their posts in that quarter; that previous thereto they killed all their useless horses. Cornwallis has collected his whole force at York and Gloucester towns, and leaves us to guess at his future operations. We are told that the Marquis has a very respectable army in the neighborhood of Frazier's Ferry. Greene is within five miles of Charleston, and has entire possession of the Carolinas, Charleston excepted.

Leaving this letter open a day or two, we are made happy in the mean time by the arrival of the French fleet—They have blocked up York and James rivers, consist of 28 sloops of the line, and landed last Sunday 5,000 troops at Jamestown—Cornwallis has already sent terms to the Marquis, which are refused. Lord Rawdon, on his passage to England, was taken by the fleet, and is now in Virginia.

Three British armed Vessels (said to be a ship, a scow and a sloop) were captured on Wednesday last, in or near the mouth of the Rappahannock, by a French frigate after an obstinate resistance.

An accurate list of the naval armament in Chesapeake Bay, commanded by Monsieur le Comte de Grasse in order of battle.

White and Blue Squadron, commanded by Monsieur de Monteil—La Bourgoyne, 74 guns; le Glorieux, 74 guns; le Vaillant 64; le Destin, 74; le Languedoc, 84 (to repeat signals l'Aligret, 32); le Sceptre, 74; le Reveschi, 64; le Marcellois, 74; le Diadem, 74.

White Squadron, commanded by Monsieur de Grasse—Le Northumberland, 74; le Zele, 74; le St. Esprit, 86; le Triton, 54; le Cafare, 74 (to repeat le Serpent, 18); le Ville de Paris, 110 (to repeat l'Andromaque, 42); la Victoire, 74 (to repeat l'Alerte, 16); le Solitaire, 64; l'Experiment, 50; le Sovereign, 74.

White Squadron, commanded by Mons. Bougainville—Le Palmier, 74; l'Hector, 78; le Citoine, 74; le Scipio, 74; l'Auguste, 84 (to repeat la Diligente, 32); le Magnanime, 74; le Gaton, 64; l'Hercule, 74 (to repeat la Raileuse, 40); le Pluton, 74.

Major-General Baron de Viomenil, with his Suit and many officers of distinction (French and American) are just arrived in town.

Paragraph of a letter, just received, from Annapolis, dated yesterday afternoon. "On Wednesday last the British fleet, of 21 sail of the line, came within our capes, and the French immediately weighed anchor and attacked them, and it is universally believed were superior. On the next morning the French pursued with 25 ships of the line 14 of them copper bottomed, and the action was renewed. 'Tis believed the Count de Grasse has chased towards New York, and will probably be joined by the Count de Barras with the squadron from Rhode Island. The French Admiral left the seventy fours and two frigates to block up York-river. There is no doubt entertained that the French were victorious."—The Maryland Journal, Sept. 11, 1781.

VII

Annapolis, Thursday, Sept. 13.—On Friday [Sept. 7] last, the 4th Maryland regiment, commanded by Major Alexander Roxburgh, marched from this city to join the Marquis la Fayette. This regiment is completed to its full complement, consisting of upwards of 600 rank and file; and it has been generally observed that they are the best men enlisted in this State since the war. The short time in which the third and fourth regiments have been raised, and the excellence of the men, give an additional testimony of our increased ability to prosecute the war to the perfect establishment of our sovereignty and independence.—Maryland Gazette, September 13, 1781.

VIII

Philadelphia, Tuesday, September 18—Extract of a letter from Baltimore, Sep. 15. We have various reports respecting the fleet below; but, will you believe it, not one to be relied on, these seven or eight days; however, one within these two days seems to gain credit; it is that in consequence of an engagement between the two fleets, off or at the mouth of the Capes, two British seventy-fours and one frigate have been captured and brought in. The British fleet
dispersed and the French in pursuit of them. Deserters coming daily from his lordship's army: one this morning, in 8 days from him, gives a dreadful account of his situation, in general very sick, all on half allowances; the sickly negroes only allowed horse flesh.

Three prizes below at Annapolis, on their way up. One of 400 hogsheads of rum and sugar.

Extract of a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette's army, dated Williamsburg, September 1, 1781.

"Now I have rejoiced and congratulated with you on the arrival of Count de Grasse, let me make you acquainted with Major-General the Marquis de St. Simon and the French army. You have seen the British troops and the troops of other nations, but you have not seen troops so universally well made, so robust, or of such an appearance as those General St. Simon has brought to our assistance. These are all under the command of our General. They now encamp nearly on the ground the British occupied before they evacuated Jamestown. I do not pretend to know the secrets of our Commander, or I would tell you what is to be done; I pretend, however, to see a great general in the Marquis de St. Simon; an affectionate politeness in his officers towards ours, and a general impatience in the French army to complete the gordian knot in which our second Fabius, Fayette, has been entangling his lordship; some of its cords already press him, and, I believe, if there were hopes of succeeding, he would attempt to cut it. But notwithstanding his lordship is, perhaps, the first officer in the British service, yet he may not be in possession of the sword of Alcides.

"The light infantry are advanced to Williamsburg. The Pennsylvanians lay near his place, and it is the talk of the camp, that the French troops will take their position to-morrow in its vicinity. The French ships lay in James river, to prevent a retreat, in York river and at the Capes.

"You are a soldier as well as philosopher, and will experience our feelings on the present occasion. We have a brave army to contend against, furnished in provisions; with all the necessaries for a gallant resistance, and in numbers fully sufficient for the defence of their post, but we shall do very well, for to the common motives of our profession will be joined an emulation arising from fighting by the side of our allies.

The enemy are entrenching at York with great industry. Everything is landed from their shipping and dispositions made for their destruction.

"Apropos, yesterday evening, a patrol of 9 or 10 militia fell in with a patrol of Colonel Tarleton's legion, of an equal number, and commanded by a lieutenant, the whole of which the militia captured; it is a trifle, but it is a trifle that was very prettily done."—Pennsylvania Packet, September 18, 1781.

IX

Baltimore, Tuesday, Sept. 18.—Early on Sunday morning last, his most Christian majesty's forces, consisting of several thousand choice troops (who arrived here on Tuesday last), attended by several generals and other officers of distinction, marched for Annapolis, where they are to embark with all possible expedition for Virginia. The behaviour of every corps during their stay here deserves universal applause.

On Thursday night last a fleet of transports from the Head of Elk, having on board the artillery, grenadiers, and light troops of the allied army, arrived at Annapolis on their route to James River. They sailed again for their destination on Sunday.

A few days ago the 4th Maryland regiment, consisting of 600 rank and file, marched from Annapolis to join the Marquis de la Fayette at Williamsburg.

Within a few days past several hundred wagons and carts, loaded with the baggage, provisions, &c., of the allied army, passed through this town on their way to Annapolis.

The British fleet, under the command of the Admirals Graves, Hood, and Drake, on the 7th instant made a feeble effort to enter the Chesapeake, but were attacked and driven to sea by the Count de Grasse, who, after pursuing them several leagues with 26 ships of his fleet, returned safe to the bay with 23 ships, the other three having been left in chase of a single British man of war, supposed to be the Royal Oak.

While the Count de Grasse was chasing the British fleet, the Count de Barras with 8 French line of battle ships, besides frigates, transports,
and victuallers, arrived in the bay, and brought in two British provision ships bound from St. Lucia to New York.

On Tuesday last the British frigates Iris and Richmond, the former commanded by captain Dawson and the latter by captain Hudson, were captured near cape Henry by a part of the count de Grasse’s fleet as they were returning into the Chesapeake. These frigates (one of which fought with great bravery and perseverance against a superior force) were coming into the bay under the idea, it is supposed, that the count de Barras’s squadron was British.

The French fleet in and near the Chesapeake now consists of about 50 sail of men of war, transports, victuallers, &c., 35 of which are of the line.

Eighty pieces of battering cannon, many large mortars, and an immense quantity of shells, shot, and other valuable stores, have been brought in by the count de Barras’s fleet for the use of the allied army.

The Romulus of 44 guns, and La Gentille of 32, with eight transport ships and 1 brig, are arrived at Annapolis for the purpose of transporting the troops which left this place on Sunday last, with their baggage, &c., to Virginia. The embarkation will commence this day. It is said they are to disembark at Burwell’s ferry in James river, four miles from Williamsburg.

The allied army, which will, in a few days, commence very serious operations in Virginia under the immediate command of his excellency general Washington will consist of between 15 and 20,000 effective men.

Last evening a brigade of New York State troops, under the command of Brigadier-General James Clinton, embarked at and sailed from Fell’s Point for Virginia.—The Maryland Journal, Sept. 18, 1781.

X

Philadelphia, Thursday, September 20, 1781.
—Extract of a letter from Williamsburg September 9, 1781. “Admiral Hood looked in here, and with ten ships attacked four of the line that were stationed at Cape Charles. On Count de Grasse’s appearance with his fleet, the admiral pushed off, and could not be overtaken. The French fleet have again taken their station in the bay, four at the entrance of York river, four at each Cape, the main body at Hampton road.”

Extract of a letter dated West Point, 20 miles from York, September 10, 1781. “On Friday last appeared off our bay a British fleet, the number unknown. The French fleet put to sea, leaving three of 74 guns in York River, which proves their superiority, and they had an engagement at sea. Saturday it was confidently reported that they had returned with three British frigates and one 74, which they had taken. The French and American troops have joined, and are between York and Williamsburg. No doubt Cornwallis will fight, and as he is making the greatest exertions to defend himself, he will turn loose all his cavalry; they are greatly reduced already, and the whole almost unfit for service.”

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, September 16. “I am happy to congratulate you on the junction of the two fleets, Count de Barras and Count de Grasse, in the bay. The former has taken a 44 gun ship, two frigates, and two transports; and it is said the latter has had an action with the British before the arrival of the Rhode Island fleet, in which they took a 64 gun ship, but this is only report.”

Tuesday afternoon arrived in this city, on his return from France, the honorable Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, with a number of arms and clothing for his legion.—The Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 20, 1781.

XI

Annapolis, Thursday, September 20, 1781. —We have it from the best authority that the Count de Grasse is returned to his former station at Cape Henry having driven the British fleet from the coast, formed a junction with the squadron of the Count de Barras and captured two British frigates.

About 4000 French troops and a train of artillery marched into this city on Tuesday last from the northward, and will embark this evening or to-morrow morning, for Virginia. They are to be conveyed by the Romulus, Gentille and some other frigates of our illustrious Ally, now at anchor off this harbour.—Maryland Gazette, Sept. 20, 1781.
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XII

Philadelphia, Tuesday, Sept. 22, 1781.—Various have been the reports circulating through this city the past week relative to the movements of the enemy. All that can be depended on are, that a body of about 5,000 men, with light artillery, wagons, &c., &c., were embarked on board about 80 transports at New York, and were laying last Sunday in the Narrows ready for sailing, delayed as was supposed merely to know the issue of Admiral Graves' attempt on the fleet of our royal ally in the Chesapeake. This was announced to them on Wednesday last by the return of the English fleet, with the loss of the Ruby man of war, of 64 guns, and the Roebuck of 44, taken by Count de Grasse, and the Terrible of 74, which after the engagement sunk at sea, they being able only to save her stores and men; four other ships are also greatly disabled.

It is said that the expedition from New York in case of the failure of Admiral Graves in the Chesapeake, is designed for this city, where it is not doubted, should they be so hardy as to venture, such a reception would be given them by the virtuous yeomanry of this and the neighboring states as would bring to their minds the well fought fields of Bunker's Hill and Bennington. General St. Clair, with part of the Pennsylvania brigade and a considerable body of militia, are expected in the neighborhood of this city in a day or two.

We are happy to inform our readers that Mons. de Barras has certainly joined Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake, and that lord Cornwallis had broke up the Charon man of war to improve her plank and timbers towards building a fort.

HITHERTO America hath shown no cruelty in her disposition towards even a merciless enemy, and whenever justice or true policy made it necessary to adopt a severe measure the execution of it hath been attended with painfulness and reluctance: But Clinton will instruct her in the practice of cruelty by making it our interest and in some degree, our preservation, to retaliate. After burning of New London, America might justly have declared, that if any further burnings or devastations were committed on the inhabitants, that no terms should be granted to Cornwallis, but that he and his whole garrison should be put to the sword; for Cornwallis is more certainly within our power than any enterprise Clinton may attempt is within his.

It is talked, that Clinton with about four or five thousand men, intends to penetrate thro' the Jerseys toward this city. This may probably put an end to the war at once, for it is to be remembered that exclusive of the rivers he has to pass, he must return by the same way he came or not at all; and before he shall have marched half the distance towards the Delaware he may find the Jersey militia and the continental troops in that quarter, like Burgoyne's "GATHERING STORM" hanging in his rear in that State, a formidable opposition in this; and if in the mean time the French fleet should take a turn up to the Hook, his retreat will effectually be cut off and New York falls in consequence.—The Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 22, 1781.

XIII

Baltimore, Tuesday, September 25.—A few days ago the brig Nymph of Philadelphia, commanded by Captain Braim, bound to this port from Havana, unfortunately ran ashore on the Bodkin, at the entrance of our river, and bilged.

• • • The above-mentioned brig took off the Capes and sent into this port, a pilot boat going from York Town to New York with dispatches from earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton, some of which written in cypher fell into the hands of Captain Braim, and will no doubt be forwarded to Congress or to his excellency, General Washington.

The Richmond and Iris, late British frigates, taken a few days ago by the French fleet, are arrived off the harbour of Annapolis. Lord Rawdon, it is said, is a prisoner on board the latter.

His excellency General Washington is arrived in good health at Williamsburg. The advance of his army, it is said, is within 5 miles of York Town, the present residence of earl Cornwallis.

The French troop which lately landed in Virginia from the Count de Grasse's fleet, were under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon.—The Maryland Journal, September 25, 1781.

XIV

Philadelphia, Thursday, September 27.—Es-
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Extract of a letter from Annapolis, dated September 16, 1781. "Permit me to congratulate you on the return of the French fleet. It appears there has been a running engagement between the enemy and them, though nothing decisive. The Count de Barras, lying within the Capes, hoisted the enemy's flag; this two of the British frigates observing, determined to force their way through the formidable fleet of Count de Grasse. Of course you must suppose they fell an easy conquest.—The Pennsylvania Packet, September 27, 1781.

XV

Philadelphia, Saturday, September 29.—Extract of a letter from Count de Grasse to the Hon. the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

Cape Henry, Sept. 13, 1781. "Nothing gave me greater pleasure than the approach of the armies under General Washington and Count de Rochambeau. In order to hasten their arrival I had selected out seven vessels that drew the least water to transport them from the mouth of Elk down Chesapeake Bay. But the moment they were ready to sail to execute this service, I was myself obliged to make preparations for repelling the enemy's fleet, which appeared off the entrance of the Bay. I have fought them and their van has been very roughly handled. I returned to the bay on the 10th. In the meantime Count de Barras had arrived and sent up the transports he had with him to bring down the troops, which induced me not to send up the seven vessels above mentioned; and I had only to add to those sent by Count de Barras as many frigates as I could. My putting to sea facilitated the entrance of M. de Barras, and our junction has added much to our strength. I fell in with two of the enemy's frigates—the Iris and the Richmond, of 32 guns each. They had been sent by the English admiral to cut away the buoys of our anchor. They have paid dear for them."—The Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 29, 1781.

XVI

Baltimore, Tuesday, October 2.—Yesterday brigadier-general Gist sat out from his house in this town for the headquarters of his excellency General Washington, near York Town, Virginia.

A late letter from Williamsburg mentions that the allied army, under the command of his excellency General Washington, consisting of upwards of 15,000 effective men, all in health and high spirits, had taken an advantageous position in the neighborhood of York-Town and would immediately commence very serious operations against that important British Post.—The Maryland Journal, October 2, 1781.

XVII

Philadelphia, Saturday, October 6.—Thursday last a detachment of the Pennsylvania line, under the immediate command of Colonel Craig, marched from their camp on the other side of the Schyulkill through this city and immediately embarked on board vessels in the Delaware, which are to convey them part of their route to the Southward.

By a gentleman who left Williamsburg on the 26th ult., we learn that the Allied Army had commenced operations against Lord Cornwallis, who was at that time closely penned up in York Town, which it appears he has rendered very strong by numerous fortifications; though it was said considerable impression was made on his works by the fire of our heavy cannon, etc. We shall very probably soon have agreeable accounts from that quarter.

Sir Henry Clinton remains quiet in New York notwithstanding the imminent danger now hanging over the head of his colleague in wickedness, Lord Cornwallis; but it is presumed the presence of his Young Master will at once dissipate his fears, and that he, as a 'man of spirit,' will be proud to fight in a cause for which the young gentleman exposes his life.—The Pennsylvania Packet, October 6, 1781.

XVIII

Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 9.—The following account is given by a gentleman who left the Army in Virginia on the 30th ult. at two o'clock P.M. On Friday, September 28, the whole army marched from Williamsburg to within one mile of the enemy's works at York, and formed the first line of the circumvallation without any
loss. On the 29th our troops had a few skirmishes with the enemy, and but little damage done on either side. In the night the British evacuated Pigeon quarter and three other redoubts, which are so high as to be able to command the town. These were taken possession of on Sunday morning at sunrise under a heavy cannonade from York Town. The enemy next fled from a stockade when the French grenadiers had advanced within fifteen yards of it, and retreated, under cover of their shipping, with the loss of ten taken prisoners. It was expected our troops would break ground on the 1st inst. Cornwallis’s forces in York are supposed to be 6000 troops, including refugees, besides 1000 armed negroes. He has possession of the river and Gloucester, strongly fortified and garrisoned by about 1000 men; these are hemmed in by General Wheeler with 1500 men, the Duke de Lurene with his legion and 2000 marines from the fleet to prevent any escape that way—one ship of 44 guns, two frigates and a 20 gun packet lie at Burwell’s landing in James’s river; one of 50, one of 40, two frigates and a store ship in the mouth of that river—five ships of the line off Cape Henry; 32 ships of the line and several frigates are drawn up across the mouth of York river; and three ships of considerable force are in that river below the town, which were to proceed onward with the first fair wind. Gen. Washington sent in a flag to Lord Cornwallis, directing him not to destroy his shipping or warlike stores, as he would answer it at his peril. The easy capture of the outposts will greatly accelerate the future operations of our army. Lieut. col. John Conolly was taken near Yorktown by two militia men, and is paroled to Hanover in Virginia.—The Pennsylvania Packet, October 9, 1781.

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It is asserted that a Body of French Troops have taken possession of an important Height, called Pigeon-Hill, near York-Town, on which they were erecting a strong Battery, that it is imagined, would greatly annoy the Enemy. This Hill, it is said, was gained by our Allies with the Loss of 9 Men only.—The Maryland Journal, Oct. 9, 1781.

**XX**

Philadelphia, Thursday, October 11.—Extract of a letter, dated camp, Williamsburg, September 27.

"The whole Army moves down to-morrow, as you will see by the inclosed extract from general orders:

**GENERAL ORDERS**

[Williamsburg] Sept. 27, five o’clock P.M.

The whole Army will march by the right in one column at 5 o’clock to-morrow morning precisely, the particular orders of march for the right wing will be distributed by the Quartermaster General. The General desires that the officers will confine themselves in point of baggage to objects of the first necessity, that the Army may march as light and unencumbered as possible. The Quartermaster General will have directions to appoint a proper deposit for the effects that will be left, from whence they will be transported to the army as soon as a permanent position is taken.

The Quartermaster General will allot a proportionate number of wagons in his service for the service of the left wing. If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the General particularly enjoins his troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon; he trusts that a generous emulation will actuate the allied armies. That the French whose national weapon is that of close fight, and the troops in general that have so often used with success, will distinguish themselves on every occasion that offers. The justice of the cause in which we are engaged, and the honour of the
two nations, must inspire every breast with sentiments that are the presages of Victory."

Extract of a letter, dated camp, near Williamsburg, Sept. 27, 1781. "The American army and our allies formed the line of battle this day; tomorrow morning I expect we shall march to a position near York, to commence a siege. We make a brilliant appearance; as to numbers, I think, we are fifteen thousand strong, not including the Virginia militia.

General Wayne was wounded in the thigh the 2d instant by a centinel, who conceived him to be an enemy, but has since recovered.

I congratulate my friends upon the prospect of reducing his lordship, and restoring peace and liberty to our country.—The Pennsylvania Packet, October 11, 1781

XXI

Philadelphia, Saturday, October 13—Extract of a letter from a gentleman at the Head of Elk, dated October 8. "I have just heard that the enemy have evacuated their out-works, and that Colonel Scammell was wounded and taken as he was out reconnoitring."

Advices from the best authority inform us that on the 1st instant the allied army approached York-Town, when, after some firing of field pieces by a party of our troops, the enemy abandoned their outposts, which were soon taken possession of by our forces, and the town was completely invested, as those works were within half a mile of it, and our heavy cannon were soon to commence a severe fire.—The Pennsylvania Packet, Saturday, October 13, 1781.

XXII

Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 16.—Extract of a letter from the army near York, dated October 1, 1781. "On the 28th of September the whole army marched from Williamsburg and approached within two miles of the enemy at York, at which distance a show was made of some opposition on our left, but upon the count Rochambeau, who commands the left wing, moving a few pieces of field artillery under the direction of the Baron Viennois, and firing a few shots, the enemy retired. On the 29th the American troops moved forward and took their ground in front of the enemy's works on their left—no opposition except a few scattering shots from a small work by Moore's mill, on Wormley's Creek, and a small battery on the left of Pidgeon Quarter—a small fire all day from our riflemen, and the enemy's Yagers. 30th, in the morning we discovered that the enemy had evacuated all their exterior line of works, and withdrawn themselves to those near the body of the town—by this means we are in possession of very advantageous ground which command in a very near advance, almost the whole remaining line of their defence. The greatest expedition is using in bringing up the heavy artillery and to open our batteries, which will be executed in a few days."

Extract of a letter dated camp, before York, October 1, 1781. "Nothing very remarkable has happened since we moved down, which was on the 28th ult. The night before last the enemy abandoned some advanced redoubts which gives us an opportunity of commencing the siege with less difficulty. Yesterday Colonel Scammel, who was officer of the day, in reconnoitering the enemy, was unfortunately wounded and taken prisoner.

The report of Captain White, of Colonel Hazen's regiment, being drowned, was premature."

Extract of a letter dated camp, before the enemy's lines at York, October 1, 1781. After a variety of fatigue and every other concomitant trouble, we are at last seated now before Mr. Cornwallis's lines. The French army is operating on their right, and the American army on their left. Immediately on our advance, the enemy abandoned all their out works, which gives the allied arms the greatest advantage, as they have left us a very formidable raven in their front, so that our parties at work may be supplied with water under cover.

This day and all last night we were working at our first parallel and the French are landing their heavy artillery as fast as possible.

The enemy seems to be very passive, not disturbing us very much; a little firing of artillery, etc., but this is the consequence of all opposition made to approaches.

In six days from this date we will be (in all human probability) in their works.
The French troops are a glorious body of men, they fear nothing, but advance with celerity to the conquest, a conduct that ever attends minds animated with glory and fame. May never dying laurels be theirs and the Americans' reward.

Poor Scammel is wounded and prisoner, taken the first night after we sat down. Eight hundred yards is the furthest distance from any part of our works to theirs."

Extract of a private letter from a gentleman to his friend in this city, dated Camp before York Town, October 5, 1781. You must before this time have heard of our safe arrival in Virginia, and our junction with the troops from Count de Grasse's fleet. On the 29th ultimo we marched from Williamsburg and made our appearance before the enemy's works at this place; on the 30th we encamped within less than a mile of their first chain of redoubts, and our movements indicating a storm, they evacuated them the same night; on the 30th his excellency reconnoitered their second line, and on the 1st of the current began a number of redoubts within the lines which they had evacuated. From that time to the present we have been employed in completing those works and making fascines and gabions for further operations. We expect in two or three days at furthest to begin the siege with ardor by breaking ground within less than 400 yards of their principal batteries. Since we began the redoubts they have kept up a continual cannonade upon us, without our taking so much notice of them as to return a single shot except from a few riflemen, and have killed only six of our men. The American troops compose the right wing of the army in the following order—Muhlenberg's and Hazen's brigades to form the division on the right under the Marquis de la Fayette—Wayne's and the Maryland brigade the division of the centre, commanded by Baron Steuben—Dayton's and Clinton's that on the left—General Lincoln commands the whole wing—Stephens's and Lawson's brigades of militia form the second line. His excellency Count Rochambeau commands the left wing and makes his own disposition. The park of artillery and corps of sappers and miners are posted between the two lines. I send you an extract from the General Orders of yesterday.

Camp before York-Town,
October 4, 1781.

The general congratulates the army on the brilliant success of the allied troops near Gloster. He requests the Duke Lauzene to accept his particular thanks for the judicious disposition and decisive vigor with which he charged the enemy, and to communicate his warmest acknowledgments to the gallant officers and men by whom he was so admirably seconded; he feels peculiar satisfaction at the inconsiderable loss on our part, that no ill effects are to be apprehended from the honorable wounds which have been received in this affair, and that at so small an expense, the enemy, amounting to six hundred horse and foot were completely repulsed and reconducted to their very lines."

The corps of the allied army were the Duke Lauzene's legion and the militia grenadiers of Mercer.

The following is a list of our killed and wounded and as far as can be gathered of the enemy's:

Duke Lauzene's legion, 3 huzzars killed.

Captain Billy, Dillon, and Detester, with 11 huzzars, wounded; the officers very slightly; 3 horses killed and 4 wounded.

The enemy's loss in killed and wounded exceeds 50, including the commanding officer of the infantry, killed, and lieutenant colonel Tarleton badly wounded.

Deserters coming into our camp every day, and we have certain accounts of the enemy's killing about 400 of their horses and throwing them into York river."—The Pennsylvania Packet, Tuesday, October 16, 1781.

XXIII

Baltimore, Tuesday, October 16.—Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Williamsburg, dated October 5, 1781:

"No very material news from below. The enemy keep a continual firing from their works on our men; however they have killed but a few. We shall, in a day or two, be ready for them, and hope to give a good account of them soon. We killed and took 50 of Tarleton's men in Gloucester on Thursday. This officer had his horse shot under him, and, it is said, is wounded."
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Extract of a letter from a gentleman at headquarters, dated Camp at York-Town, October 5, 1781: "I have only time to inform you that to-morrow it is expected, all our batteries will open on his lordship and I expect, in a short time, will make the Town too hot for him. Our works are within 5 or 600 yards of the town. We have about 15,000 regular troops and about 5 or 6,000 militia."

Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 25.—On Sunday last a large sum of money, which lately arrived at Boston from France, arrived in town in 9 waggons. It is destined for the use of the French army in Virginia.

Late Letters from the lower Part of Virginia, advise that the Siege of York and Gloucester, now going on with the greatest perseverance and vigour, exhibits a scene of awful grandeur, surpassing description.—The Maryland Journal, October 16, 1781.

XXIV

New London, Friday, October 19, 1781.—We have just received the following from a correspondent:

Philadelphia, October 8, 1781.

"Sir: I left our lines before York in Virginia on the first of October at sunset—The place was invested on the 28th ult.—on the 30th the enemy quitted all their out-posts, and were confined to the town only—on the night of the 30th we broke ground within half a mile of the town, and were in possession of the outworks which the enemy had evacuated, about the same distance from the town. The country about York is exceeding level, a rise of five yards is called a hill. Our lines are about the same height of the enemy's; between our left and the enemy's right there is a creek makes up from the river, near one-third the length of our lines, but from the center and right wing of our army the ground is as favorable as can be wished for making regular approaches; I suppose that is the method the enemy is to be reduced. It is thought Cornwallis has provision plenty, and is between six and seven thousand strong (regular troops). We have about fourteen thousand regular troops and about four thousand militia before the town. The enemy keeps up a constant cannonade, which is disregarded. Col. Scammel, in reconnoitring the enemy's works on the 20 ult., was wounded and taken prisoner."—The Connecticut Gazette, October 19, 1781.

XXV

Philadelphia, Saturday, October 20.—By accounts from the camp before York, dated the 10th inst., we learn that on the 6th inst. our forces began their first Parallel about 500 yards from the enemy's works, and completed it on the 10th with seven or eight redoubts and batteries, which incircles the enemy completely. On the evening of the 9th our battery on the right began a bombardment and cannonade, and continued all night; and at six the next morning the French opened on the left with 24 and 18 pounders, 13 inch mortars, etc., and continued at the date of our advices; which add that health and high spirits prevailed in our camp, and the enemy were in a fair way of being speedily reduced to the necessity of asking terms.—Pennsylvania Packet, October 20, 1781.

XXVI

Philadelphia, Tuesday, Oct. 23.—Early yesterday morning an Express arrived in town with the agreeable and very important Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis and his Army having surrendered on the 17th instant; and we impatiently wait the Arrival of his Excellency General Washington's Dispatches particularising this most interesting Event.

Extract of a letter from Camp before York-Town, dated October 12. "I have the pleasure of informing you, that on the 9th, at three in the afternoon, both the French and our batteries, opened on the enemy from right to left, and continue to play on them, doing them much damage. Deserters who come in say they have lost a great number killed and wounded by our shells."

"On the 10th at night we set fire to the Charon of 44 guns with another smaller vessel, both of which were entirely consumed; and on the 11th, in the morning, burnt two transports; the above was done by fire balls."

"All the women and children are sent on the Gloster side, and those of the troops remaining dare not show their heads above their works, by
APPENDIX

the reason of the severity of our fire. Our works are about 600 yards from the town, and expect to break ground this evening within 300. I am in hopes of informing you of the capture of his lordship in my next.”

Extracts of letters from Camp before York, in Virginia, to the evening of the 10th instant:

That the combined armies having completed a perfect line of circumvallation within 400 yards of the British main works, a battery opened the evening of the 9th on the enemy’s left, consisting of 24 and 18 pound cannon and 4 mortars. On the morning of the 10th a battery of 18 pounders in the centre and one of 12 heavy cannon, chiefly 24 pounders and 13 inch mortars, from the French camp on the enemy’s right, were opened, and the whole continued firing till the evening of that day, when two of the enemy’s principal batteries were silenced, and several others much damaged. A number of the horses in York, near the water, appeared to have been set on fire. Another heavy battery was nearly completed on the French wing, the approaches were carrying on with the greatest rapidity and spirit, and works were commenced within 200 yards of the town. The greatest harmony subsisted in the combined camp. Our loss from the cannonade had been very trifling.

“Colonel Scammel of New Hampshire, who had been taken prisoner in reconnoitering the English lines, previous to our completely investing the place, was shot by one of their dragoons after he was made prisoner. That gallant officer has since died of his wounds much regretted.”

Extract of a letter from Jersey: “The British, after the most vigorous exertions, have again fitted a respectable fleet for sea, consisting of 24 ships of the line, two fifties and a number of 44s and frigates; they have likewise six fire ships compleat and more getting ready. Each ship is to take 300 infantry on board, and part of them fell down last Sunday. We had 11 deserters from the ship Intrepid, who brought off the ship’s pinnace; they say the ship received 88 shot in her hull in the action of the 6th.—Pennsylvania Packet, October 23, 1781

XXVII

Philadelphia, Thursday, October 25.—This morning Colonel Tilghman, Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency, our illustrious Commander-in-Chief, arrived in town with the following Dispatches to the President of Congress:


XXXVIII

Baltimore, Tuesday, October 30.—Extract of a Letter from a Maryland Officer of Distinction, dated Trenches before York, Oct. 19, 1781. “The Allied Army broke Ground before this Place the 5th Instant, and Batteries were opened on the 9th, and the Line of Contravallation completed the Day following.

On the night of the 11th we began our first Parallel within 250 Yards of their Lines.

To complete this Parallel, it became necessary for us to attempt the Possession of two very important detach’d Works upon their Left, which enfiladed their Lines and commanded the Town. The Evening of the 14th the necessary Dispositions were made for the Attack, and the Signals given for that Purpose at 7 o’clock.

The Count St. Simon immediately made a Feint upon their Right, while the Marquis de la Fayette, with the American Light-Infantry, and Count Deux-Pont, with the French Grenadiers, made separate Attack upon their Left with the Bayonet, and after a Conflict of a few Minutes got full Possession of their works, with very inconsiderable Loss, in which some Prisoners were made.

The Marquis’ Attack was covered by the Pennsylvania Brigades.

The Firmness and Bravery with which they sustained the heavy Fire of the Enemy, does
Honor to the Allied Arms, and can only be equalled.

About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 15th the Enemy made a Sortie, and rushed suddenly into our Trenches, but were immediately charged with the Bayonet and drove back to their Lines.

On the memorable 17th of October his Lordship, without any Summons from his Excellency to Surrender, sent a Flag with Proposals of Surrender of the Towns of York and Gloucester, which were rejected; but the Outlines being admissible, the General took the Matter up on that Ground, and offered the same Terms given by them on the Surrender of Charlestown.—The Maryland Journal, October 30, 1781.

XXXIX

New London, Friday, November 2.—Extract of a letter from Col. Miles, Quartermaster for Pennsylvania, to Col. Hughes.

Philadelphia, October 22, 1781.

"Before I say anything on business, I must indulge myself in congratulating you on the capture of Cornwallis and all his army on the 17th instant— The particulars are not yet arrived; but the President of Congress has just received a copy of Count de Grasse's letter to the Governor of Maryland, forwarded by water to Annapolis— The Count has taken all his troops on board and gone to meet Admiral Digby—though the particulars are not come to hand, the fact is not to be doubted."—The Connecticut Gazette, Nov. 2, 1781.

XXX

New London, Friday, November 9.—Copy of a letter wrote by the Count de Grasse to the Governor of Maryland.

On board le Ville de Paris, Oct. 28, 1781.

Sir,

I have the honor to thank your Excellency for the news which you have communicated to me—

I have prayed General Washington to return my troops, which it is probable he will have no further occasion for, Lord Cornwallis being already captured, of which news no doubt you have been informed.

As soon as the troops are embarked, it is my intention to leave the bay, when I shall endeavor to contribute further to the success and safety of the United States, and prevent as far as in my power the designs of Sir Henry Clinton.—Connecticut Gazette, Friday, Nov. 9, 1781.

XXXI

Philadelphia, Saturday, November 10.—Col. Humphrey, Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, who arrived in town last Saturday, with the dispatches inserted in our paper of Tuesday, brought with him twenty-four Standards, late belonging to Lord Cornwallis's army; he was met at the Middle Ferry in Schuylkill, by the light-horse of this city, who escorted the colours through some of the principal streets to the State house, and they were laid at the feet of the Congress of the United States, surrounded by thousands of spectators, who expressed their satisfaction by repeated shouts.—Pennsylvania Packet, November 10, 1781.

LETTERS FROM THE FIELD

I

From Sparks' Letters of Washington, III. 412.

Camp before York, 30 September, 1781.

My Dear General,

You have so often been pleased to ask I would give my opinion upon any subject that may occur, that I will this day take the liberty to mention a few articles. I am far from laughing at the idea of the enemy's making a retreat. It is not very probable; but it is not impossible. Indeed they have no other way to escape, and since he cannot get ships above York, I should be still more afraid of a retreat by West Point than anything else. The French hussars remaining here, our dragoons and some infantry might be stationed somewhere near West Point, rather on the north side. I see the service is much done by details, and, to use your permission, I would take the liberty to observe, that when the siege is once begun it might be more agreeable to the officers and men to serve as much as possible by whole battalions.

Colonel Scammell is taken. His absence I had accounted for by his being officer of the day. I am very sorry we lose a valuable officer; but though Colonel Scammell's being officer of the day has been a reason for his going in front, I think it would be well to prevent the officers
under the rank of Generals or Field-Officers reconnoitring, for the safety of their commands advancing so near the enemy’s lines. There is a great disproportion between Huntington’s and Hamilton’s battalions. Now that Scammell is taken, we might have them made equal, and put the oldest of the two Lieutenant Colonels on the right of the brigade.

I have, these past days, wished for an opportunity to speak with your Excellency on Count de Grasse’s demand relative to M. de Barras’ fleet. This business being soon done, we may think of Charleston, at least of the harbour; or of Savannah. I have long and seriously thought of this matter, but would not be in a hurry to mention it, until we know how long this will last. However, it might be possible to give Count de Grasse an early hint of it, in case you agree with him upon the winter departure of the whole fleet for the West Indies.

One of my reasons to wish troops, though not in great numbers, to be sent to Gloucester county by way of West Point, is, that for the first days it will embarrass any movement of the enemy up the river, or up the country, on either side; and when it is in Gloucester county it may be thought advantageous by a respectable regular force to prevent the enemy’s increasing their works there, and giving us the trouble of a second operation; and, at the same time, it will keep from York a part of the British forces. With the highest regard and most sincere affection, I have the honour to be, dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LAFAYETTE

His Excellency George Washington,
Commander in Chief, &c.

II

Communicated by James E. Mauvan

Headquarters before York, Oct. 10, 1781.

My dear Webb:

Our old friend Scammel paid the last debt of nature on the 6th instant, at the hospital in Williamsburg; I have informed you of his being made a prisoner, and wounded, which wound proved fatal and he is no more to be found in the walks of men. On the morning that the enemy evacuated their advanced re-

do...
Agreeable to your orders, we advanced in two columns with unloaded arms, the right composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat's battalion and my own, commanded by Major Fish. The left of a detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, destined to take the enemy in reverse, and intercept their retreat. The column on the right hand was preceded by a vanguard of twenty men led by Lieutenant Mansfield; and a detachment of sappers and miners, commanded by Captain Gilliland, for the purpose of removing obstructions.

The redoubt was commanded by Major Campbell, with a detachment of British and German troops, and was completely in a state of defence.

The rapidity and immediate success of the assault, are the best comment on the behavior of the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens distinguished himself by an exact and vigorous execution of his part of the plan by entering the enemy's works with his corps among the foremost and making prisoner of the commanding officer of the redoubt. Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat's battalion, which formed the van of the right attack, and which fell under my immediate observation, encouraged by the decisive and animated example of their leader, advanced with an order and resolution superior to every obstacle. They were well seconded by Major Fish, with the battalion under his command, who when the front of the column reached the abattis, unlocking his corps to the left, as he had been directed, advanced with such celerity, as to arrive in time to participate in the assault.

Lieutenant Mansfield deserves particular commendation for the coolness, firmness, and punctuality, with which he conducted the vanguard. Captain Olney, who commanded the first platoon of Gimat's battalion, is entitled to peculiar applause. He led his platoon into the work with exemplary intrepidity and received two bayonet wounds. Captain Gilliland, with the detachment of sappers and miners, acquitted themselves in a manner that did them great honour.

I do but justice to the several corps when I have the pleasure to assure you, there was not an officer nor soldier whose behavior, if it could be particularized, would not have a claim to the warmest approbation—as it would have been attended with delay and loss to wait for the removal of the abattis and pallissades the ardour of the troops was indulged in passing over them.

There was a happy coincidence of movements. The redoubt was in the same moment enveloped and carried on every part. The enemy are entitled to the acknowledgements of an honorable defence.

 Permit me to have the satisfaction of expressing our obligations to Col. Armand, Capt. Segogne, the Chevalier de Fontevieu and Capt. Redkin, officers of his corps, who acting upon this occasion as volunteers, proceeded at the head of the right column, and entering the redoubt among the first, by their gallant example contributed to the success of the enterprise.

Our killed and wounded you will perceive by the inclosed return. I sensibly felt at a critical period the loss of the assistance of Lieutenant-Colonel Gimat, who received a musket ball in his foot, which obliged him to retire from the field. Captain Bets, of Laurens' corps, Captain Hunt and Lieutenant Mansfield, of Gimat's, were wounded with the bayonet gallantly entering the work. Captain Lieutenant Kirkpatrick, of the corps of sappers and miners, received a wound in the ditch. Inclosed is a return of the prisoners. The killed and wounded of the enemy did not exceed eight. Incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, the soldier spared every man that ceased to resist. I have the honour to be, with the warmest esteem and attachment, Sir, your most obedient servant,

A. HAMILTON
Lieut. Col. Commandant
Major Gen. the Marquis de la Fayette.

IV
From Sparks' Letters of Washington, VIII. 425.
Camp before York, 16th October, 1781.
My dear General:
Your Excellency having personally seen our disposition, I shall only give you an account of what passed in the execution. Colonel Gimat's battalion led the van, and was followed by that of Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the whole advanced corps. At the same time a party of eighty men, under Colonel Laurens, turned the
redoubt. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the report I have received from Colonel Hamilton, whose well-known talents and gallantry were on this occasion most conspicuous and serviceable. Our obligation to him, to Colonel Gimat and to Colonel Laurens, and to each and all the officers and men are above expression. Not one gun was fired; and the ardor of the troops did not give time for the sappers to derange the abatis; and owing to the conduct of the commanders and bravery of the men, the redoubt was stormed with uncommon rapidity.

Colonel Barber's battalion, which was the first in the supporting column, being detached for the aid of the advance, arrived at the moment they were getting over the works, and executed their orders with the utmost alacrity. The Colonel was slightly wounded. The rest of the column, under Generals Muhlenberg and Hazen, advanced with admirable firmness and discipline. Colonel Vose's battalion displayed to the left, a part of the division successively dressing by him, whilst a kind of second line was forming columns in the rear. It adds greatly to the character of the troops, that, under the fire of the enemy, they displayed and took their ranks with perfect silence and order.

Give me leave particularly to mention Major Barber, Division Inspector, who distinguished himself and received a wound from a cannon ball.

In making the arrangement for the support of the works we had reduced, I was happy to find General Wayne and the Pennsylvanians so situated as to have given us, in case of need, the most effectual support. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE
His Excellency George Washington,
Commander in Chief, etc.

V

REPORT OF BARON DE VIOMESNIL TO COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU


Translated for the Magazine

Camp before York, 16 October, 1781.

You have had too large a share, Count, in the successful movement which must hasten the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis for me not to feel it my duty to hand you herewith a copy of the Report made by me to Count de Rochambeau of the affair of the trenches from the fourteenth to the fifteenth. If I am mistaken upon any of the points which you may have seen before myself, you will do me a great favor by informing me that I may correct my errors. I earnestly hope that the promotion which I have solicited for you and M. de l'Estrade, your companion in glory, may be granted; I believe the good of the service to be interested in it; events of this nature being so rare, the service you have rendered so important, and the distinction and energy of your conduct are so well known to the entire army, that I do not believe there lives a single Frenchman who can disapprove of your being made Brigadier.

As for me, Count, I am too happy to have this occasion to show you my opinion of you and my confidence in you; I hope that it may serve to secure for me your friendship and to continue to secure for me some regard for the feeling of tender and faithful attachment with which I have the honor to be yours, &c.,

VIOMESNIL

Count William de Deux-Ponts.

Report of Baron de Viomesnil to Count de Rochambeau upon the Attack of the York-Town Redoubts.

In the trenches, 15 October, 1781.

General,

General Washington having yesterday evening approved in the trenches the dispositions I had made and the instructions I had given to M.M. de la Fayette and General Stubsens, as well as to M.M. des Deux-Ponts, de l'Estrade and de Rosetaing for the attack of the two redoubts on the enemy's left which you had ordered me to carry, I returned to the column of attack, which I proposed to lead in person, and after having given to Count de Custine the necessary information and orders for the disposition of the troops which were to remain in the trenches, we debouched at the signal agreed upon with great order and in perfect silence. The two redoubts were attacked and carried almost at the same moment. The Marquis de la Fayette conducted the attack with which he was charged with equal
intrepidity and skill. His infantry behaved like grenadiers accustomed to difficult situations; all who defended the redoubt attacked by the Americans were killed or made prisoners. A major and an officer are in the latter number. Count William des Deuxponts, who commanded the 400 grenadiers and chasseurs whom I had assigned to the attack of the great redoubt, marched upon it as well as M. de l’Estrade, Lieutenant Colonel of Gatinois, whom I had placed under his orders and as his advance guard, in such order and with such intrepidity that in less than six minutes they were masters of and mounted this redoubt. They entered it, together with the first Grenadiers, after having cut their way, axes in hand, through the abatis in the ditch and through the faise of the work. One hundred and forty men who defended it and made a sharp musketry fire were killed or made prisoners. Some escaped, in the number of whom it is supposed Colonel Macpherson. Count de Rostaing, who marched with two companies of auxiliary chasseurs and the second battalion of his regiment, behaved with like valour and distinction; 400 men of the regiment of Gatinois acted in this affair as though the entire regiment of Auvergne were present. This detail should gratify you. They unfortunately lost nearly seventy men, of whom fifty grenadiers and chasseurs. M. de Berthelot was killed, M. de Sireuil, Captain of Chasseurs and officer of great distinction, had a leg broken, and M. de Silleque, Lieutenant of Chasseurs, was severely wounded. The grenadiers and chasseurs of Deux-Ponts had 22 men killed or wounded; the chasseurs of Agenois six men killed; those of Bourbonnois, who were at the head of the column commanded by M. de Rostaing, fortunately lost no one. In all, this decisive attack cost nearly one hundred men; but it should reflect the highest honor on Count William des Deuxponts, M. de l’Estrade, Count de Rostaing, and the officers and troops who were engaged in it. Joy and proper behaviour before the sally, silence, vigor and difficulties overcome during the attack, excellent order and humanity after the success. Such, my General, is what I have seen of la nation and of the grenadiers of Deuxponts after twenty years of peace, and I am most happy to inform you of it.

I should also mention two sergeants of the regiment of Gatinois whom I specially charged to march ten paces in advance of the grenadiers to feel their way and indicate the passages or points most favorable to surmount the abatis; these two men, who both came out unhurt, so thoroughly justified what the Baron de l’Estrade had told me of their intelligence and bravery, that I hold it my duty to notice them with distinction, and pray of you not to disapprove of my having the honor to present them to you to-morrow morning. MM. de Vauban and de Lameth, ordered by you and M. de Beville to participate in this attack, and Count de Damas, whom only the desire to distinguish himself and his simple zeal attracted to it, entered the redoubt with the first Grenadiers, and behaved everywhere like true Paladins. They have a refinement of courage which will some day be an excellent example for the warriors with whose command they may be charged, and certainly of the greatest benefit to the King’s service. The Chevalier de Lameth was severely wounded in both legs after surmounting the parapet.

MM. de Viomesnil, de St. Armand, de Chabannes, de Brentano, Desoteux, and de Pange, my aids de camp, deserve that I should name them in general and in particular for their distinguished conduct at this attack and their exact execution of the orders I gave them throughout the night.

M. le Chevalier de Menonville, Aid Major General, having brought with him two hundred workmen of the regiment of Soissoisais, whose duty was to prolong the second parallel up to the redoubt carried by Count William de Deuxponts, this labor was so well executed under the direction of the Chevalier Doiré, so near to the enemy and so promptly, that I thought it just to give ten sols additional to each of the workmen. MM. de Turpin and de Gouvion worked with the same success between the redoubts captured and the communications of the first with the second parallel of the Americans.

The artillery did wonders during the time which preceded the two attacks. M. d’Aboville and the commandants of the batteries outdid themselves in preparing the success.

I do not yet know the loss of the Americans.
When MM. de la Fayette and Baron de Stuben send me their reports I will hasten to forward them to you; according to what they have just told me. it is not considerable.

Count William was wounded in the face, but slightly; his conduct was so brilliant and his action so distinguished and decisive that I beg of you, General, to obtain for him from the King's kindness the rank of Brigadier.

I beg of you to procure the same rank for Baron de l'Estrade, who has been in service more than forty years, and has shown an example to the grenadiers and chasseurs of his regiment, worthy of the highest praise. The Count de Rostaing, Colonel since 1770, and having also greatly distinguished himself, should you ask the rank of Brigadier for him I am sure it would not be refused him.

General Washington appearing satisfied with the result of our attacks, should you add your approbation of all that has been done, I shall have nothing further to ask of you so long as my service in the trenches continues.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful attachment, General, your very humble, very obedient servt.

VI

From Sparks’ Letters of Washington, VIII, 182.

Headquarters, 10th October, 1781.

SIR:

I have the honor with many congratulations, to inform you that one o'clock this afternoon is appointed for the delivery of two of the enemy’s redoubts on the Gloucester side; one to a detachment of French, the other to a detachment of American troops. The garrison is to march out at three o’clock (with shouldered arms, drums beating a British or German march, the cavalry with their swords drawn, and the colors of the whole cased), to a place which you will be so good as to appoint, in front of the posts, where they will ground their arms, and afterwards return to their encampment. You will be so good as to communicate this to General Weedon, and make the necessary arrangements, and desire him to take every precaution to prevent the loss or embezlement of the arms. I am, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Brigadier-General De Choisy.

VI

Communicated by Henry C. Van Schaack.


My dear Sir:

A French ship being about to sail with despatches to the Court of France from Count de Grasse and Count de Rochambeau, of the event which has taken place here, I think it of importance for you to receive as early as possible a general sketch of our operations here, as it is probable that Congress, or their servants, whose immediate duty it is to correspond with you, may not have it in their power to transmit you official intelligence for some time to come.

The enemies operations in [the] states, although not carried on with great armies, compared with those of 1776 and 1777, yet were so formidable as to dispel every force which the country, of itself, was capable of opposing. This rendered it necessary for America to march its army here, or give up the Southern States as lost. It appears also to have been the opinion of the French Court, as Count de Grasse gave intelligence of his intentions of arriving at the Capes of Virginia. Our previous views were New York. The dispositions were made on the Hudson River for the attack of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, and everything has succeeded equal to our sanguine wishes.

This important affair has been effected by the most harmonious concurrence of circumstances, that could possibly have happened. A fleet and troops from the West Indies, under the orders of one of the best men in the world; an army of American and French troops, marching from the North River 500 miles; and the fleet of Count de Barras, all joining so exactly in point of time as to render what has happened almost certain.

I shall not enter into a detail of circumstances previous to the collection of our force at Williamsburgh, twelve miles distant from this place, which was made on the 27th ult. On the 28th we marched to this camp, and on the 29th and 30th we completed our investiture of York. A body of American militia, the Duke Luxembourg’s legion, and some marines from the fleet of Count de Grasse, at the same time formed in the vicinity of Gloucester, so as to prevent any incursions of the enemy into the country. From
the first of October to the sixth was spent in preparing our material for siege, bringing forward our cannon and stores, and in reconnoitering the points of attack. On the evening of the 6th we broke ground and began our first parallel within 600 yards of the enemies works, undiscovered. The first parallel, four redoubts and all our batteries were finished by the 9th at two o'clock P. M., when we opened our batteries and kept them playing continually. On the night of the 12th, we began our second parallel, at 300 yards distant from the enemy, and on the night of the 14th, we stormed two redoubts which the enemy had advanced of their main works. The gallant troops of France, under the orders of Baron de Viomenil, and the hardy soldiers of America, under the Marquis de la Fayette, attacked separate works, and carried them in an instant. This brilliant stroke was executed without any great loss on our side. The enemy lost between one and two hundred. This advantage was important, and gave us an opportunity of perfecting our second parallel, into which we took the two redoubts.

On the 16th, just before day, the enemy made a sortie and spiked up some of our cannon, but were repulsed and driven back to their works. The cannon were soon cleared, and the same day our batteries in the second parallel began to fire, and continued without intermission until 9 o'clock in the morning of the 17th October, ever memorable on account of the Saratoga affair, when the enemy sent a flag offering to treat of the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. The firing continued until 2 o'clock, when commissioners on both sides met to adjust the capitulation, which was not finished and signed until 12 o'clock on the 19th. Our troops took possession of two redoubts of the enemy soon after; and about two o'clock the enemy marched out and grounded their arms. The whole garrison are prisoners of war, and had the same honors only as were granted to our garrison at Charleston; their colors were cased, and they were prohibited playing a French or American tune. The returns are not yet collected, but including officers, sick and well, there are more than seven thousand, exclusive of seamen, who are supposed to amount to one thousand. There are near forty sail of top-sail vessels in the harbor, about one-half of which the enemy sunk upon different occasions. About two hundred pieces of cannon, nearly one-half of them brass, a great number of arms, drums and colors are among the trophies of this decisive stroke. The prisoners are to be sent into any part of this State, Maryland or Pennsylvania.

The consequences will be extensively beneficial. The enemy will be immediately confined to Charlestown and New York, and reduced to a defensive war of those two posts, for which they have not more troops in America than to form adequate garrisons.

The exalted talents of General Greene have been amply displayed in North and South Carolina. Without an army, without means, without anything, he has performed wonders. He will now be reinforced with a large body of troops, which will enable him to push the enemy to the gates of Charlestown.

This army is composed of French and American troops; three thousand of the former came from the West Indies; the whole commanded in person by our beloved Washington, whose distinguished worth and patriotism rise every day and demand the pure pen of some animated republican to do him sufficient justice. The harmony and good understanding between the American and French troops exceed all description. One soul actuates the whole mass, and all fired with zeal for the interests of America. The troops which came with Count de Grasse from the West Indies, under the orders of the Marquis de St. Simon, will return with him immediately. The army which came from France under Count de Rochambeau, will be cantonned for the present in this State. The American troops which belong to the States east of Pennsylvania, will immediately depart for the North River; those west from Pennsylvania, inclusive, will go to the southward. The enemy have a post at Wilmington, in North Carolina, of which those troops will dispossess them, and then join General Greene.

We have a very respectable defensive force on the Hudson's river, amply sufficient to garrison the important posts in the Highlands, and to form a small covering army.
If I can possibly procure copies of the capitulation and returns of the troops and stores taken, I will do myself the honor to enclose them.

The unequivocal testimonies which America has already received of the friendship of France, induce us to hope much from the future. If it shall be found possible to have a superior French fleet before New York by the 1st of next June, to stay certainly through the operation, I should not hesitate to pronounce, with as much decision as military affairs will admit, that in six weeks we should wrest that important place from the hands of the English.

I would thank you to present my very respectful compliments to Mrs. Jay, and remember me to Col. Livingston.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, your excellency’s most obedient servant,

H. KNOX

His Excellency John Jay, Esq.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, his Excellency, General Washington, has informed me that he has enclosed to you authenticated copies of the capitulation and returns as far as can be collected.

VIII

KNOX’S BRIGADE ORDERS, OCTOBER 21, 1781

From the Orderly Book for the 2d Regiment of Artillery, Col. Lamb, in the Collection of the N. Y. Historical Society.

It is with the highest degree of pleasure Genl Knox obeys the request of His Excellency the Commander in chief in communicating His Excellency’s thanks to the Corps of Artillery. The attention to the Public interests in all ranks of officers in bringing forward, with uncommon labour, to this point the cannon and stores, which have in conjunction with those of our good friends, the French, in a capital degree effected the joyful event of the 19, merits the warmest effusions of gratitude. The skill, so conspicuously manifested in the management and direction of the cannon and mortars, have amazed our noble allies and brought home to the feelings of our enemies that the officers of the American Artillery have acquired a respectable portion of knowledge in the profession. Genl Knox particularly requests Col. Lamb to accept of his most sincere acknowledgments for his care and attention in conducting the Stores and Troops from the Head of Elk to this place. He also thanks Lt Col Stevens for his great exertions at Christiana Bridge in forwarding the Stores from that place and for the essential assistance he afforded Col Lamb in the other paths of duty, and Major Bauman for the separate transportation of stores with which he was charged.

He is highly impressed with the merit of the above Gentlemen and with that of Lt Col Carrington in the important duties of the Batteries, which they discharged in a manner highly honourable to themselves and their Country and of all the officers and men for their talents and good conduct in their respective stations. Capt Stevens is entitled to his esteem and thanks for his care and industry in bringing forward the Remainder of the stores and Capt Machin and Ferguson for their great Exertions in erecting the Batteries with which they were charged. Lt’s Price and Ford with the other officers and men of the Laboratory are also requested to receive the warmest acknowledgments of their General for the great attention and skill exhibited by them in the Preparation of the numerous Stores, upon which the success of the whole operation depended.

The General also thanks Lt Col Dabney, the Officers and Privates of the Virginia State Regiment, Major Jones with the militia, Capt McKennon, the Officers and Privates of the Delaware Detachment, who have been annexed to the Artillery, for the Zeal and alacrity with which they have performed the several duties assigned them, and assures their Corps that he shall ever retain the most grateful sense of their services on this occasion.

IX

NARRATIVE OF THE DUKE DE LAUZUN

Translated for the Magazine.

On the first day’s march from Philadelphia General Washington learned that M. de Grasse had anchored in Chesapeake Bay with more than thirty ships of the line, and had disembarked M. de St. Simon with three thousand land troops. I never saw a man so thoroughly and openly delighted than General Washington. We
learned at the same time that Lord Cornwallis had received instructions from General Clinton not to return to Portsmouth, which was an excellent post, but to fortify himself at York town until he received reinforcements.

Arrived at the head of Elk at the opening of Chesapeake bay, and fearing that Lord Cornwallis might seriously embarrass M. de la Fayette, whose division only consisted of two thousand Americans and the light troops of M. de Saint Simon, he embarked on boats of every kind all the grenadiers and chasseurs of the army and all the infantry of my regiment, under the orders of M. de Custine. I asked permission to march with my infantry, satisfied that these troops would first exchange fire with the enemy. General Lincoln followed us at some distance with the American light infantry. M. de Custine, eager to arrive in advance, took a fast sailing sloop and went forward without stopping or giving me any order whatever as far as James River. On the third day of our passage the weather was very heavy. The boats were detestable; two or three foundered and seven or eight of our men were drowned. The bad weather compelled us to anchor off Annapolis; as we were about setting sail again General Washington sent an aide-de-camp to me with word to disembark the troops and not to move until further orders.

The English squadron appearing off Chesapeake bay M. de Grasse had gone out to engage them and not yet returned. Three days later one of the King's corvettes came up to inform us that M. de Grasse had beaten the English fleet, captured two frigates and returned to the anchorage in the bay. I at once embarked the troops and we were ten days in getting down to the mouth of the James River.

There I found M. de Custine; and as I was reporting to him what had happened in his absence General Washington and M. de Rochambeau, who were near by on a corvette, sent me word to come on board. General Washington told me that as Lord Cornwallis had sent all his cavalry and a considerable body of troops to Gloucester opposite York he feared he intended to retreat in that direction, and that he had therefore sent over a corps of observation under command of brigadier-general Wiedon of the Continental line, an officer of sufficient merit but who detested fighting, which he had never been willing to take part in, and besides terribly afraid of gunshot. He told me that he should write to General Wiedon that he would leave him the honor but forbid him to give any orders. I explained to him that we did not understand the service in that fashion; that if General Wiedon were under my orders I should certainly make him obey, but that I should equally obey if under his; that I had not the least objection to serve under him if he thought best and that he might depend on my maintaining the most friendly relations with him.

I joined General Wiedon's corps with my regiment. He blockaded Gloucester in a drole way; he was more than fifteen miles from the enemy's posts, frightened to death, and did not dare to send a patrol half a mile from his army. He was the best man alive and all that he desired was to take no responsibility. I proposed to him to approach Gloucester and to make next morning a reconnaissance near to the English posts; he consented and we went out with fifty hussars. When we were within seven or eight miles of the enemy he said to me that it was useless to go any further and we should see nothing more; I so urged him that he could not refuse to follow me. I drove in the enemy's posts and went far enough to obtain a precise idea of their position. My General was in despair; he told me that he would not go with me again; as he had no desire to be killed.

I reported to M. de Rochambeau what I had seen; I informed him that no reliance could be placed on the American militia and that it was indispensable that he should send me at least two more battalions of French infantry. I had neither artillery, nor provisions, nor powder. I asked these of him; he at once sent me artillery and eight hundred men drawn from the marines, under the orders of M. de Choisy, who by seniority commanded General Wiedon and myself.

M. de Choisy is an excellent and worthy man, absurdly violent in temper, constantly in a rage, quarrelling with everybody, and without common sense. He began by ridding himself of
General Wiedon and the entire militia, telling them they were all cowards, and in five minutes they were almost as much afraid of him as of the English, which is certainly a great deal to say. The next day he wished to occupy the camp I had reconnoitered. General Wiedon preferred to move a day later and remained behind with about six hundred men of his division.

Just as we reached the Gloucester plain some Virginia State Dragoons came up in great fright and told us that they had seen the English dragoons out and that for fear of accident they had hurried to us at full speed without stopping to see anything more. I went forward to learn what I could. I saw a very pretty woman at the door of a little farm house on the high road; I went up to her and questioned her; she told me that Colonel Tarleton had left her house a moment before; that he was very eager to shake hands with the French Duke. I assured her that I had come on purpose to gratify him. She seemed very sorry for me, judging from experience I suppose that Tarleton was irresistible; the American troops seemed to be of the same opinion.

I was not a hundred steps from the house when I heard pistol shots from my advance guard. I hurried forward at full speed to find a piece of ground where I could form a line of battle. As I arrived I saw the English cavalry in force three times my own; I charged it without halting; we met hand to hand. Tarleton saw me and rode towards me with pistol raised. We were about to fight single handed between the two troops when his horse was thrown by one of his own dragoons pursued by one of my lancers. I rode up to him to capture him; a troop of English dragoons rode in between us and covered his retreat; he left his horse with me. He charged me twice without breaking my line; I charged the third time, overthrew a part of his cavalry and drove him within the entrenchment of Gloucester. He lost an officer, some fifty men, and I took quite a number of prisoners.

M. de Choisy established his camp at a mile and a half from Gloucester; our patrols were constantly exchanging shots with those of the English and we did not sleep one instant during the siege. The Baron de Viomesnil being about to attack two redoubts of the York works, M. de Choisy was ordered to make a feint upon Gloucester; he determined to make a real attack and carry the entrenchments sword in hand. He accordingly distributed axes to the American militia, with which to cut the palisades. At the first fire half of them threw down their axes and guns to run the faster. Thus deserted he fell back upon me with some companies of French infantry and lost a dozen men.

The day after the next my lord Cornwallis proposed a capitulation. M. de Rochambeau selected me to carry the great news to France and sent for me. I was not anxious to return to Europe; I advised him to send M. de Charles, by which he would make his peace with M. de Castries, and perhaps secure the better treatment for his army. I could not persuade him; he said to me that I had been first in action and to me it fell to carry the news; Count William de Deux Ponts the second, and should carry the details of it. Count de Charles never forgave him nor me either. I embarked on the king's frigate La Surveillante, and after a passage of twenty-two days, arrived at Brest and went up to Versailles without loss of time.

Arrived at Versailles I found M. de Maurepas on his death bed; he was hardly conscious; he recognised me nevertheless and received me in a most touching manner. He recommended me earnestly to the king and his ministers, who promised to put into execution what it was his intention to do for me. He died the day after the next and M. de Castries and M. de Segur treated me as badly as they could.

My news delighted the King extremely; I found him in the Queen's apartments; he put me numerous questions and said many kind things to me. He asked me if I proposed to return to America; I answered yes; he added that I might assure his army that it would receive great favors, greater than any others had ever received.—Memoires du Duc de Lauzon.
BAUMAN'S MAP OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN

To Sebastian Bauman, Major in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery, the student is indebted for the only American map and survey of the siege of Yorktown. Bauman was an educated officer of German birth, for a long period before the war a resident of New York City. He was the only officer in the New York regiment of artillery not native born. He was commissioned by the New York Provincial Congress early in 1776.

In a manuscript note, found in his Book of Military Problems, there is a valuable account of the capture of New York in the summer of 1776. He was left in the City on the morning of the 15th with orders to bring out the little artillery remaining but was cut off from the retreating army by the extension of the British line across the island after the landing at Kipp's bay. He stood by his pieces, two howitzers, till night fall, when he succeeded in transporting them and his men to Powlis Hook. He served with distinction in the Northern Campaigns of 1776 and of 1777. Entrusted with the command of the artillery at West Point in 1779, he was at that post in the eventful days of Arnold's treason, and the letters to him from Knox at that period show conclusively that however widespread the distrust of officers, his patriotism was not for an instant doubted. In 1781 he went with his regiment to the southward, and during the siege of Yorktown was one of the officers who rotated in the command of the artillery park and batteries, by turns fixing the ammunition and pointing the American guns. At the close of the campaign he returned to his post at West Point, where he remained until the disbandment of the army, when he resumed his old mercantile life in New York, and took command of the New York Regiment of Artillery in the State service. Later he received the Federal appointment of postmaster in the same city, and died in office, October 19, 1803, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He was one of the original members of the New York Society of the Order of Cincinnati.

An accomplished engineer, while on the Yorktown peninsula, he prepared from actual surveys the admirable chart, now reproduced at one-half its original size, which, in the fall of 1782, after struggling with almost insurmountable difficulties, he finally succeeded in having engraved and published. His prospectus, issued at the beginning of
the year, and printed in the New Jersey Journal, January 30, 1782, best describes the work.

Major BAUMAN of the New York or Second
Regiment of Artillery
Has drawn a MAP
Of the Investment of York and Glou-
cester, in Virginia.

Showing how those posts were besieged in form
by the allied army of America and France; the
British lines of defense, and the American and
French lines of approach; with part of York River,
and the British ships, as they then appeared sunk in
it before York-Town; and the whole encampment
in its vicinity.

This MAP, by desire of many gentlemen, will
shortly be published in Philadelphia, in order that
the public may form an idea of that memorable
siege. Those gentlemen who wish to become sub-
scribers, will apply to Captain Arnold, in Morris-
town, and to the printer hereof; where the condi-
tions will be shown, and subscription money be
received.

In a letter to General McDougall, who was one of the subscribers
to the chart, he apologized for its rude appearance on the ground that
he had but little time for the survey, the only object to him then being
the lines, without idea of publication, and that it was the first work of
the kind the engraver who cut the plate had ever done; yet, he adds, it
had received the entire approbation of the public, “with respect to
the artist and the army, American, French and British, of the accuracy
in the design,” a phrase, which in its obscurity admits of more than
one interpretation. In the points displayed by the map, there is one of
peculiar interest to historical students, viz., the arrangement of the
stars on the national ensign.

This interesting plate descended to his family, but was some years
since inadvertently disposed of for its metal value to a dealer in junk.
Perchance the publicity now given to it may lead to its discovery.
Copies of the map are extremely rare. That used in the present repro-
duction belonged to Jonathan Goodhue, and is now preserved in the
collection of the New York Historical Society, where there are also a
number of letters of Major Bauman, presented to it by Mr. Bauman
Lowe, a descendant.
NOTES

HISTORICAL ANECDOTES.—In a rare collection of bound pamphlets, picked up, mostly in England, I find one bearing this title: "Historical Anecdotes, Civil and Military: in a Series of Letters, written from America, in the years 1777 and 1778, to different persons in England; containing observations on the General Management of the War, and on the Conduct of our Principal Commanders in the Revolted Colonies, during that Period. London, 1779." The small volume before me is a book of 85 pages, and contains a large number of letters which give one a good idea of events which were transpiring within the immediate knowledge of the writer. It may interest the reader to look back upon scenes which were occurring in this country not far from a century ago. The following is an account of the treatment which a loyalist in Westchester Co., N. Y., received at the hands of both friends and foes:

"When the King's troops were in that part of the country, your old acquaintance, Mr. ——, was very active in giving them every assistance in his power. The rebels had information of his conduct. They had before taken his fat cattle, &c., to the number of about forty; and when the royal army retired, attempted to take him prisoner; but he escaped them, by half an hour, and got hither. They then stripped his house of everything worth carrying away, except the provisions laid up for the winter; 'because he was a d—d Tory, and had gone to the king's troops for protection.' The next day came the light dragoons, provided with bags, and carried off all the beef, pork, and gammons; 'because he was a d—d rebel, and had run away for fear of the King's army.' The poor gentleman is now in the town with his family, with little, next to nothing, to subsist on. He cannot return; and if he could, he could not live unless he could eat stones."

Under date of July 24, 1777, the writer says: "General Burgoyne has crossed the Lakes: and, on his approach to Ticonderoga, which was amazingly strong, the Rebels abandoned it precipitately, leaving everything, except their muskets, behind them. He is hastening rapidly to Albany; and we soon expect great and good news from that quarter."

Meanwhile, before "the great and good news" reaches New York, we may be curious to read some of the speculations of the writer respecting the war.

"We are all persuaded that we have the power of crushing this rebellion whenever we think proper." "Who could have thought that this abominable rebellion would have been permitted to rise to so great, so enormous a height, or to have continued so long? Its whole strength ever has been, and in my opinion is now, mere weakness. Vigor and propriety of conduct would have crushed it last autumn, last spring, last any time; and would yet crush it before Christmas." "Never was there such trifling with such a set of miscreants. We have made them of consequence ourselves, even in the eyes of Europe, by our attention and respectful treatment of the most contemptible set of wretches that ever disgraced a country." "The very rage-
muffin' Militia now dare not only smell powder, but kill a Redcoat, with as much indifference as if they had never feared such an animal." At last "the great and good news" which was to bring so much joy to loyal hearts, reached New York, and in a somewhat prosaic way the writer, under date of New York, Nov. 10, 1777, writes: "Before this reaches you, you must have heard that General Burgoyne has been under the necessity, through want of provisions and by other disasters, to surrender himself and his army to General Gates. There has been a strange fatality in this affair." Anticipating what may happen to New York, the writer declares: "I wish not to survive the destruction of this place, or its capture by the Rebels." "From everything I see, America seems to be intentionally given up, and the interest and glory of Britain sacrificed to party and a juncto of villains within her own bowels." "Rebellion, which a twelvemonth ago was really a contemptible Pigmy, is now in appearance become a giant more dreadful to the minds of men than Polyphemus of old, or the Sons of Anak."

From the foregoing extracts it is evident that the spirit of boasting on the part of the writer had become somewhat "toned down" from what it was in the early part of the correspondence. Under date of New York, January 26, 1778, he writes to his friend in England: "I wish I had something clever to write to you; but everything on this side of the water is most confoundedly out of joint. I wish it may be better with you, and I hope it is." Again, Feb. 7, 1778: "I am almost tired of politics; and was not my own fate so interwoven with this country, I should be completely so. But speak I must, though like Cassandra, I am not heeded till too late. The leaders of this Rebellion are a set of men principled against Monarchy in its mildest form. Their conversations, their public actions, their preachments, and their collegiate education, have all tended to this one favourite object, Democracy. We are jumbled together in this Town, with a set of as great villains as were ever unhanged; and we have the flattering prospect before us, of being the only or the greatest sufferers, however matters turn out."

A gentleman in England, writing to a friend, also in that country, professes to give the substance of what he has learned from his correspondents in America. He says: "You seem to look upon everything as completely lost; Heaven be thanked, I do not; I believe the Rebels to be in a most pitiful condition." Among other difficulties which lie in the way of success by the Americans, he says that "their paper-money hangs like a mill-stone about their neck and is ready to sink them." As the public debt stood on the 31st of December, 1777, it amounted "to several millions sterling more than all the Property, together with the fee-simple of the soil in the Thirteen Confederate Colonies, is worth." "This is liberty and property with a vengeance! Such are the blessed fruits of Rebellion! Thus the Devil rewards his servants always, notwithstanding his fair Promises; paying them constantly at last in their own Coin, in bills of Congressional Paper." Here is the end of these inter-
Fox hunting—Reading an account of a fox hunt at Newport the other day, I could not help a sigh over the sufferings of the poor beast, and a feeling of mortification that ladies could participate in the cruel sports for which, at Narragansett, there is not even the excuse of retaliation. Poor Reynard had robbed no poultry yard and had not put himself out of the pale of the law. On this occasion the unfortunate creature is reported to have sat listlessly under the fence, eyeing the gay gathering of scarlet-coated huntsmen and eager hounds in leash, wondering what all the hue and cry was about and unable to understand the part he had to play in the amusement of the day. The report of another day's "meet" reads thus: "The little animal took to the water and swam about until exhausted, when he was captured by the whipper-in—and carried to the kennel for the next day's sport."

A friend hands me a few verses which appeared in Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 27, 1773, in which I am glad to see that a lady protested against the unmanly sport. I send it to the Magazine in the hopes that it may be reproduced. It does not seem that with all our boasted "progress" we are any better than our forefathers.

S. L.

The death of the fox, by a female
The fox from covert unsecure
Is roused and frightened by the roar
Of hounds, a wretched ghastly gang,
That shame their masters to a man.

Over many a hill he takes his way,
Through many a thicket seems to stray;
With horrid speed the gang pursue,
With horrid yells delight the crew,
That rambling, roaring, ranting, tearing,
Kicking, spurring, cursing, swearing,
Pursue the chase with awkward speed,
In hopes to see a Reynard bleed.
The victim trembling o'er the plain,
By turns across the farmer's grain,
Extends his course with grief oppressed,
In hopes to find some place of rest;
But all in vain: The gang draws near,
And with their yells increase his fear;
Grim horror darts from every eye,
And threatens sad destruction nigh;
He faltsers, and the dogs press on,
They seize him, and the job is done,
A fox is killed by twenty men;
That fox, perhaps, had killed a hen,
A gallant act no doubt is here;
All wretched foxes ought to fear
When twenty dogs, and twenty men,
Can kill a fox, that killed a hen.

The André conspiracy—Some time ago I received a letter containing enquiries concerning the André conspiracy. The letter got mislaid and the name of the writer has escaped my memory. I would not be guilty of even the shadow of a discourtesy to a student of History whose path has thorns enough at the best. I can find no surer way than by a communication to the Magazine. My unknown correspondent will find all that is known of this subject in the Appendix to the 7th volume of Sparks' writings of Washington.

George W. Greene
East Greenwich, R. I.

Discipline of Rochambeau's army
—In his autobiography Benjamin Franklin pays a splendid tribute to the conduct of the French troops who came to
the assistance of the American States. He contrasts it with that of Braddock's army on its march.

"In their first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they (Braddock's troops) had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who, during a march thro' the most inhabited part of our Country from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the Smallest Complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.—Bigelow's Life of Franklin, written by himself, I. 327.

QUERIES

THE ESOPUS RECORDS—What has become of the records of the Court of Wiltwyck and of the Court of Kingston from 1664 to 1685? An entry in the first volume of the existing series says: "The previous 24 volumes of minutes in Dutch having been numbered A, B, C, etc., these volumes will be numbered Aa, Bb, etc. Dr. O'Callaghan quotes from the Wiltwyck records, but nobody else seems to have any recollection of them. B. Fernow

ALBANY

AMERICAN THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES DURING THE REVOLUTION—It appears from the following verses, copied many years ago from a dingy manuscript bound with a file of play-bills marked 1782-83, that theatrical performances were given during the American Revolution at Annapolis. As the Congress early in the war prohibited the drama it would be interesting to know if the first opening of the theatre was there, and is Annapolis entitled to the credit?

MINTO

Occasional Prologue, written and spoken by Mr. Heard, at the Theatre in Annapolis, the 24th of April, 1783, to the Play of the Roman Father:

Ye brave asserters of your Country's cause,
Ye gallant Champions to protect her Laws,
Children of freedom, from Oppression rais'd,
Beloved by Nations, by your foes envious'd,
Whose warlike deeds have rais'd your Country's name,
Equal at least to Greek or Roman fame;
And prov'd as Wonders, in the distant Climes,
You dar'd be virtuous in the worst of times;
Attend this night our Author's Tragic Tale,
And let the maxim in your hearts prevail,
"He who can melt at sense of Human Woes,
Will fight the better 'gainst his Country's foes."

By you encourag'd we attempt to prove
Those various passions, Honour, Duty, Love—
A Roman Maid demands the Pitying Sigh,
What tender heart can such a boon deny?

A Father, to preserve the State from shame,
Gives his own Children to the Public claim,
The humble Passions nobly he withstood,
And conquer'd Nature for his Country's good.

O, Could my poor imperfect powers impart
The Poet's language to the feeling heart,
Coul'd I such well-writ sentiments express,
And paint the Roman Patriot's distress,
Then might your Fancy judge the Author drew
A Portrait of Columbia's Father too.

When War surrounded us with dreadful rage,
The State alone indulg'd our infant Stage,
Grateful to you, our Ardour will increase
With Glorious Independence and Peace.

LOST LOCALITIES OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY—Washington, in his Order Book, under date of Oct. 24, 1782, directs:
"The tents being too cold for the accommodation of the sick, the regimental
surgeons will send no more to the flying hospital, but have such as are hospital patients sent to the huts at New Boston." Where was "New Boston?"

On the night of the 13th of May, 1781, Lieut. Colonel Greene, the hero of Red Bank, was killed at his quarters on the Croton river, near the site of the present dam, by a party of De Lancy’s corps. Paymaster Thomas Hughes, of the American army, who was in the house at the time, contrived to escape. A letter describing the action, written a few hours afterward, he dates at Rhode Island Village. Where was "Rhode Island Village?"

The remains of Greene seem to have been interred in the churchyard at Crumpond, about five miles from the scene of his death. See article, "Danforth’s House" (by Chas. A. Campbell), in Am. Hist. Record for February, 1874, page 63.

B. D.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS—Can any reader furnish me with any particulars or reference to material concerning the lives or deaths—especially the time and place of death—of any of the following Revolutionary characters?

Colonel Lewis Nicola, who addressed the famous letter to Washington urging him to become king.

Major Flagg, who was murdered by De Lancy’s corps on the Croton in May, 1781.

Colonel Elisha Sheldon, who commanded in Westchester county.

Lieut. Col. John Jameson, to whom Major André was entrusted.

Joshua Hett Smith, at whose house at Haverstraw Arnold and André met.

Lieut. King, of Sheldon’s Dragoons, spoken of by Sargent in his Life of André, as "the late General King of Ridgefield," and whose statement in regard to André is in the N. Y. Historical Magazine for October, 1857, page 293.

Lieut. Col. Francis Barber.—This officer, it is said, was killed by a tree falling upon him, while riding along the edge of a wood near Newburgh, N. Y.

In Washington’s Order Book, under date Newburgh, Feb. 12, 1783, he says: "The remains of the late Lieut. Colonel Commandant Barber will be interred to-morrow. The procession will set out at ten o’clock, a. m. from the division house, the quarters of the deceased."

Where was the "division house," and where was Lieut. Col. Barber buried?

A. M.

DUEL OF GATES AND WILKINSON—
I wish to be quite certain if the tradition that a duel was fought between General Gates and General Wilkinson is correct. Can any of your correspondents give the time and place where this affair of honor took place and the consequences?

BEACON STREET

FELLOWSHIP-CLUB OF NEWPORT, R. I.
—Have any records been preserved of the Fellowship Club that met previous to the Revolution at Capt. Lawton’s in Newport, R. I. What was the character of the Association and who were the members?

PETERSFIELD

MATCH COATS—In certain Indian Conveyances, among other considerations, "Match Coats" are sometimes
mentioned. What were "Match Coats?" It has been conjectured that "Watch Coats" were meant. How is it?

Paterson, N. J. W. N.

A CURIous ENGRAVING—I should be glad to learn the history of the following described engraving:

At the left a dais, as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting; on this elevation a man is seated, in his left hand a scroll, at his side a table, inkstand and pens, a military hat on one side; he is listening to a person at his left, who holds in his hand a paper, from which he is apparently reading; around him are several persons standing, one of whom is in military dress. In front of the presiding officer, at a table, are two persons with pens in hand. In front are five rows of elevated benches filled with auditors, several of whom have their hats on.

The engraving is finely done, in stipple, without any inscription or artist's name. Size of plate, 6¾ by 11¼.

J. COLBURN

Boston, Mass.

REPLIES

FRENCH EMIGRÉS AND NEW YORK COFFEE HOUSES—[III. 262] I presume that the following advertisement will answer the query of Fly Market as to the locality of the Coffee House honored by the presence of the famous gastronome Bénét-Savarin.

LITTLE'S HOTEL, NO. 42 BROAD STREET—is genteelly fitted up and where Boarding can be had on the best and most accommodating terms. Every person may have a separate room if required. Families travelling will find it to their comfort, as the house is roomy and airy, and in a healthy situation—and every exertion made to please by their very humble servant, Michael Little.

N. B. An ordinary every day as usual, at half-past 2 o'clock, in his great room at 4 s.—Parties accommodated with Dinners and Suppers as usual at short notice. July 20, 1802.—Commercial Advertiser, August 12, 1802. EDITOR

BURGOYNE—[V. 137, 379] The South Carolina Gazette, printed at Charleston, March 3d, 1779, contained the following: "Col. Campbell's expedition from Savannah to Augusta, with the Highlanders and Col. Brown's rangers, has proved as unfortunate as Major Gardner's to Port Royal; to escape a Burgeynade he has made a very sudden and precipitate retreat down the country."

PETERSFIELD

MOON CURSER—[V. 140, 383] Prof. Lee, in a note to his translation of the "Travels of Ibu Batuta," gives the New Zealand tradition as to the Man in the Moon. It is there stated that one Celano cursed the Moon for not giving him sufficient light, whereupon he was caught up by the Moon, together with a tree on which he had laid hold, and there he is now seen.

The Tories probably cursed the Moon for throwing unexpectedly a flood of light on their nefarious acts.

MINTO

THE BOSTON BEACON [V. 222, 377] Your correspondent is in error in his
inference that the commander-in-chief, without the consent of the owner, took possession of the deserted mansion as a convenient town headquarters.

W. K.

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN—[IV. 460, V. 142] The learned antiquary referred to by your correspondent, New York, was undoubtedly correct in his surmise in regard to this tavern sign. There is laid down on Scull’s map of Pennsylvania, 1770, a tavern on the road from Philadelphia to Easton, designated as The Ball. There was also in Philadelphia a famous tavern with the sign of the Blue Ball; it was located in Elbow Lane, near Third Street. The sign must have been a common one. Paul Mumford sold goods in Newport in 1774, at the sign of the Blue Ball; his house was opposite Samuel Carr’s ferry.

MARKET STREET

—“The Blue Bells” was at the present Washington Heights, on the east side of the old Kingsbridge road, and opposite the Bennett place, formerly Mr. Henry O’Reilly. We are told by Mr. Blasie Ryer of that vicinity that it was a long, low-roofed frame house, and was demolished many years ago. This tavern was kept during the revolution by one Wilson, an Englishman and a Tory. It was a favorite rendezvous of British officers, who there once concocted a night job for the capture of Washington, discovered, however, in time to save him by a Scotch servant girl of the house by the name of Douglas. She let out the secret to a good patriot woman, Mrs. Bauer, living across the street—our informant’s grandmother—who contrived to send word to the General by her little Christine to keep out of the way that night. Another of these revolutionary Old Ward tavern-stands was the old “Cross-Keys,” with two keys crossing each other on its sign. It is a long, one-story stone house, still standing on the same road, now Broadway, and just beyond the Carmanville street northward. It is the only survivor of its local class, and a landmark.

At Kingsbridge, the old Macomb mansion, for many years part of the beautiful residence of Mr. Joseph Godwin, was always reported by the ancients as a tavern-stand during the old war. One of its upper rooms used to be pointed to by Mrs. Robert Macomb as once a lodging chamber of General Washington. We have been informed by the venerable Dr. E. N. Bibby of Van Cortlandt Manor that this old estate, at the close of the war of Independence, belonged to the heirs of Metcalf Eden, and was purchased by Alexander Macomb.

W. H.

AN AUTHOR WANTED—[V. 376] In the November number, 1880, of the Magazine of American History, p. 376, H. E. H. wishes to know the author of “Poems, by the author of Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse,” Boston, 1827. This anonymous work was written by Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, who acknowledges its authorship in the account of her writings in her “Letters of Life,” New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1866, p. 329. THORVALD SOLBERG

Library of Congress.
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

The town authorities of Cambridge, Massachusetts, have set three memorial stones, weighing more than a ton each, to mark historical events which have occurred within its limits. They are thus inscribed: Site of the residence of Thomas Dudley, A. D. 1630, founder of Cambridge, and Governor of Massachusetts. Site where four citizens were killed by British Soldiers retreating from Lexington, April 16th, 1775. Site of the house which was the headquarters of General Putnam in 1775.

The Historical Society of St. John, New Brunswick, at its last annual meeting, Nov. 25th, 1880, proposed to commemorate, in 1883, the centennial of the landing of the Loyalists at Parrtown and Carleton, now in the city limits of St. John. The plan includes the erection of a Memorial Hall in the old burial ground, in which lie the remains of Gabriel G. Ludlow, of New York, first Mayor of St. John; of William Wanton, a son of General Wanton of Rhode Island, and others of historic name.

Father Hennepin’s Description of Louisiana, translated by our distinguished scholar, Dr. John Gilmary Shea, has made a timely appearance; last year being the bi-centennial of the Jesuit Father’s exploration of the Upper Mississippi and discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. This is the first translation of Hennepin’s description. In a preliminary paper, Dr. Shea examines the authenticity of the document, and the charge of plagiarism brought against it. He enters the lists against all comers from La Salle himself down to M. Margry, the recent editor of Les Découvertes des Français dans l’Amérique Septentrionale.

Mr. William Kelby, assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, is still engaged upon his work, Inscriptions on the tomb stones in Trinity churchyard, New York, and desires information from the descendants of those there buried.

A society was formed at Rio de Janeiro on the 28th September, 1880, which will have its name in history. It is called Sociedade Braziléira contra a Escravidão (Brazilian Anti Slavery Society). Its manifesto of purposes has been printed in English and French and widely circulated. While specific in its condemnation of the institution and in protest against unnecessary delay, the Society proposes no instant change. A congress of abolitionists is called for the month of August, 1881.

At the December meeting of the New York Historical Society, John Albee of Newcastle, N. H., read an interesting paper on “New England Town Government.” Mr. B. F. de Costa, in a few remarks at the close, noticed the fact that Charlestown, Mass., his native town, was the first organized on this continent. Mr. Edward F. De Lancey in turn requested the audience to take notice that both gentlemen had omitted one important fact, viz.: that the Puritans learned, during their residence in Holland, the system of town government. In conversation after adjournment, Mr. George
W. W. Houghton called attention to the abundant material not yet examined in London and its vicinity, the great bulk of which relates to the history of New York. He also noticed the striking fact that while nearly every New England town has already published its early records, or is at present engaged in this laudable work, those of the great city of New York, which include three periods of nationality, are perishing in the City Hall, and hoped the Society would take steps towards their publication.

In 1781 the Congress passed a resolution to erect at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and Louis XVI, King of France. No steps were taken to carry the resolution into effect until the last session of Congress, when the sum of $100,000 was voted for the purpose, $20,000 to defray the expenses of a centennial celebration; and a joint commission of the two houses appointed to select a site and superintend the expenditure. We trust that whatever may be the site selected, the column will be visible from the sea.

From the President's message we extract the following passage, which, we are glad to believe, is not an exaggerated picture of our national prosperity:

"It is believed that the present financial situation of the United States, whether considered with respect to trade, currency, credit, growing wealth, or the extent and variety of our resources, is more favorable than that of any other country of our time, and has never been surpassed by that of any country at any period of its history."

We notice by the public prints that the chairman of the Cowpens Centennial Committee, in South Carolina, has received the following letter from Alexander Hamilton, of New York. "At last I have procured the consensus of the Cincinnati Societies and the Governor of the Middle States to the inscription on the panel for those States:

1781
ONE PEOPLE.
NO NORTH, NO SOUTH,
NO EAST, NO WEST.
A COMMON INTEREST,
ONE COUNTRY—ONE DESTINY.
1881
AS IT WAS, SO EVER LET IT BE."

This is an odd inscription. Nothing is more clearly established than the ill-feeling entertained during the revolution between the army officers from the South and East; of course there was no West until the beginning of this century. The United States has never from its beginning been so thoroughly united as it is to-day. But it is after a century of disagreement and of strife. Not "as it was," but as it is, so ever let it be.

Attention is called to the fact that New York has furnished seven Vice-Presidents to the general government, and it is suggested that as Virginia is the mother of Presidents, so New York should be dubbed the father of Vice-Presidents.

A curious letter in the Sun of New York, November 30th, 1880, under the signature of Wm. Henry Burr, of Wash-
ington, D. C., with the title "Was Tom Paine Junius?" enters quite at length into this novel claim. A comparison of the letters of Crisis published in England and America supplies the slight foundation on which this ingenious hypothesis is based.

On the 22d November, a granite statue of General Hamilton, presented to the city of New York by his son, John C. Hamilton, was unveiled in Central Park with appropriate ceremonies. The address of the occasion was delivered by Chauncey M. Depew. This presentation by an individual has given rise to severe comment upon the want of public spirit among our citizens; in our opinion, wholly unjust and uncalled for. It has not been the habit of the city to erect statues to individuals, and many believe the practice undesirable in a republic. But it must not be forgotten that the citizens of New York, twice signified their appreciation of the services of their great townsman, once in having painted the famous full length portrait by Trumbull, now in the hall of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and again in the lifelike and beautiful statue executed by Ball Hughes, unfortunately destroyed with the Merchant's Exchange in the great fire of 1835. At his death, Hamilton received a public funeral. There is a bust and memorial tablet to him in Trinity Church; a monument over his grave; and streets, squares, and ferries of the city bear the name of one whom it delighted to honor.

The death is noticed of Mrs. Judith Stevenson at Chester, N. H. She was born October 30th, 1796. Her father, Captain Benjamin True, was a revolutionary soldier, and did guard duty at the execution of André. Her grandfather served in the French and Indian War; her husband in the war of 1812, for which she received a pension; her son William, and her grandson Moses P. Stevenson, in the war of the Rebellion.

The movement begun last year by the Chamber of Commerce to erect a monument on the corner of the Sub Treasury building in New York, to mark the site where Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States, has taken definite shape. On the motion of Mr. S. B. Chittenden, the House of Representatives passed a bill 7th December last, granting permission to the Chamber to put up the monument at its own expense; the design, however, to receive the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the monument to be forever under the exclusive control of the United States.

Various plans have been talked of; among others a group of the personages present on the occasion. We trust that the monument will be to Washington only.

The Harvard Register will change its form with the January number, if sufficient subscriptions be received, otherwise it will be discontinued. Its editor, Mr. Moses King, proposes to issue it as a monthly, at $3.00 a year, and invites subscriptions. It is warmly commended by President Eliot to the patronage of the Alumni of Harvard.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF VERRAZANO


The next publication on this subject was of a character adverse to the Voyage of Verrazano, and but for its publication little of what followed would have appeared. This was "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of documents concerning a discovery in North America," claimed to have been made by Verrazano, read before the New York Historical Society, Tuesday, October 4th, 1864, by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1864, p. 31, with a section of the Globe of Veipus. This pamphlet included a translation of the Carli Letter. The Inquiry was reviewed by its author in "The Historical Magazine," Vol. IX. p. 169, under the head of "Verrazano as a Discoverer." In Vol. X. p. 299, he also gave some notes on the Map. Dr. Kohl, in Vol. I. p. 249, 2d series, of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 1869, has an account of the Voyage. See, also, Stevens' Historical and Geographical Notes," 1869, p. 36; followed by "The Northmen in Maine," by B. F. De Costa; Albany, 1870, pp. 149. Afterwards attention was directed to the subject by President Daly, of the American Geographical Society, in a letter to Mr. Thos. E. Davis, at Rome, published in the Bulletin of the Society, 1871, p. 80. This letter secured a photographic copy of the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, which Mr. Brevoort used. Then appeared "Verrazano, the Navigator, or Notes on Giovanni da Verrazano, and on a plenisphere of 1529, illustrating his American Voyage in 1524, with a reduced copy of the Map. A paper read before the American Geographical Society of New York, by J. C. Brevoort, a member of the Society." New York, 1874, 8vo, pp. 159. This was favorably noticed by F. H. Norton, in the New York Commercial Advertiser, 1875. Next appeared, in opposition to the Voyage, and to the paper of Mr. Brevoort, "The Voyage of Verrazzano; A Chapter in the Early History of Maritime Discovery in America," by Henry C. Murphy. New York, 1875, 8vo, pp. 198. 4. The Nation, January 27th, contained a notice of this work; and the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for January, 1876, contained a favorable notice, which called out from B. F. De Costa "Verrazano; A Motion for the Stay of Judgment." New York, 1876, pp. 16; this being a reprint from the "Charlestown Advertiser." The "Nation," of New York, Dec. 7, 1876, contained a favorable notice of the "Motion." The "Revue Critique," Paris, January, 1876, contained copies of two powers of attorney, of importance

Notices of the Voyage of Verrazano may be found also in Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, and in such works as Brodhead's History of New York, the Gay-Bryant History of the United States, Miss Booth's History of New York, and Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's History of New York. Verrazano is also mentioned in the principal school histories. The long list of works already given, however, embraces nearly everything of a critical character that has come to the notice of the writer, and may perhaps serve every purpose of the investigator.

B. F. DE COSTA
HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.


Mr. Green stands by common consent at the head of English historians. His method is novel, his standpoint of observation of his own selection. Recognizing that the history of all nations, which have really made any progress in the science of government, is that of resistance to prerogative and privilege, and of the assertion of popular rights by the people, he holds fast to this central idea in the course of his narrative, and to it subordinates all side issues, illustrations, disquisitions and dissertations. The story of dynasties and monarchs interests him only so far as it relates to the aid they have given, or the obstacles they have opposed to the general current of popular development.

The present volume treats of the English Revolution, 1683 to 1700, and of modern England, 1760 to 1815, a period of intense interest to American readers. Modern England or, as it may in the true sense be called, the British Empire, dates from the Seven Years' War. Mr. Green claims that three of its victories determined for ages the destinies of mankind. Germany revived at Rossbach, Europe implanted her influence on the East at Plassey, and the predominance of the English race on the American continent was determined on the plains of Abraham. In the triumph of Wolfe at Quebec, Pitt laid the foundation of the great republic of the West. England rose as by magic from a European to a world-wide power, and to use the words of Mr. Green, "claiming as her own the empire of the seas, Britain suddenly towered high above nations whose position in a single continent doomed them to comparative insignificance in the after history of the world." Thus in this exaggerated strain the outside world will detect more of English sufficiency than historic truth. Burke held the same views, and claimed for Britain an "imperial character," extending its sovereignty "to the farthest limits of the east and the west." But in the very paragraphs which invite us to this view of England's greatness, the true reason for her failure to maintain this supremacy, not only through countless ages, but for the limit of a single generation, is clearly stated, though the far-reaching bearing of the statement is not grasped. Its people, steeped in the commercial ideas of the time, saw in the growth of such a dominion, the monopoly of whose trade was reserved to the mother country, a source of boundless wealth. To secure this monopoly, she began by oppressing her own colonies, and ended in setting herself against the spirit of the age, arraying herself against human progress and human rights. Fox alone of British statesmen seems to have comprehended the revolution, from which her island isolation exempted England, and to have foreseen the future of Europe and of mankind.

The ruling classes in England were narrow-minded and selfish. In their view she could only become powerful by the suppression or ruin of her neighbors. War, continental war was the only possible result of such a policy. Wherever the interest of England was menaced, there, whether on the side of right or wrong, England was ready to throw her purse into the scale, and a heavy weight it made in the balance. True the necessities of war called out every latent energy, stimulated her intellectual activity and enormously developed her industrial resources, but the agricultural interests of the country were neglected, and the race itself changed. Long before the close of the continental struggle the British yeoman had disappeared as a class from British soil, and with the growth of the manufacturing towns and the aggregation of land by a handful of proprietors, the scornful epithet of Napoleon, that England was but a nation of shopkeepers, was fully justified. The wooden bul-warks of her ships, the fighting qualities of her seamen, not volunteers, but mercilessly snatched by press gangs wherever found, preserved her soil from the revolutionary armies, and her institutions from the invasion of revolutionary ideas. In their contempt for races other than their own, for every foreign habit and every foreign tongue, the body of the people knew nothing of the real meaning of the uprising of 1789. Twice since then the governing classes in periods of great industrial depression have trembled as the lower stratum of society threatened a general upheaval; but a continuous flow of emigration of her surplus population has saved her, as it has saved the Continental nations, from a social revolution.

In the United States of America Mr. Green recognizes the main branch of the English people, and he avows his faith that in spirit this English people on both sides of the Atlantic are one. But this is not sound judgment. Though the English language, modified by the thousand changes, elisions, and additions, which circumstances compel, will surely remain the speech of this vast land, yet it is not safe to assume that English characteristics will long prevail. The American people is already a composite race, with marked features of its own. Already its habits and customs are being modified with remarkable rapidity. To the individual American,
the Englishman is as much a foreigner in his manners, his habits of thought, his mode of life, as the man of any race on the Continent. This does not spring alone from alienation of feeling, but from the cosmopolitan nature of our population, and the independence of thought, which is the inevitable concomitant of conscious power and national pride. That a British power will grow up in Australasia more homogeneous in feeling with the mother country is probable, but the pride of England in the rapid growth of that magnificent colony may well be damped by the reflection that in the diversion of the emigration, which would otherwise have sought the shores of America, she has irrevocably parted with the influence which growth from her seed would have had upon the American race. In the centuries that lie before us "primal of the world" will be with the American, and not with the English people.

While there is much that is novel in the opinions and reasoning, as well as in the method, of Mr. Green in his treatment of the Whig administration which governed or misgoverned England from the revolution of 1688 to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, his argument is well sustained and the gradual but snail-like advance of the English people toward popular sovereignty is clearly pointed out. The organic change which has taken place in the English government in this century was the outcome of the failure of George III. to establish personal sovereignty, precisely as the freedom of France is the result of the failure of the third Napoleon to fasten upon her "le pouvoir personnel." And the analogy may be carried further. The failure in each case was caused by defeat in war undertaken to consolidate the power and enlarge the prerogative of the throne. That the aristocratic monarchy of England has already been converted into a "democratic republic, ruled under monarchical forms," will hardly be accepted as absolutely true. The word "democratic" ill applies either to the people or the institutions of England. As has been observed, the breath of 1789, blasting privilege and destroying caste, never crossed the British Channel. Democracy and caste are inconsistent with each other. In the relation between man and man England is more aristocratic than Spain, or Austria, or Italy, or Russia even. Only in military Prussia is there to be found an equivalent for English morgue and assumption—individual as well as national.

Of American affairs, and their relation to British politics, Mr. Green has a correct general appreciation, but a want of knowledge of details. He does not seem to be aware of the number of troops raised by the colonies during the wars with France, of the martial spirit of their population, or that it was in that long struggle they learned their power. Nor yet is he correct in his estimate of Washington's influence at the outbreak of the revolution, which he greatly underrates. Washington was already a conspicuous figure. Even when he passed through New York on his way to Cambridge camp the newspapers of the day styled him "the most important personage on the American Continent." Again, few will admit the truth of his statement, that it was Napoleon who in 1812 forced the United States to declare war against Great Britain. It was the long-contained hatred of our people of the insolent assumptions of England which broke out at the first convenient season. It was the right of search and the impression of seamen from American vessels, which exasperated America. The fight was for the honor of the flag. But the most patriotic American will find no word to blame in this delightful volume. If he do not accept all its statements, or concur in all its conclusions, he will acknowledge at least that in feeling he is in accord with the author. He will thank him for his manly denunciation of the shameful act of the British Government in ordering the destruction of the national capital, and he will remember with affectionate gratitude his glowing tribute to Washington, a gem of personal characterization and glowing phrase. To him Washington is dear as a type of the manhood of the English race; to us as the conscious founder of American nationality.

THE READER'S HAND-BOOK OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1761-1783. By
JUSTIN WINSOR, Librarian of Harvard Univer-
sity. 16mo, pp. 328. The Riverside Press.
HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1880.

In the long list of historical publications with which the American press has teemed since the beginning of the Centennial days, none has appeared of greater value than this admirably arranged guide to the most important period in our annals, that which began with the resistance of the colonies to the oppressive acts of Parliament, and closed with the definitive treaty of peace. Words fail us to express our own personal sense of obligation to the industrious, intelligent and skillful scholar, who conceived and carried forward the laborious task. To complete it cannot be said, for in such a work completeness is impossible, and here again the author is most worthy of praise. To undertake a labor, which by its nature is endless, is praise-worthy; to have the courage to send the sheets to press, while every day adds to the information to be imparted, may almost be termed literary heroism.

A modest preface distinctly states the purpose and the limitation of the work. "It is like a continuous foot-note to all the histories of the
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American revolution. It points out sources, but it includes also the second-hand authorities, though not all of them. Its references are made because for some reason they are significant above others, though perhaps in minor details, and sometimes simply because of their greater accessibility. Any one disposed to follow its guidance, will find that, with the common books at his command, the course of events can be understood, while with the larger resources of our greater public libraries within reach he can compass the subject more thoroughly. The special student will, however, find here his starting point. The ordinary reader can survey the field and follow as many paths as he likes."

The arrangement is chronological, with subject divisions. A brief analysis indicates the particular branch and the names of the histories or parts of histories; articles and disquisitions inform the reader where he can find all of importance that has appeared in print upon each. For instance, the student engaged upon the "Events of 1781" will find the chapter thus arranged: Meeting of the Pennsylvania Line, Jan., 1781; Political Aspects, 1781; Finances; Greene's Campaigns in General, 1780-1782; the British in Virginia, January — May, 1781; Cowpens, January 17, 1781; Cornwallis and Greene; Guilford, March 15, 1781; Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, 1781; Ninety-six, May — June, 1781; Eutaw, September 8, 1781; End of Southern Campaigns; Cornwallis in Virginia, May, 1781; the Allies in Virginia, 1781; Arnold in Connecticut, September, 1781; Off the Capes of Chesapeake, September, 1781; Siege of Yorktown, September — O.tober, 1781. Under each of these subdivisions reference is given to the volume and page of every writer on each, a list of the maps which illustrate them, and a word as to their comparative value.

None can better appreciate the thoroughness of the work than the editor of an historical publication. To him, indeed, it is invaluable as a guide to be ever at the elbow—a table companion at home and a vade mecum when libraries are visited for consultation. But Mr. Winsor must not consider his work as complete; every year he should publish a supplement, with additional references to the new volumes and articles, which are rapidly appearing, maintaining the same titles, divisions and subdivisions. He will then earn a fresh title to gratitude.

He promises, "if the system of this handbook prove practically useful, to follow this initial volume with others, covering themes of History, Biography, Travel, Philosophy, Science, Literature and Art." That the system has proved practically useful he may rest assured, and we heartily hope he will find encouragement to go on with the work on the very plan he has laid down, but we repeat that, while extending his range of subjects, he should not abandon his first muse, nor forget to pour out an annual libation at Clio's shrine.

BRITISH THOUGHT AND THINKERS;

The purpose of this volume is to suggest rather than to instruct; to direct the thought of the reader rather than to present conclusions for his acceptance. The origins of English thought are sought far back in what the author terms the medieval anticipation of the modern English mind, and traced from the influences of the schoolmen to the grand revival of learning in all its branches in the sixteenth century, which seemed indeed like the new birth of the Phoenix from the ashes of a ruined civilization. Naturally enough, the name of Shakespeare stands first in the select group of those who have moulded English thought, yet until this century, his influence upon thinkers can not be said to have at all compared with that of Bacon in the rational, or of Locke in the speculative domain. The chapters on John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer bring down the line to our own days. With regard to Bacon, we are at issue with Mr. Morris, who looks upon him as little more than a missionary, a preacher, a scientific protestant. Lord Campbell's opinion that he it was who first systematically showed the true object of philosophical enquiry and the true means by which that object may be attained, will nevertheless stand as the best estimate of his rank among philosophers of the modern era.


The first edition of Father Jenkins' handbook appeared in 1876 as a manual for the more advanced classes in our schools and colleges. Compiled for students of the Roman Catholic religion, "care has been taken," to use the words of the editor, to "point out the works that are hostile to their faith or morals." Complaint is made that Catholic authors are generally ignored by Protestant text-books of literature, and if the complaint be just, surely fault will not be found by even the most rigid Protestant with any effort to vindicate the claim of Catholic writers to their place among the teachers of the world. The
additions in the present edition consist chiefly in sketches of the lives of authors.

American literature in its colonial and revolutionary periods, and in the present century, is fully represented. In his remarks upon the character of contemporary literature the author holds that while American literature has assumed vast proportions, it has not yet reached the tone or dignity of a national literature. He acknowledges the respectability of Poe, Bryant and Longfellow in poetry, of Prescott, Irving and Bancroft in history, of Cooper and Hawthorne in fiction. Others he damnns with still fainter phrase. We take issue with this assertion. American literature is quite as national as it is possible for a literature to be; national in its emancipation from foreign prejudice, national in its independence of judgment. The tendency of the time is too critical to admit of the massive works which were the delight of our ancestors. Narrower fields are chosen and studied with more attention to minuteness and detail. The age is not heroic, and an epic can not well be expected of it, but in intellectual activity covering every field of original investigation, it can safely challenge comparison with any that has preceded it since the dispersion of knowledge with the cataclysm of the Roman Empire.

FOUR CENTURIES OF ENGLISH LETTERS. Selections from the correspondence of one hundred and fifty writers, from the period of the Paston Letters to the present day. Edited and arranged by W. Baptiste Scoones. 12mo, pp. 573. Harper Bros. New York, 1880.

This is a welcome volume. There is no branch of literature more fascinating than the epistolary; none which is of more value to the historical student—not the strained efforts of sage, questioning or answering his brother sage, but frank, natural correspondence, familiar or friendly. The scanty plot of ground, as the author modestly terms this extended selection, is planted with the gleanings from five hundred volumes of epistolary lore. Literary excellence has been the standard of admission to the collection. The quality of English letters, we use the word in its limited sense, is, as the author justly says, unsurpassed. For variety, by implication, he allows an equality, if not superiority, to France. The arrangement is chronological, according to the date of each author's birth; certainly the best that could have been made.

The division is by sections: First, (1450 to 1600); Second, (1600–1700); Third, (1800–). It is useless to attempt to give any further idea of the contents of this delightful book in which all tastes may find something to their gratification.


This volume is composed of three historical monographs, read before the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, in 1874, 1875, and 1876. Mr. Rider is doing an excellent work for the cause not only of Rhode Island history but of American history in general by his excellent publications.

The central figures in the story of the Wampatans are Massasoit, the early friend of the Plymouth settlement, and his son, Pometacom or King Philip, the leader of his race in the most formidable effort, until that of Pontiac, to check the progress of European civilization on this continent.

The first knowledge of Indians in this section comes from Verrazano, who discovered Rock Island and the entire Narragansett Bay in 1524. Mr. Miller opens his papers with an account of this visit, and passes to an interesting account of the then recent rediscovery of the inscribed rock on the west shore of Mount Hope Bay. The story of Massasoit from the time of his first visit to the English in 1621, when with diplomatic sagacity he concluded a treaty with them by which he secured their alliance with their formidable firearms against his rival Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansetts, until his death in 1621, forms the first paper. The second paper unfolds the changed relation of the two races to each other. As the colonists acquired strength and the desire for the possession of land increased, the forbearance which marked the early intercourse of the pilgrims with the natives was forgotten, and the Indians, demoralized by their intercourse with the whites, were not the quiet, simple natives whom Massasoit had held in control. War was the natural consequence, and it opened in a terrible form in the raid of King Philip's Indians on the Swansea settlement in 1675. The third paper describes King Philip's war, and closes with the tragic scene of his death, and its attendant atrocities. His head was exposed for many years at Plymouth on the top of a pole. His wife and son were captured, and their fate being left to the decision of the clergy they were, by desire of the majority, shipped to the West Indies and sold into slavery.

CINCINNATI'S BEGINNINGS. By Francis W. Miller. 8vo, pp. 325. Peter G. Thomson. Cincinnati, 1880.

This is the story of the birth and youth of the Queen of the West, a title borne long and proudly
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by Cincinnati until a rival sprung up in the more dashing, enterprising Chicago, whose ambition nothing less will satisfy than to out-Paris Paris herself in street splendor. One would have to go far back in the history of the American colonies to seek the first covetousness of French and English for exclusive domain over the beautiful and fertile valley of the Ohio. Fortunate for the American people, indeed, for the world at large as well as for herself, was the period of the initial settlement of the territory. The cotton gin had not as yet converted slavery into a national institution. The men who made the declaration of independence recognized its inconsistency with that instrument, and Congress, in the ordinance of 1787, dedicated the vast region out of which Ohio was first carved to perpetual freedom.

In July, 1788, John Cleves Symmes having concluded negotiations with the Commissioner of the United States Treasury, set out from New Jersey for the west with a retinue of fourteen four-horse wagons and sixty persons, and moved through Pittsburg and Wheeling to the Miami country, which he reached in October. The beginnings of Cincinnati were in October, 1803. Its original name was Losantiville, which was changed to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair, in 1790, which singularly justifies the old pronunciation of the name familiar to the ears of the passing generation. All of these matters are treated in detail by Mr. Miller, and an extensive appendix supplies a variety of letters and extracts from letters upon topics of general interest relative to the Miami country, dating from 1789 to 1790. The careful historical student will be abundantly repaid by a perusal of this volume.

MEMORIAL RECORD OF THE FATHERS OF WISCONSIN; Containing sketches of the lives and careers of the members of the constitutional conventions of 1846 and 1847-8, with a history of the early settlement in Wisconsin. Prepared by H. A. Tenney and David Atwood. 16mo, pp. 400. David Atwood. Madison, Wis., 1880.

This is a collection of biographical sketches—a work, as the authors term it, of composite order. The material supplied has been printed essentially as it was received, and consequently is of varied excellence. The purpose of the record is to present all accessible information concerning the pioneers of the now thriving state. Wisconsin was created a separate territory July 4, 1836. A preliminary chapter gives the history of its settlement, the routes of early immigration, and of the preliminaries to the formation of a state government. The biographical sketches, alphabetically arranged, concern, first, the members of the constitutional convention of 1846; secondly, that of 1847-8. A supplement includes the constitutions adopted by each convention, and the volume concludes with papers on the early history of Wisconsin by George B. Smith, a member of the first convention, and on the early pioneers, by Peter Parkinson, Jr. The work deserves a place on the shelves of every historical and reference library. There is a general index and a list of the members of the conventions.


This is the official account of the proceedings held at the Bennington centennial celebration, in which the President of the United States and numerous high officials and representative men took appropriate parts. Mr. Daniel Roberts was the orator on the first or Vermont day.

Bennington was the first of the one hundred and thirty New Hampshire grants, and is justly termed the cradle of the state. The history of the struggle of the Vermonters for independence against the claim of New York to jurisdiction over the land is a curious one. On the part of New York it dated back to the year 1764, when an order from the King in Council declared the west bank of the Connecticut river to be the boundary line between the two provinces of New Hampshire and New York. The heat of the controversy was not diminished by the necessity of opposing a foreign enemy, and the people of the Grants held a somewhat wavering attitude during the greater part of the struggle, acted more apparently by regard for their own interests than a consideration for the common weal. True the hardy mountaineers engaged eagerly in the surprise of Ticonderoga, and fought bravely at Bennington in defence of their hearthstones, but the Grants as a political organization rendered little effective service beyond the defence of their own frontiers. Indeed it was at the crisis of the northern campaign, in the mid-summer of 1777, when Burgoyne had seized the keys of the frontier and was in full march for the line of the Hudson that the convention in the same instrument protested against the oppressions of New York and the oppressed of Great Britain, and constituted themselves an independent State, a political organization that was not recognized until 1791, fourteen years later, when she was admitted as an equal member of the Federal Union. But while the patriotic student of history will find little to praise in the manner of this declaration of independence, none can review the record of one hundred years of the existence of the State, without admiration for the noble attributes of inde-
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ERASTUS C. BENEDICT,
Chancellor of the University of the State of New York.
Read before the New York Historical Society,
December 7, 1860

Erastus C. Benedict, for nearly forty years a
member of this Society, for over thirty-seven
years an active member of its Executive Com-
mittee, filling at times the offices of its Secretary
and Chairman, serving the Society during part of
that period as second and then as first Vice-Presi-
dent, and at the close of his life its Foreign Cor-
responding Secretary, died on the 22d of October
last at the age of eighty.

We cannot part from one who has been thus
long and closely associated with this Society,
identified with its progress, devoted to its inter-
ests, and intimate with its members, without
placing our mourning tribute on his freshly
heaped grave, without speaking that word of ap-
preciation of his worth and of his self-denying
works in the cause of education and charity that
such a life and character as his demands.

We shall miss from these, his accustomed
haunts, his genial face, his pleasant smile, his
courteous manner, his persuasive words, his wise
suggestions, his uniting energy.

His ear, indeed, cannot hear, nor can his
heart respond to our words of loving apprecia-
tion; but we owe it to ourselves to show that we
recognize and honor high and noble qualities,
and to so use the legacy that he has left of his
good name as to draw others on to like lives of
usefulness and self-consecration.

Mr. Benedict was born in Branford, Connecti-
cut, on the 19th of March, 1800. His father
was then a practising lawyer, but about that time
decided to enter the Presbyterian ministry, and
presided his first sermon January 15, 1824, and
then moving to this State was settled consecu-
tively in New Windsor, Orange County, in
Franklin, Delaware County, and about 1815 in
Chatham, Columbia County. He was a man of
remarkable eloquence, drawing large crowds,
and moving them by his addresses with won-
erful power. His wife, the mother of Erastus,
was eminent during her long life of ninety years
for her earnest and practical Christian spirit, the
brightness and activity of her intellect, the vi-
cacity of her disposition.

Mr. Erastus Benedict was the seventh in de-
scent from the first settlers of the family in Amer-
ica, who landed in Massachusetts Bay in 1638,
and moved thence to Connecticut and Long
Island, and, after filling many important posts in
the several towns where he resided, died full of
honors, as well as of years, at the age of seventy-
three, his wife surviving him and living to the
age of one hundred, and imparting to her grand-
son the incidents of their early life, which were
recorded by him in 1755, and have thus been
preserved and transmitted.

Of the six ancestors of Mr. Benedict in the
direct line, the first four were deacons in their
respective churches, a position, in those primi-
tive days of sparse settlements, of far more ec-
clesiastical importance than at present; and the
last two, his grandfather and father, were or-
dained ministers, and all of them lived to good
old age, the youngest dying at sixty-one.

It was with this inheritance of virtue and re-
ligion, this hereditary disposition towards the
right and the good, as well as under the direct
spiritual influence of his pious parents, that he
began his life journey.

I know there is a popular sentiment that the
children of religious parents are more apt than
others to go astray and become atheists or profi-
gates, and that this is especially so with the sons
of clergymen. It is a fallacy, a gross and un-
founded perversion of the truth. It is contrary
to reason, to revelation, to fact. Those who
recognize as the natural sequence of events that
the children of Mahomedans should become Ma-
 Homerans, and of Buddhists Buddhists, that the
children of Romanist or Protestant parents
should follow the religion of their fathers, yet
ridicule the belief that the religion thus ingrained
with the earliest thoughts and moulded into the
young formative life can be a vitalizing power to
control and regulate the being. Experience
shows that it is. That the child, with the exa-
ample of true faith and an humble walk daily be-
fore him, is the most apt to adopt these as his
patterns, and to strive to emulate them. The
membership of our churches, our theological
seminaries, our pulpits, derive their largest, most
constant, and most reliable supply from this
source of the religious household and the influ-
ence of the home family circle. And while
there are doubtless striking exceptions which at-
tract attention, and by their noticeable character
have given currency to the fallacy; while there
may be found an Aaron Burr descendant of Jon-
than Edwards, yet it would be as absurd to at-
tribute to the religion of the parent the atheism
or profligacy of the child as to argue that because
John Newton came to the ministry from the deck
of a slave ship that slave ships would form the
best school for furnishing ministers of the Gos-
pel. If there be any truth or power in the idea
of heredity, let us claim and have the benefit of
it for Christianity also, and not allow all its power
and its logic to be used exclusively against it.

The young lad grew up in his country home
with these surroundings and under these influ-
ences, and at the early age of sixteen was al-
ready a teacher taking charge of a common dis-
trict school, beginning, where wise beginning
only can be made, at the foundation, and ac-
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inquiring thus the knowledge and experience of the wants of children and the duties of teachers and of the scope of a system of education for the people which qualified him for his subsequent useful labors and exalted position in connection with the cause of education in this State. At eighteen he entered the Sophomore Class of Williams College, graduating in 1821. He became then principal of an academy at Jamestown, and subsequently of one at Newburgh; and then for a year was a tutor at Williams College, where he had under his instruction Mark Hopkins, since President of that institution, whose fame as an educator of youth and an eloquent upholder of the truths of revealed religion, as well as a profound metaphysician, stands without a superior, almost without a peer, among the men of this generation.

Since 1855 he has been one of the Trustees of his Alma Mater. He was chosen a School Trustee in 1842 when the common school system was extended to the city of New York, and he served faithfully in that capacity until 1850, when he became a member of the Board of Education, and was its President for several years until 1863, when he resigned. In 1855 he was elected one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and in 1878 was made its Chancellor—the highest position within the State in connection with education—and that position he held at the time of his death.

He came to the quarter-deck, but it was by the way of the forecastle, not through the cabin windows. He passed through each gradation from scholar and teacher in a country district school to Chancellor of the Regents of the University. He was thoroughly qualified, not by mere theory, but by personal insight and practical observation, to organize well and wisely this beneficent system which brings within the reach of all, even the poorest and humblest, the blessings of education.

Who can rightly weigh or measure the importance of this system in a land of republican institutions? To any people knowledge is happiness and wealth and power. It exercises the intellect, it brings men into association with books, and to him friends that never fail nor weary; it supplies to him the choicest thoughts of the wisest of all generations; it teaches him all that men everywhere can teach; it trains his powers of thought and expression to give him command over his fellows. These blessings it brings to all. But when each citizen is a sovereign, and by his vote has equal weight with the best and most learned in determining our course and policy, then it is patriotism to make each vote wise and intelligent, and the man who does most to achieve that end deserves well of his country. There is no man in our whole land, throughout its length and breadth, who during the past forty years has done more for that great patriotic end than Mr. Benedict.

He had the State of New York and the city of New York for his fields of labor—the Empire State and the Metropolitan City. He saw the system of common schools extended to this city and became one of the first trustees upon whom devolved the inauguration and establishment of this system here. And as we see the great and successful results that have been attained, that the schools under the charge of the Board of Education now number 306, where nearly 300,000 pupils are annually taught, requiring the services of 3,000 teachers, and involving the annual expenditure of $3,800,000; and observe that, from among his companions in that early work, he has been selected to rise through all successive gradations of office to the highest—we can realize how much of that result can with just discrimination be attributed to his talents and his efforts.

When in 1827 Samuel R. Betts was appointed United States District Judge for this Southern District of New York, Mr. Frederick J. Betts became clerk of that Court, and Mr. Benedict, who had been his classmate in college and had been admitted to the Bar in 1824, took the position of deputy clerk, which he retained for about two years.

This circumstance directed his attention to the Admiralty Law and practice—and in that department he achieved a marked success and a well merited eminence.

During nearly five hundred years there was a fierce conflict between the advocates of the Common Law and of the Admiralty, in the effort to restrict the jurisdiction of the latter.

Probably no contest in reference to any judicial question was ever more earnestly and nobly conducted both in England and America. It has resulted in the establishment of Admiralty jurisdiction in both countries on a broad, firm basis. In this contest, during the last half century, Mr. Benedict has borne a most prominent part. He recognized the Admiralty, with its foundation laid in the wise liberal maxims of the Civil Law, as embodying the summary of human wisdom, and as best calculated to regulate the contracts and to redress the wrongs incident to the business of a commercial and maritime nation. He labored with affectionate zeal to enlarge the powers and confirm the authority of the Admiralty Courts. And he saw, what it is granted to so few to see, his labors crowned with success and the end achieved.

All professional men need some side occupation as a relief from the mental tension of their regular daily labor. Few choose in that respect so wisely as Mr. Benedict. He found in literature and in promoting the cause of education, that restful amusement of the mind that enabled him
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to bear the severe strain of his legal work. He wrote with great facility, and writing was a pleasure. He enjoyed the exercise of this creative faculty without regard to whether the product was to see the light or not. He wrote voluminously although he published comparatively few of his productions. To his profession he gave a valuable treatise on American Admiralty.

He described his trip through Europe in an easy narrative style, that interested all readers and required six editions to meet the popular demand.

With ripe scholarship and deep Christian feeling he selected and translated the choicest hymns of the middle ages, bringing within the reach of all those noble expressions of devotion and piety. How well these three leading efforts of his pen illustrate the many-sided, benevolent character of the man; recognizing his obligation to his profession, seeking to convey instructive pleasure to the masses, and opening to all a rich mine of religious feeling and instruction. He also bestowed considerable labor on a genealogy of the Benedict family, to which he wrote a preface. In 1840 he delivered the annual address before the Alumni of Williams College. In 1879 he read in London a paper on the difference in the rule as to limit of liability in collisions at sea, between England and all other countries. His discourse, delivered before this Society on its fifty-ninth anniversary in 1865, is remembered by many now here as a learned and powerful vindication of our pilgrim ancestors from unwarranted attacks made upon them, and as establishing their just claims against the unfounded pretensions on behalf of Sir Ferdinand Gorges and of George Popham, to the glory of American colonization.

His address at the University Convocation at Albany, July 9, 1878, is the crowning literary work of his life. It should be in the hands and library of every citizen of this State. It gives the garnered fruit of his life-long experience in connection with education expressed in aptly chosen words and happy illustrations, and advises, with a wisdom we should all reverently heed, what we should do in the future to advance the interests of this sacred cause.

In a life so occupied with the labors of extensive professional engagements, and the claims of the cause of education, we suppose he might well have demanded exemption from those other calls of religion and charity and citizenship which require time and thought and care. Time fails me to do more than to enumerate the list of those associations in which Mr. Benedict was not merely an associate, but an active working member—for he was so organized that where he was he must work. He was a member of the International Association for codifying the law of nations. He was one of the members of the association for improving the condition of the poor, from its organization in 1848; one of the Governors of the Woman's Hospital ever since its incorporation; one of the trustees of the West Side Savings Bank, and a manager of the American Art Union during its existence. He was a member of the Common Council of this city in 1830.

In 1845 and again in 1865 he was elected to the State Assembly, and in 1872 to the Senate of this State, and he was also for many years an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church, and faithful and zealous in discharging the duties incidental to that position.

Lord Bacon wisely says: “that there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue.”

This source of strength in the good opinion of his fellow men was given to our departed friend in no stinted measure. Unsought honors pressed upon him throughout his life. And now this universal voice of regret and of sadness at his loss, these good words that are “spoken of him by those that are just and of the family of virtue,” which come to us from every quarter, attest that, with modest self-consciousness, he could rightly summon this opinion to his aid when he looked upon the slow, but inevitable approach of that hour which must be his last.

But he had, beyond and above that, the quieted conscience, the well-grounded faith, the knowledge that his Redeemer liveth, wherewith to “awaken his resolve and readiness to die,” and he looked forward to that great change with unaltering gaze; and, when his summons came, he passed with intellect unimpaired, with will unshaken, with natural vigor unabated, from life to death.

And now as we close these words of remembrance and part from one whose presence among us has conferred so much of happiness and benefit upon us and upon all those among whom he dwelt, I find no parting words more fit than those which he himself has rendered from a noble Latin hymn:

This body take to cherish, Earth—
As to thy gentle bosom’s dust
These limbs, to which thou gavest birth,
Those noble relics, we entreat.

For here once dwells a living soul
Created by the breath divine,
And wisdom, Jesus did control,
These mortal relics did enshrine.

Protect thou Earth the body then
Within the grave in silence laid—
For God will call to Him again
What was in His own image made.

GEORGE F. BERTS
WASHINGTON in his will made disposition of all of his private papers by the following clause:

"Item. To my nephew Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this Country; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to detain them, I give and bequeath my Library of books and pamphlets of every kind."

The manuscripts thus devised by Washington to the son of his brother John Augustine, to whom was also bequeathed the Mount Vernon estate, fell at the death of Judge Washington, in 1829, by the thirteenth article of his will, to his nephew, George Corbin Washington, from whom, by two purchases under acts of Congress of 1834 and 1849, they were acquired by the government and now form part of its archives in the custody of the Department of State.

The portion first purchased, embracing the Army records and the letters and documents of public interest, were at that time in the hands of Mr. Sparks for the purposes of his work—The Writings of George Washington—and under his supervision the letters and documents were arranged and indexed in the most admirable manner by the Reverend Thaddeus Mason Harris; the Army records also, were then classified by Peter Force by the direction of the Secretary of State. The second purchase comprised the papers of a more personal character, principally relative to the earliest and latest years of Washington's life; but they are nevertheless important to the history of the revolutionary times and of the establishment of the Federal Government. They were used by Marshall and by Sparks, but still more by Irving, who gained from them the details upon which he dwelt more carefully, as better suited the scope of his work. Among this latter series are the journals to which these notes relate.
The years of Washington lacked but three of three score and ten; daily records in his own hand have been preserved of about one-fourth of that period, covering some of the most momentous parts of his life; unhappily they are not continuous but are interrupted by long intervals. In them he has left us his portrait, and it is the portrait of the Washington of tradition. These journals, his voluminous correspondence, and the estimation of his contemporaries make up a testimony as to the accuracy of that portrait, which cannot be impeached; a greater body of authoritative material concerning any one of the great men of history does not exist. This, in the presence of his journals and letters, must be felt; and this, in view of an unaccountable spirit of detraction, which is from time to time manifested, it seems proper to state.

The early formation of his character enabled him in youth to assume the management of important public affairs. While yet a lad, at the age of thirteen, he determined, once for all, upon maxims for the conduct of life; they are entitled “Rules of Civility & Decent Behaviour In Company and Conversation,” and his observance of them is distinctly to be traced throughout his career. Not only in morals and manners, but also in precise and economical methods of work was he early established; in all matters his habits appear to have been rather the result of selection than of experience. In these journals the development of his methods may be seen; they are written with greatest attention to order and neatness, and form an epitome of his civil and military administration of the affairs of the country.

The earliest journal is entitled: “A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains, began Fryday the 11th. of March 1747/8.”

It continues in brief daily entries of the incidents of his progress and novel experiences until “Wednesday ye 13th of April 1748.” This, the first of his expeditions, was undertaken at the age of sixteen, in company with George Fairfax, for the purpose of surveying and defining lots upon a tract of land among the Alleghanies, the property of Lord Fairfax. It covers one line more than twenty-four pages of a little skin-bound book, which measures three and three-fourths by five and seven-eighths inches. Beginning at the back or last leaf of the same, in accordance with a method he frequently observed, of using one book as a register for two analogous subjects, and extending over eighteen and a half pages, are careful memoranda of the results of each day’s work. Between the diary and the technical notes the space, not entirely filled, is devoted to notes of other surveys, to verses indicating a hopeless youthful attachment and to the drafts or copies of letters to “Dear
friend John,” “Dear friend Robin,” “Dear Richard,” and “Dear Sally,” which are referred to by Irving. These letters, however effusive, are dignified and by no means sustain the Washington of Thackeray. A companion volume in size and binding for 1749 and 1750 contains only surveying records, evidences of his constant occupation in the profession he had chosen.

The only serious mutilation which has been observed in the Washington manuscripts and which occurred before it came into the possession of the government, is in the Journal of the voyage to the Barbadoes, with his brother Lawrence; remnants of forty-two leaves exist, of which but thirty-two, more or less impaired, contain sufficient of the narrative to render them of value. They embrace a tabular record or log of the weather, winds, speed and course of the vessel, its position as to latitude and longitude, and the usual ship-board observations of sail sighted and other incidents which entertain a voyager; also a diary, in which was put down what he learned of navigation, which he seems to have studied attentively during the long weeks at sea.

Here is one of the latest entries in the outward bound portion:

*Wednesday, October 30, 1751.* “This morning arose with agreeable assurances of a certain steady trade wind which after neer five weeks buffeting and being toss’d by a fickle and merciless ocean, was gladdening news.” He remained at Barbadoes from Tuesday, November 6, until Sunday, December 22, enjoying, with his brother, the most hospitable attentions, such as visitors of their position would naturally receive, and which are circumstantially described in the diary. Upon the return voyage he wrote out his observations, concerning the people and the natural characteristics of the island, which are singularly acute for one of his age—he was then nineteen—showing that his opinions were clearly formed as to society and that he already possessed that love for agriculture which at all times made absence from his estate irksome to him.

For the period between 1751 and 1760, no manuscript records are known to have been preserved, but an account should here find place of two journals of 1753 and 1754, which have been printed. They form an essential part of the history of the struggle between England and France in North America and caused Washington to become conspicuous in Europe as well as at home.

The first is of his expedition from October 31, 1753, to January 16, 1754, as bearer of despatches from the Governor of Virginia to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, which was prepared, on
his return, from "rough minutes" taken on the way and printed by order of Governor Dinwiddie, at Williamsburg, early in 1754. Of this impression, it is said by Field, "that but two copies are known to exist;" one of them, once the property of Richard Peters, was sold in the spring of 1880, with the second part of the Brinley Library. It has been printed several times. Sparks states that "it was copied into nearly all the newspapers of the other colonies." It was reprinted at London in 1754; by Sparks in Vol. II., pages 432-447 of The Writings of Washington; at New York in 1860, with notes by J. G. Shea, to accompany Mr. Lossing's Diary of Washington from 1789 to 1791; and in fac-simile of the London edition by Sabin, as one of his series of reprints in 1865.

In the second of the Journals, Washington recounted the story of the Campaign on the Ohio under orders from the Colonial Government to prevent the aggressions of the French. It was his first military expedition and during it, in the battle at Great Meadows, occurred his first engagement. We have of this only the extracts beginning April 2, the day he set out with his command from Alexandria, and terminating abruptly June 27, 1754. Six days after the latter date, on the 3d July, Fort Necessity, to which he had retired, capitulated. It has been generally believed that this journal fell into the hands of the French at Braddock's defeat. There are reasons for the conjecture, however, that it was found after the fort was abandoned among the articles hidden by Washington, which, under the agreement entered into with him, ought to have been respected, and that it was transmitted by Captain de Villiers with his own journal to France. Whatever its history, which is likely never to be explained, all knowledge of it appears to have been derived from the following publication, in which it was employed as a pièce justificative, issued by the French Government, in support of its position in the questions of dispute with England. "Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux Observations envoyées par les Ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe." Imprimerie Royale, 1756. A copy of this work, "found in a French prize, taken and carried into St. Christophers," was brought to New York, where it was translated, and in two distinct editions was printed by H. Gaine in 1757, under title: "A memorial containing a summary view of facts with their authorities, in answer to observations sent by the English ministry to the courts of Europe." Besides the above editions, with the same imprint, there was another at New York by J. Parker, and one at Philadelphia by J. Chattten, all in 1757. It was published at London in the same year,
under title: “The conduct of the late ministry,” and was reissued there, presumably from the same plates, two years later, with the new title: “The Mystery reveal’d; or, Truth brought to Light.”

The journal was appended to Livingston’s “Review of the Military Operations in North America,” printed at Dublin in 1757. In 1847 an imperfect copy of one of Gaine’s New York editions of the “Memorial,” completed in manuscript by Mr. Sparks, was reprinted in full in Vol. II., Nos. 3 to 6, of “The Olden Time.” The French government had for its object in publishing this journal to affect public opinion against the English by casting odium upon Washington, who was in command of the small body of Colonial troops and Indian allies at the battle of Great Meadows. The extracts therefrom, and the construction placed upon them by the French editor, together with the articles of capitulation of Fort Necessity, were adduced in proof that Washington was guilty of the assassination of Jumonville, in the Great Meadows affair. By the blundering and ignorance of Van Braam, Washington’s “master of fence,” who was with him on that perilous expedition, the only one of the party at all acquainted with the French language, the preamble to the articles containing the charge of assassination was by him hurriedly and inaccurately translated, leading Washington to subscribe to his own indictment.

Of the Braddock campaign and the incidents of his life thereafter until 1760 we have no diary. The next in order of the manuscript journals is one begun January 1, 1760, and ended May 22, of the same year, which shows him as a farmer. He has noted therein the occurrences in his family, visits made and received, the state of his fields, of the weather, and accounts of his stock. Washington has been considered deficient in humor. On Friday, February 15th, he wrote:

“A small fine Rain from No. E. wet the Top of my Hay that had been landed last night. It was all carted up however to the Barn & the wet and dry seperated. Went to a Ball at Alexandria where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment, however in a convenient Room detached for the purpose abounded great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuets with Tea, & coffee which the Drinkers of could not Distinguish from Hot water sweetened— Be it remembered that Pocket handkerchiefs serv’d the purposes of Table Cloths & napkins and that no apologies were made for either.* The Proprietors of this Ball were Messrs. C——, L—— & R—— W——, but the Doct. not getting it conducted agreeable to his own taste would claim no share of the merit of it.”

* “I shall therefore distinguish this Ball by the stile & title of the Bread & Butter Ball.”
Succeeding these fragmentary records comes the first systematic series of journals, which was continued in one form from 1760 to 1775; of which all but those for 1762 and 1767 have been preserved. Washington employed for this series copies, interleaved with blank paper, of "The Virginia Almanac," compiled by "Theophilus Wreg, Philom." and others, published annually at Williamsburg, with the exception of the year 1766, when he used "The Universal American Almanac, or Yearly Magazine, by Andrew Aguecheek, Philom.," printed at Philadelphia. From 1760 to 1767 the entries related solely to his plantations. In 1768 he began the journal with the caption on every diary page, "Where and how my time is spent," under which, with the variation, "Where, how, or with whom my time is spent," the record runs until June 19, 1775, when, for obvious reasons, it was discontinued. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this series, full as it is of biographical interest. The distinctive features of the earlier volumes are in these, to a large extent, continued. They are records of facts, not of opinions. Social engagements are their chief topics while he attended the Congresses of 1774 and 1775; and the same characteristic is notable concerning his diary of the later time of the Convention for framing the Constitution.

The journal resumed May 1, 1781, was not carried beyond November 5th. In this commemorative number the two volumes in which that fragment is contained are, it is believed, for the first time printed. As will be seen in the short note by which it is prefaced, of which a facsimile also is given, Washington lamented that he had not preserved an account of events from the beginning of the war.

After an interval of nearly three years another volume was opened to hold the narrative of a journey, extending from September 1 to October 4, 1784, the purposes of which were stated in the first entry, in his own words, as follows:

"September, 1784. Having found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property west of the Apalachian Mountains, and more especially that part of it which I held in copartnership with Mr. Gilbert Simpson.—Having determined upon a tour into that country,—and having made preparations for it,—I did on the first day of this month (September) set out on my journey."

Of the final series of journals, there are in the possession of the Government eleven volumes, two others are known to be extant, and there is probably a third. These volumes are uniform in size with the three last mentioned—that is to say, they are thin, oblong in form, bound in half sheep, measuring seven by four and seven-eighths inches, and are
numbered respectively 1 to 11. The entries are continuous from January 1, 1785, to February 2, 1789. Two of the series, numbered 13 and 14, it is understood, were presented to a friend by Judge Bushrod Washington. These have been printed in at least three editions under the editorial care of Mr. Lossing. The first, issued in 1858 as No. II of the Bradford Club publications, comprised only the contents of volume 13, October 1, 1789, to March 10, 1790; the second was published by C. B. Richardson & Co., of New York, in 1860, and contained both the above and volume 14, covering from October 1, 1789, to June 1, 1791; and the journal of the first expedition to the Ohio edited by Mr. Shea, before described; the third edition appeared as a publication of the Virginia Historical Society in 1861. The second and third editions are identical and from the same plates.

There are indications that the habit of making "rough minutes" for a diary, to be expanded and written out in permanent form, which Washington observed while upon his first tour to the Ohio, was followed through life. The Library of Congress possesses an original journal of Washington running from Tuesday, May 8th, to Thursday, November 15, 1787, of which a fair and somewhat enlarged transcript is to be found in one of the volumes of the final series in the Department of State. Similar in size to the above, which may be called "minutes," there are among the archives thirteen leaves, evidently of sheets of letter paper, folded, cut, and pinned together, continuing the account of his Southern tour from June 2 to July 4, 1791, the larger part of which is to be found in the second and third of Lossing's editions of the Diary. These "minutes" failed, perhaps, to be entered in the usual form for preservation, and they are left unfinished. The last entry was written at Lancaster, Pennsylvania:

"Monday [July] 4th. This being the anniversary of American Independence, and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for it. In the forenoon I walked about the town— At half passed 2 o'clock I received, and answered an address from the Corporation and the complaints of the Clergy of different denominations—dined between 3 & 4 o'clock—drank Tea with Mrs. Hand about [——]

Again public duties caused a discontinuance of the diary which for six years and a half had been faithfully kept. Only once during his second term as President was the practice revived. The insurrection in western Pennsylvania called Washington from the seat of Government at Philadelphia to Fort Cumberland, "the rendezvous of the
militia," whereupon he recorded a full and detailed narrative of his travels from September 30 to October 20, 1794. But one other article remains to be mentioned, and that is a daily record, principally of the weather, from February 10 to December 13, 1799. It is on small sheets of note paper pinned together. Upon a leaf fastened to the first page Bushrod Washington has written, "The last writing of Genl. Washington." The last entry at the end of the forty-seventh page, made at night, is this:

[December] "13. Morning Snowing & abt. 3 Inches deep—wind at No. Et. & mer. 30. Contind. snowing till 1 o'clock—and abt. 4 it became perfectly clear—wind in the same place but not hard—mer. 28 at night."

Washington died in the night of the next day, 14th December, 1799.

THEODORE F. DWIGHT
THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS ON HARLEM HEIGHTS

The name of Morris is familiar to American ears as that of a widespread family who, from the early colonial period, have held large estates and high positions of honor and trust. It may be found inscribed on that immortal scroll, the Declaration of American Independence. All of the branches in this country, although not immediately connected, are descended from the same parent stock. According to learned genealogists, they all derive from a powerful Chieftain of Britain, the founder of the fourth royal tribe of Wales. The name is a compound of the Welsh words Mawr-rwyce, which is translated to mean strong or brave in battle.

Roger Morris, the original owner of the house which became later famous as Washington's headquarters on Harlem Heights, was of a different branch from the neighboring family of Morris of Morrisania. He was the third son of Charles Morris of the Manor house, Wandsworth, England, and Sarah Haldimand, his wife, and was born on the 28th of January, 1727. Cadet of a house, whose natural instincts led to the profession of arms, he entered the British army at an early age, and in the year 1764 was first heard of in America as an aid on the staff of General Braddock. He took part in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, and was among the wounded on that fatal day.

George Washington of the Dominion, as the Colony of Virginia was styled, had been deprived of his rank as Colonel in the army of the colony by the reorganization of that force ordered by the Governor for the purpose of bringing it fully within his own control; an arrangement by which no officer was commissioned of higher rank than captain. Washington refused to serve in such subordinate capacity. He was then at the age of twenty-three years, known not only in his native province but throughout the colonies as a young man of mark, and on more than one occasion had approved himself to those in authority as worthy of the most important trusts. His conduct in thus refusing to serve on the eve of an active campaign, one in which his own neighbors and former companions in arms were to take part, and above all wherein the safety of the colony was so nearly involved, might, and in the case of any other man most probably would, have given rise to strictures of
a character least tolerable to a soldier. His course in this case was dictated by a high sense of honor, and a misconstruction of his motives was made impossible by the firm stand he now took in resisting the aggressions of the Royal Governor on the dignity and rights not only of Virginia but of all the colonies. That strong feeling of self-respect which then impelled him found expression in a later time in his refusal to receive a letter from Lord Howe addressed to him as G. Washington, Esq., &c., &c. Even then was stirring within him that spirit of American independence, that yearning for American nationality which in after years he vigorously and often expressed in public addresses and private correspondence, when State jealousies had brought the struggling Confederacy to the brink of ruin. In such estimation was he held that General Braddock offered him a place in his own military family. As aid-de-camp he made the campaign, and, as is well known, his skill and dispositions brought back to Fort Cumberland the wreck of the army which Braddock's disregard of his counsels had involved in a disaster the result of which threatened British dominion in America.

Washington's acquaintance, if not intimacy, with Roger Morris, thus begun in the wilderness and on the battle-field, was renewed at a later date and under softer surroundings, which have somewhat of a romantic flavor. The disputes as to relative rank between officers bearing the royal commission and those appointed by the colonial governors assumed such shape and importance that in the year 1756 Washington, who had been duly commissioned by the Governor as commander of the Virginia troops, found his authority as such disputed by a captain of British regulars whose force did not exceed thirty men. This absurd assumption brought the affair to an issue. Washington was deputed by the authorities of Virginia to lay the whole matter before General Shirley, then commander-in-chief of the royal forces with headquarters at Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay colony.

In the summer of 1756, accompanied by his aid Captain Mercer, and Captain Stewart and a retinue of servants such as became his wealth, rank, and official errand, Washington started northward on his mission. No man was more widely or more favorably known throughout the colonies. The hero of Fort Duquesne, whom the Indians believed to bear a charmed life, had a personal presence and dignity of bearing which commended him to the favor of those among whom he now came for the first time. The most distinguished honors and hospitalities were showered upon him at every point on his journey. We may well believe that with eyes early trained in the school of the engineer
and surveyor, and accustomed to weigh the strategic value of position, he took in every feature of the topography of the country. At times in his joyous journey the fair landscape may have passed unheeded, and the salutations of welcome which greeted him have fallen on inattentive ears, as with foreboding prescience of the burden that was to be laid upon him in the near future he reflected on the possibilities of a sterner mission which it might be his part to fill.

At New York the party were entertained for some days at the house of Beverly Robinson in the Highlands. Robinson, a native of Virginia, had lately married Susannah, the eldest daughter of Frederick Phillipse, owner of the Manor of Phillipsburgh, an estate granted to his grandfather by Governor Fletcher, which comprised a great portion of Westchester County and parts of Dutchess and Putnam. The entail, however, had been broken by the now obsolete legal process known as fine and common recovery, and the estate divided among the heirs at law, among whom was Mary Phillipse, sister of Mrs. Robinson and heiress in her own right of fifty thousand acres of land. Beautiful, and accomplished, this young heiress is credited in the gossip of the day with having proved so attractive to Washington that he not only tarried for several days on his way to Boston, but that on his return he sought the fair damsel and lingered under the spell of her charms. Some assert even that he made her an offer of marriage, which was rejected; this story may probably be set down as a later-day Tory invention. However susceptible Washington may have been to feminine charms, and that he was keenly so is readily admitted, he was not the man to leave his wooing to another. It is a fact well known to the Fairfax and Cary families, and of which epistolary evidence remains, that at this time he was the sworn knight of Sally Cary of Virginia, the lady who afterwards became the wife of George William Fairfax. It is not recorded in the chronicles of the time whether or no Captain Roger Morris was a guest at the Robinson house at the time of Washington’s visits, but it is probable. Society in New York was limited in number, and Morris, hearing of the presence of his old companion in arms, to whom he owed his safe retreat from the field of Duquesne, would have eagerly sought him at a house where his own presence was undoubtedly welcome. Thus for the second time the two men are brought in contact. Captain Morris was a suitor for the hand of Miss Phillipse, whom he married at the Phillipsburgh Manor House in March, 1758. The occasion was one of great pomp, ceremony, and prolonged festivity. After his marriage Captain Morris went on active service, and was with Wolfe
at Quebec. In 1760 he was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1764 sold out his commission and settled in New York, where he became a member of the King’s Council, and was as well and honorably known in the civil as he had been formerly in the military service of the Crown.

The estate which Colonel Morris purchased on New York Island, and upon which he erected the mansion house known in revolutionary history as the Roger Morris house, and to New Yorkers of a later day as the Jumel house, is situated at the upper end of Manhattan Island. The house, which still stands, unchanged, a noble specimen of the homes of the colonial gentry, is almost opposite to the intersection of Tenth avenue and 161st street with the old Kingsbridge road. It fronts to the southward, and its eastern portico and balcony overlook from its precipitous height the Harlem River, Westchester and the Sound, and command a view of the Harlem Plains to their southerly limit at McGowan’s Pass.

The locality, from its connection with Revolutionary events, requires a more extended description. A marked feature in the geological structure of Manhattan Island is the ridge of rock which forms its backbone; beginning at Spuyten Duyvil Creek, this ridge extends southward on the west side of the island as far as Inwood (old Tubby Hook), where it sinks abruptly almost to the level of the river, and again rising sharply is prolonged southwardly, with occasional ravines opening upon the Hudson River, to the Point of Rocks, now 127th street, where it breaks off as suddenly. Here again the lands fall almost to the level of the river; the narrow pass known as the Hollow Way, which separates this part of the island from the Bloomingdale or Vandewater heights below, expands south-eastwardly into the Harlem plains and reaches the East River. At its upper half, just below Tubby Hook, is the lofty hill rising precipitously from the Hudson River, on the plateau of which, covering the summit, Fort Washington was erected; a position which dominated the river and adjacent country. Facing the Hudson River, the bluff is bold and almost inaccessible, while toward the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek the ground slopes gently in some places to rolling meadows and marshy banks, and in others presents to the stream an almost vertical wall of rock.

The island of Manhattan for purposes of military offence and defence is naturally divided by the Harlem Plains, a low and almost level tract of land which extends from the East River at about the north side of the present 108th street, whose southerly boundary was formed at that time by Harlem Creek, a narrow but deep current of tide-water which
THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE

penetrated the land and was the outlet of a stream now obliterated which had its source at the foot of Vandewater's, now Bloomingdale Heights. The low lands skirting the northern edge of these heights along their base to the Hudson River, debouched through a narrow pass called the Hollow Way. On the opposite or northern side of the Hollow Way rose sharply from the plain the ridge called Harlem Heights, from whose southern extremity, at its base, projecting and to some extent overlapping Vandewater's Heights to the south, towered the Point of Rocks to the eminence upon the summit, where now stands the convent of the Sacred Heart. The general contour of the upper end of the island is that of a range of rocky hills whose face toward the Hudson River is almost precipitous, broken by ravines opening to the river, the summit being comparatively a level plateau whose eastern edge was a wall of rock at the foot of which flowed the Harlem River. Between the two ridges which marked the course of this wall of rock lay a valley formed by a depression of the hills on either side of which it was prolonged to the northward until it descended into the Dyckman Meadows which lay at the foot of the ridge which guarded it on the west, and extended from the eminence known then and now as Fort George (from the earthwork so called which crowned its summit), the last high ground on the Harlem side, and which commanded the road and the river. The old King's Bridge road, then the only road which led from the island, crossed Harlem Plains in a northwesterly direction from McGowan's Pass, followed the base of the hills to the present 144th street, and ascending gained the plateau, along which it passed to the head of the valley above mentioned, whose course it followed to the meadows at the foot of Fort George, which it traversed, turning eastwardly toward the Harlem River on a course different from that on which it is today laid out to the King's Bridge, which still spans the stream at the same point as in the colonial days and gave access to Westchester County. There were no bridges connecting the island with the main land save King's Bridge and one below and a short distance from it called indifferently Queen's, Farmers', and later Dyckman's Bridge. Spuyten Duyvel creek, the prolongation of the Harlem, wound through the meadows to the Hudson. The southern edge of Westchester was steep, rugged, and rocky as that of the island opposite. The ridge which forms the westerly line of that portion of Manhattan, now called Washington Heights, is severed from its upper prolongation by a valley at Tubby Hook which enters the meadows at the foot of Fort George. Upon the highest point of the
southerly part of the heights was situated Fort Washington, an earthwork erected by the Americans in 1776. Its ruins are still visible on the line of 182d street, within the grounds of James Gordon Bennett, at a height of two hundred and thirty feet above the river. It was an earthwork of small extent, with a covering redoubt strengthened by batteries on the plains below commanding the King's Bridge and Road. The position was impregnable save to direct assault, and could only be turned from the rear by a detour to the eastward through Long Island Sound and a march on the main land. It was strengthened by three lines of works extending across the island, the first at about 146th street, the second at 153d, and the third at 160th street, still unfinished at the time the island was abandoned. The whole island, with the exception of the plains, was heavily timbered at the beginning of the Revolution, but this feature soon changed. The large increase of population by the British force caused a great demand for fuel, which was increased by the intense and prolonged cold of the succeeding winter, that of '79-'80 being memorable from the fact that a train of artillery and infantry crossed the bay from Staten Island to New York on the ice. The forests disappeared under the blows of the woodcutter's axe. It is stated that the only tree in the city proper which antedates the Revolution is an English elm, which stands at the northwest corner of the old City Hall, whose massive trunk, infirm with years, is bound with iron, but which at each recurring spring feels the sap of youth stir in its sturdy limbs, and casts a shade grateful to idlers who lounge beneath it. There is also an ancient balsam poplar at Gracie's Point, formerly Horen's Hook, of which a description appeared in the Magazine (III. 692). This is believed to be the only other tree of as great age.

On the 27th of August, 1776, the British forces under General Howe defeated the Americans in the battle of Long Island. Washington made a masterly retreat to New York where he awaited the movements of the enemy. Howe's force was greatly superior in numbers, and his fleet gave him command of the water and choice of the point of attack. The point selected was Kipp's bay, at the foot of what is now 34th Street. Early on the morning of the 15th September the British troops were embarked in boats in Newtown creek and moved across the East river in regular order towards the easy landing place which the depression of ground here afforded. The disembarkation was protected by five frigates, which had taken up position within musket shot of the shore. The guns of the frigates gave notice of the advance, and Washington, who was at the morning in Harlem, rode down to Kipp's Bay, the
objective point of the British, which was covered by a redoubt, as was also the shore of the river as far down as Corlear’s Hook (Grand street), the whole line being guarded by two brigades of Continental troops and militia, under Generals Parsons and Fellows. He arrived in time to see them in full flight, terrified by the sound of the British cannon from the ships lying within musket shot of the shore, thus leaving the enemy’s troops, who approached in boats concealed by the smoke of the guns, to land unopposed. On this occasion the traditional Washington asserted himself; enraged at the cowardice of his men, he rode into the hottest fire, and was with difficulty turned back to a place of safety by his aids. The army was at once retreated to the heights of Harlem, where it was encamped, the strength of the position justifying the hope Washington, writing on the same day, expressed to Congress “that the enemy would meet with a defeat if in case of an attack the generality of our troops would behave with tolerable bravery.” Putnam, escaping from the lower part of the city with his men, but leaving behind him the greater part of his material and stores, joined the army on the heights, while the British threw a line across the island from Kipp’s Bay to Bloomingdale (94th street), their left resting upon the Hudson and covered by three frigates, which had advanced as far up the river as the foot of the ravine at the lower extremity, Bloomingdale (about 97th street).

The lines of the American army were posted on Harlem Heights, the right on the Hudson, the left on the Harlem River, and the advance guard at Point of Rocks, with a picket at its foot, most probably thrown forward into the plain, and possibly advanced as far as the crest of Vandewater’s heights opposite. The advanced post of the British lay that night at the Apthorpe house (94th street and 9th avenue).

Early the next morning, the 16th, a small party of rangers, led by Colonel Knowlton, who had been ordered out by Washington to reconnoitre and gain intelligence, approached the British advanced posts under cover of the woods, by way of Vandewater’s heights, and as they were cautiously feeling their way through the thick forest, shrouded in the dim and vaporous light, in which the shadows of the chill September dawn were yet striving with the approaching day, came suddenly into collision with a superior force of British light infantry. Knowlton’s men for a time stood their ground, but borne back by weight of numbers gave way slowly, and fell back upon their lines at Point of Rocks. The sound of the musketry roused the American camp, staff officers hurried to the front, troops were hastily formed to repel the threatened attack of the enemy, who now appeared on the
top of Vandewater’s Heights, where they halted a moment, waked the
echoes with the taunting notes of their bugles, as though engaged in a
hunt; then plunged down the hill into the Hollow way between in pursuit
of the retreating Americans. But the hunt was not over yet. Washington, advised of the state of affairs, rode down from the Morris
house in hot haste to the Point of Rocks, where, learning the number of
the enemy, and seeing the temper of his own men and their eagerness
to engage, he ordered an attack to be made on the flank of the British,
and at the same time sent another force to pass, under cover of the
wood, to their rear. Now the quarry turned at bay; Knowlton’s
rangers reformed their broken ranks and advanced against the enemy,
who had formed behind a fence at the foot of the hill. Leitch, Knowl-
ton, and Crarey pressed eagerly forward; the British bugles, which
rung out the notes of the chase so cheerily in the morning, now
wailed the retreat, and the bravest of the braggart Light Infantry,
obeying the summons with an alacrity which manifested the strict dis-
cipline of the corps, scrambled up the hill, scourged by a withering
fire in the rear from the pursuing Americans, who, fighting under the
eye of their chief, burned with desire to avenge the disaster of Long
Island, and atone for their misconduct at Kipp’s Bay. The affair
developed in magnitude. Washington pressed forward reinforcements; the Forty-second Highlanders came to the aid of the hunted
light infantry. Howe at the Athorpe House was roused from his
sense of security by the sound of the firing, which steadily increased
in volume as it drew near his quarters. Donop’s grenadiers and yagers
with two field pieces came to the rescue of their comrades, but the
British retreat had almost become a rout, and it was not until Leisingen’s
grenadiers with Block’s and Mingerode’s men and the Fifth Regiment
of foot, who had been trotted up from their post below for three miles
“without a halt to draw breath,” arrived upon the ground, that the tide
of victorious pursuit was stayed, and the Americans under orders from
Washington, who did not wish to bring on a general engagement, with-
drew, with a defiant cheer, to their own lines. They had met and
defeated the best troops in the British army. For once the Forty-
second Highlanders, the famous Black Watch who had stood with
Wolfe at Quebec, and have since distinguished themselves on a hundred
fields, were checked by an impetuosity equal to their own. The effect
on the morale of the American army was electric and enduring. Leitch
and Knowlton, mortally wounded on the field, died, and were buried
with the honors of war. Washington in general orders, dated from
PLAN OF ARRANGEMENT FOR THE NIGHT OF MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1776
the Morris house, September 17, 1776 (parole Leitch, countermarch Virginia), thanked the troops for their gallant conduct of the day previous, paid a grateful and merited tribute to the gallant Knowlton, and censured some inferior officers for presuming to direct in matters which had already been otherwise ordered by the commander-in-chief.

The positions held by the brigades are shown by the General Orders issued on the evening of the 16th September after the battle, prescribing the arrangements for the night upon the heights commanding the Hollow Way from the North River to the main road leading from New York to King's Bridge; General Putnam to command upon the right or North River, General McDougall in the centre, with directions to post guards upon the heights from Morris house to his camp, and proper guards, not less than twenty men from each regiment, were detailed to prevent a surprise; General Spencer on the left from McDougall's brigade to the Morris house. In case the enemy should attempt to force the pass that night, General Putnam was ordered to apply to General Spencer for a reinforcement. Thus carefully were Washington's provisions made in view of the events of the day.

One result of this success was that the Americans remained unmolested in their entrenchments, gathered at their leisure the abundant crops on the fertile plains of Harlem, and held possession of the barracks there until they retired to the White Plains in Westchester. So secure did Washington feel in his position that by general orders of the 26th September he prolonged his left flank into the Harlem Plain to the Kortright house with the left front at present 120th street and Eighth avenue. In a letter from Robert H. Harrison, of the General's staff, to the President of Congress, dated King's Bridge, October 30, 1.30 p. m., written by the direction of Washington, who was on a visit to the several posts of the army, preparing for a new line of defence, Congress is informed of the advance of the enemy by way of Frog's Neck and New Rochelle, and their intention to take their route to White Plains and thence to draw a line to the North River. His General Orders were dated from the Morris house from the 16th September until the 21st of October, on which day the last was promulgated, and may all be found in Force's Archives. (His last from New York City was dated on the 15th September, 1776.) Washington had already withdrawn the bulk of his army in the direction of White Plains on learning of General Howe's movement by way of Long Island Sound.

Landing at Frog's Neck, and subsequently at Eastchester, the British advanced inland with the evident purpose of getting into the American
rear, and thus cutting off communication with the Eastern States. A
garrison was left at Fort Washington in deference to the judgment of
General Greene, who commanded at Fort Lee, on the opposite side of
the Hudson. Greene was of the opinion that the post was tenable, and
that in case of emergency the men and stores could be brought
off in safety. Washington's apprehensions were shortly justified
by the result. On the 5th of November, 1776, Howe turned sud-
denly from North Castle, to which strong position Washington had
retired after the fight at White Plains, and marched to the Hudson at
Dobbs Ferry; thence he advanced rapidly toward King's Bridge and
Fort Washington, which was held by Colonel Magaw and a gar-
nison of twenty-eight hundred men. The fort was threatened and par-
tially invested by a strong force of Hessians under Knyphausen; Gen-
eral Greene was still firm in his belief that the post might be held or the
garrison brought off at the last moment, when it was discovered that
two British frigates at anchor in Tappan Zee held command of the river.

On the 15th of November Howe summoned the garrison to sur-
render, a demand which was promptly rejected. On the 16th he
advanced to the attack. The fort was assailed on three sides by the
British, whose forces, coming from Kingsbridge, from Fort George and
along the heights by way of the Morris house, converged toward it.
The outposts and bastions were quickly stormed, and their defenders
hastened in a disorderly crowd to the main work, which, unprovided
with casemates, bomb-proofs or any adequate protection for a number
so disproportioned to its capacity with which it was now thronged, and
exposed to a heavy cross fire of rifles and artillery, was no longer
tenable. Colonel Magaw surrendered with his men and munitions of
war. This was the heaviest loss the Americans suffered during the
war. As an evidence of the strong interest which Washington took in
his men, and the vein of daring amounting almost to rashness, which
lay beneath the surface of his self-contained and undemonstrative
character, reference may here be made to the narrative of Gray-
don, who in his memoirs says: "After the enemy had taken pos-
session of the first American line things remained quiet for an hour or
two. In this interval General Washington, with Generals Greene,
Putnam, Mercer and other principal officers, came over the North
River from Fort Lee, and crossed the island to the Morris house,
whence they viewed the position of our troops and the operations of
the enemy in that quarter. It is a fact not generally known, that
the British troops took possession of the very spot on which the
commander-in-chief and the general officers with him had stood in fifteen minutes after they left it. In this statement Graydon is supported by Greene in his letter to Putnam of the 17th November. He says: "As we stepped on board the boat the enemy made their appearance on the hill, where the Monday action was" (16th Sept., 1776). "The enemy came up the Harlem River and landed a party at headquarters (Morris House), which was upon the back of our people in the lines." This was Washington's last visit to the Morris house during the war. His next was made after the peace, when he was President of the United States.

It was actuated by no feelings of idle curiosity that the writer, in company with the editor of this Magazine and the artist whose illustration accompanies this article, climbed the hill at Fort Lee, and from the lofty eminence of the Palisades looked across the river to the scene of the historic events now presented. The slope of Vandewater's heights, where every stone and tree stood out distinctly in the clear light of an autumn day lay below; the Holloway between it and Point of Rocks is unchanged in its general features: to the northward lies the low rocky projection of Fort Washington point, near which are still visible the remains of the redoubt which guarded the landing place on the river. The fort itself was long since leveled to make room for streets and mansions; but the hill-slopes are covered with the verdure of a forest which has replaced that so long ago sacrificed to the exigencies of war, while the smoke from swift-moving engines and peaceful factories drifts among the tree-tops, a welcome substitute for the sulphurous canopy which hung over the landscape, where Washington and his Generals, from the very elevation on which we stood, witnessed the surrender of the fort, of which General Greene says: "I feel mad, vexed, sick, and sorry." The investigations of Mr. Edward de Lancey (Magazine, L. 81) brought to light an excuse for the mortified General, in the proof that treason had quite as much to do with its capture as British courage.

With the capture of Fort Washington the whole island fell into the possession of the British. The Hessian mercenaries, whom the Elector of Hesse-Cassel hired to King George III., were encamped on the heights of Harlem; and General Knyphausen, their commander, occupied the Morris house as his headquarters, and it continued to be so used by the British and Hessians until the evacuation of the island on the 25th of November, 1783.

Notwithstanding the various uses to which the building had been subjected by the exigencies of war, it still remained a desirable residence. For a time after the revolution it was occupied by Dr. Isaac
Ledyard, a distinguished patriot, but in June, 1785, it passed into other hands, and became a house of public entertainment. Talmage Hall, who the same year undertook the eastern line of stages from New York to Boston, starting from the old City Tavern, at the corner of Broadway and Thames street, opened the Morris House as the first stopping place on the route, and asked besides for the patronage of parties from town. He describes the building as an elegant house, and dwells particularly on the advantages of the octagon room, a rear extension, which still remains, as “very happily calculated for a turtle party,” and otherwise desirable for transient visitors, as well as permanent boarders. The later history of this celebrated mansion, and a recital of the romantic incidents which cluster about it, would fill a volume, and must be left to another pen.

The act of attaintder passed by the Legislature of the State of New York in 1779, included among those named Colonel Roger Morris and Mary, his wife. Upon the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, it became operative, and was enforced with rigor. Colonel Morris' plate and furniture were sold in the city of New York in 1793; the Morris house, with its adjacent demesne, was sold, under the direction of the Commissioners of Forfeiture, in 1779, and passed out of the possession of his family. In consequence of his fidelity to the Crown, Colonel Morris received a compensation for his losses.

It is not proposed to enter into the complications which arose in regard to the confiscation of the estate of the Philipsburg heiress, as the result of a secret anti-nuptial settlement. The rights of their heirs were purchased by John Jacob Astor, who realized from the State the handsome sum of $500,000. The Morris house passed through several hands, and finally became the property of Stephen Jumel, an eccentric French merchant, in whose possession it remained until his death. He devised the estate to his widow, who is reputed to have married Aaron Burr. Since her decease the property has been the subject of prolonged and harrassing litigation. To-day it is held by one of her descendants.

The issue of the marriage of Col. Roger Morris and Mary Phillipse were: Amherst, born 1763, who entered the Royal Navy, where he attained the rank of Commander, and died unmarried April 29, 1802; Henry Gage, of York, and afterward of Beverly, also entered the navy and became a Rear-Admiral; Joanna, who married Thomas Couper Hincks, and Maria, who died unmarried September 25, 1836.

When the British evacuated the City of New York Colonel Morris and
his wife went to England, where they resided during the remainder of their lives. Colonel Morris died on the 13th of September, 1794, at the age of sixty-seven; his wife, who survived him for many years, died on the 18th day of July, 1825, at the advanced age of ninety-six years. After her death the long dormant question of the Attainder Act of 1779, so far as its operation affected the rights of her children, came before the Courts for adjudication.

Washington in his diary, written after his election to the Presidency, mentions one later visit to this scene of his military life. This is his entry:

"Saturday, 10th July, 1790—Having formed a party, consisting of the Vice President, his lady & son & Miss Smith, the Secretary of State, Treasury & War, & the ladies of the two latter; with all the gentlemen of my family, Mrs. Lear and the two children, we visited the old position of Fort Washington, and afterwards dined on a dinner provided by Mr. Marriner at the house lately of Col. Roger Morris, but confiscated & in the occupation of a common farmer."

Marriner was a celebrated host of the patriots, who had a public house in New York before the war, later kept a tavern at Harlem, noted for many curious incidents. On this occasion he sent the dinner to the hill which the President was visiting.

The main features of Manhattan Island above the Hollow Way remain to a great extent unchanged by the march of improvement, that modern iconoclast which ruthlessly sweeps from its path all things, however venerable by time or association, which have ceased to be available for utilitarian purposes. The projecting extremity of the Point of Rocks, where the Continental advanced guard kept watch and ward over the smiling plain beneath, has vanished before the potent breath of giant-powder; a stately boulevard passes over its former site. Where the Kingsbridge road climbed the long hill from the plains beneath, the serpentine course of St. Nicholas avenue gives easy access to the plateau above. Yet the inquiring eye of the lover of history, versed in local lore, may still discern some of the outlines of the breastworks at which their fathers toiled in that long-ago autumn; and the elevated railroad, last and most audacious feat of the modern engineer, newest harbinger of New York growth, to-day carries its thousand visitors, who to-morrow will be daily passengers, to the very foot of the lawn which was once trod by the majestic form of Washington.

Above Tubby Hook there is even less change; with the exception of a few residences along the front overlooking the Hudson, the country
presents the same features now as then. The Blue Bell tavern, the roadside inn where Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, riding into town from his country home, first heard of the suicide of Sir Danvers Osborne but a few hours arrived to his new government; where Hessian soldiers caroused for many a weary year; to which Washington turned his longing eye from the heights of Westchester on his famous reconnoissance in the summer of 1781, and at whose homely door he is reported to have halted on his triumphant entry into New York in 1783, stood until May, 1876, on the west side of the road, near the lane which leads into the Bennett grounds.

Fort Washington, in the original survey of which Lossing, in his admirable Field book, says Washington himself assisted on the 7th June, 1776, was not seriously commenced until the 9th August of the same year, when it was ordered by a council of officers at the earnest solicitation of General Putnam. It was a five-sided earthwork, without casemates or bomb-proofs. Its name was changed after its capture by the British to Fort Knyphausen, which it retained during the war. The outlines are now hardly visible.

The location of the White House, to which Washington alludes in his general orders, and which in his journal published in the present number of the Magazine he also designates by the name of Morris' White House, is not precisely known. It no doubt was a building on the Morris estate. From Washington's description, it appears to have been between the main house and the fort above.

A little building, now known as the Century House, the front of which the Kingsbridge road once passed, may now be found some distance to the eastward of its present line near Harlem Creek, and is used as a river-side hostelry. At the foot of a blind wood road, which winds through the valley that intersects Inwood Heights, is a very old wooden building, which local tradition dates back to the revolution, called the Spring-house, from the clear stream of water which bubbles up from the foot of the hill, under the shadow of which it is situated. Banks of oyster shells bear witness to the good taste of the Hessians who camped in its vicinity. Bullets, grape-shot, time-worn belt-plates, buttons and rusty bayonets may still be found by the careful seeker of such relics. Knowlton, Leitch and Henley, all of whom gave their lives for their country in this memorable campaign, sleep in unknown and unmarked graves upon this historic ground, while the grand highway of the stateliest pleasure ground of the world is grimly guarded by the colossal images of alien forms monstrous in perennial bronze;
gaunt shapes haunt the pathways and peer through the vistas of the shrubbery; and high above all towers the apochryphal form of an epi-
cene angel. A careless people forgets its heroes and martyrs, and over
the very ground which holds the sacred dust raises images to gratify
ephemeral vanity, satisfy vaulting ambition and pander to the lust of

WILSON CARY SMITH

NOTE—Force’s Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. II., 607, gives a “Return of Brigades under the
more immediate Command of His Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the
Army in the service of the United States of America. Harlem Heights, Head Quarters, Sep-
tember 30 1776.” The number of rank and file, present and fit for duty, is here given by brigades.

General Parsons’s, 883; General Clinton’s, 1130; General Scott’s, 605; Commandant Sar-
gant’s, 559; Commandant Hands’s, 915; General Nixon’s, 1067; General Wadsworth’s, 1469;
General McDougall’s, 1052; General Heard’s, 983; Commandant Glover’s, 864; General Fel-
lows’ 892; General Bedel’s, 1573; General Mifflin’s, 1631; Reed’s, Weedon’s and Chester’s Regi-
mants, 1011; Light Horse, 122, TOTAL, 14,759. The total on the muster rolls, including sick,
absent on command and on furlough, 25,802.
WASHINGTON'S GENERAL ORDERS

HEAD QUARTERS—ROGER MORRIS HOUSE
September 16 to October 21
1776

EXTRACTS RELATING TO POSITIONS AND LOCALITIES.

From Force's American Archives

**Sept 16—Arrangement for this night.** The arrangement for this Night upon the heights commanding the hollow Way from the North River to the Main Road leading from New York to Kingsbridge—General Clinton to form next to the North River, and extend to the left. Genl Scott's Brigade next to Gen Clinton's. Lieutenant Colonel Sayres of Colonel Griffith's Regiment, with the three companies intended for a reinforcement to-day, to form upon the left of Scott's Brigade. General Nixon's, Colonel Sargent's divisions, Colonel Weedon's and Major Price's Regiments are to retire to their quarters and report themselves; but to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning—General McDougall to establish proper guards against his brigade upon the heights, and every regiment posted upon the heights from Morris' house to General McDougall's camp, to furnish proper guards to prevent a surprise, not less than twenty men from each Regiment, Gen Putnam commands upon the right flank to night. Gen Spencer from McDougall's Brigade up to Morris House. Should the Enemy attempt to force the pass to-night, Gen Putnam is to apply to Gen Spencer for a reinforcement. (p. 381)

**Sept 18—General Parsons's, General Scott's and Colonel Sargent's Brigades are to march over King's Bridge and take General Heath's orders for encamping. Colonels Shee, Magaw, Haslett and the Regiment under Colonel Brodhead are to return to Mount Washington and be under the immediate care of General Mifflin.**

Colonel Ward's Regiment from Connecticut may for the present be annexed to the Brigade commanded by Colonel Sargent—

Generals Mifflin's, McDougall's, Heard's, Wadsworth's and Fellow's Brigades, and the Brigades under the command of Colonels Silliman and Douglass are to have each a Regiment in the field this evening, by Mr. Kortright's house. (p. 383)

**Sept 19—The Companies from Maryland under command of Major Price, are to join Colonel Smallwood's Battalion and General McDougall's Brigade. **

General Nixon with his brigade is to remove over to the Jersey, and will receive his orders from General Greene with respect to his encamping, &c. Such men of his brigade as are now on duty must be relieved.

The picket guards which are to occupy the outposts most advanced to the enemy, are to consist of eight hundred men, officered with two Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors and Captains and subalterns in proportion. They are to be furnished by detachments from the several brigades below Kings-Bridge, and so every day till further orders. (p. 414)

**Sept 20—The tents &c are to be sent to General Spencer's, at Mr. Kortright's house, who will cause them to be delivered to the regiments standing most in need of them, which regiments are to be answerable for them when called for. General Greene is to appoint some careful officer at Burdett's Ferry to examine passengers and see that none come over but such as have proper passes. General Mifflin is to do the same on this side, to prevent disaffected or suspected persons from passing. If Captain Johnson and the other gentlemen who were employed in this business at New York incline to engage in it again, they are to have the preference given them— (p. 415)

**Sept 22—The Brigadier is to see that a chain of sentries extend from the North River to Harlem River beyond which no stragglers are to pass—**

The General approves the Sentence (of death on a military offender) and orders that he be shot at head of the army on the grand parade near Kortright's house to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock. The men of the several regiments below King's Bridge not upon fatigue or guard are to march down at that hour; the Provost Marshal to attend. (p. 448)

**Sept 24—The Quarter Master and the Chief Engineer are to mark the ground to-morrow on which the barracks and huts are to be built this side**
King's Bridge—Major Henly, Aid de Camp to General Head &c.—his remains will be interred this afternoon at five o'clock from the Quarters of Major David Henly, Acting Adjutant General, below the hill where the redoubt is thrown upon the road. (p. 502)

Sept 26—Upon any alarm or approach of the enemy towards our lines, General Mifflin with his brigade, is to possess our left flank from the Hollow way by Colonel Sargent's late encampment to the Point of Rocks, on the left front of our lines, and till the regiment commanded by Colonel Weedon is brigaded to be joined by the same. General McDougall's Brigade is to repair to the plains back of General Mifflin, and be ready to support him or the picket in front, as occasion may require. General Bell's Brigade is to repair to the lines which cross the Road by Colonel Moylan's lodging and to extend their right flank to the middle redoubt by Mr. Kortright's house, occupying the same. Generals Wadsworth and Fellows are to take the remaining part of these lines, with the redoubt therein, on the North River. These three brigades to defend these lines or wait there for orders. General Heard's is to parade, and be ready to march wherever ordered—General Putnam is to command in front of the lines by Mr. Kortright's; General Spencer in the rear of them. (p. 568)

Sept 28—that the approach of the enemy to the front of our lines may be communicated as speedily as possible, two field pieces are to be fired, by order of the Brigadier of the day, at the redoubts on the road by Colonel Moylan's; this to be repeated by two others at Head Quarters, and the like number at Mount Washington.

General Saltonstall is to order in four of the militia regiments under his command who are to encamp on the hill opposite to Fort Washington, towards the point opposite to the encampment on the other side Harlem River. (p. 605)

Sept 29—A Court Martial consisting of the following members are to meet tomorrow at ten o'clock at the White House near Head Quarters for the trial of &c. (p. 606)

Oct 1—After Orders. The following troops to parade at five o'clock on the grand parade and there receive orders from General Putnam—Light Infantry of the Pennsylvania Battalions—General Mifflin's Brigade to furnish a Lieutenant Colonel and three hundred men, General Wadsworth's Brigade to furnish two hundred men to be commanded by Colonel Silliman. General McDougall's Brigade to furnish a Lieutenant Colonel and two hundred men. (p. 842)

Oct 14—Colonel Bailey's regiment is immediately to join General Clinton's Brigade at present under the command of General Glover—Colonel Lippets' regiment is to join General McDougall's Brigade. The brigades which will then remain on the island will be in two divisions, the first composed of Heards' Bealls and Weedon's to be under the command of Major General Putnam; the Second consisting of Lord Stirling's Wadsworth's and Fellows' to be under the command of Major General Spencer.

General Putnam will attend particularly to all the works and necessary places of defence, from the line which was intended to be run across from Head Quarters inclusively, up to and including the works on the island above that place, as far as hath usually been considered as belonging to this division of the army. He will also attend particularly to the works about Mount Washington and to the obstructions in the river, which should be increased as fast as possible.

General Spencer is to take charge of all the works from Head Quarters to our front lines to the South and attend particularly to all weak places seeing they are secured as well as time and circumstances will permit. (p. 1119)
THE WASHINGTON LETTERS

The second series of the letters of Washington, hitherto unpublished, is begun in the present number. The order of publication followed in the first series, chronological from the earliest Colonial to the last written in 1783, will be strictly conformed to. Many of those now presented have been for a long time awaiting their place in the present number under this arrangement. Those who have kindly contributed copies of their rare treasures will recognize the absolute necessity of the delay in the appositeness of their place in connection with others of the same period. Indeed one of the most satisfactory results of the collection is attained in the juxtaposition of letters brought from widely different sources and now for the first time set side by side for examination.

Many of those now presented are of unusual interest to the general reader from their connection with the earlier less known years of Washington's life, and their illustration of the growth of his character, while every line written by him during his period of active service is invaluable to students of the revolutionary period.

In accordance with the practice of the last two years the publication will be continued in August. This year the continuation will include all the letters written to General Varnum, over twenty in number, concerning the affair at Red Bank in the fall of 1777, which are in the possession of Dr. Henry E. Turner, of Newport, Rhode Island.

Numerous letters are supposed to exist in the Southern States. Washington in his Journal of 1781 makes special allusion to a number written from the Head of Elk to his friends on the Eastern Shore with appeals for aid in the transportation of his troops. It is earnestly hoped that the Southern friends of the Magazine will communicate information with regard to these.

Thanks are again tendered to those persons throughout the country who have generously aided in the prosecution of the undertaking to gather in copies of all the outstanding letters, and the appeal is now renewed. It is extremely desirable that the present series should be as complete as possible, as when it is closed the publication will be begun of the collection of those written after the peace; letters which have an interest and value of an entirely different character from their bearing upon a correct understanding of the early beginning of our political system.

EDITOR
WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL

From the Original Manuscript in the Library of the Department of State, at Washington

MAY TO AUGUST, 1781

MAY

I begin at this epoch, a concise journal of military transactions, &c. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the war, in aid of my memory—and wish the multiplicity of matters which continually surround me—and the embarrassed state of our affairs which is momently calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt my present intention and plan as to render it of little avail.

To have the clearer understanding of the entries which may follow, it would be proper to recite, in detail, our wants and our prospects—but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words,—viz.—

Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pitance scattered here and there in the different States.— Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them— Instead of having the various articles of Field equipage in readiness to deliver, the Quartermaster-General (as the denier resort, according to his acct) is but now applying to the several States to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation upon credit,—or funds in the Quartermaster’s hands to defray the contingent Expences of it, we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military Impress, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people,—souring their tempers, and alienating their affection—Instead of having the Regiments compleated to the new establishment (and which ought to have been so by the — of — agreeable to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any state in the Union has, at this hour, an eighth part of its quota in the field—and little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half.— In a word—instead of having everything in readiness to take the Field, we have nothing—and instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy defensive one—unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships—Land Troops—and money from our generous allies—& these, at present, are too contingent to build upon.

May 1st—Induced by pressing necessity—the inefficacy, & bad tendency of pushing Military Impresses too far—and the impracticability of keeping the army supplied without it, or money, to pay the transportation—I drew for 9000 dollars of the sum sent on by the State of Massachusetts for payment of their Troops; and placed it in the hands of the Q: M: General with the most positive orders to apply it solely to this purpose.—

Fixed with Ezekiel Cornell Esqr. a member of the Board of war (then on a tour to the Eastward to inspect some of the Armoury’s &c.) on certain articles of cloathing—arms—and military stores which might be sent from hence
to supply the wants of the Southern army.

Major Talmadge was requested to press the C—s Senr & Junr to continue their correspondence—and was authorized to assure the elder C—that he should be repaid the sum of 100 Guineas, or more, with interest; provided he advanced the same for the purpose of defraying the expense of the correspondence, as he had offered to do.

Colo. Dayton was also written to, and pressed to establish a correspondence with New York by way of Elizabeth-town for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of the Enemy’s movemts. and designs; that by a comparison of accts, proper & just conclusions may be drawn.

May 2d—No occurrence of note.—a very fresh and steady gale of wind all day from the So. East.—upon its shifting (about dusk) it blew violently, & continued boisterous through the night or greatest part of it.

May 4th.—A letter of the Baron de Steuben’s from Chesterfield Court House. Virga. dated the 21st ulto. informs that 12 of the Enemy’s vessels but with what Troops he knew not, had advanced up James River as high as Jamestown—that few militia were in arms—and few arms to put into their hands.—that he had moved the public stores from Richmond &c into the interior country.

A letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette, dated at Alexandria on the 23d, mentioned his having commenced his march that day for Fredericksburg—that desertion had ceased, & that his detachment were in good spirits.

May 5th.—Accounts from Brigadr Genl. Clinton at Albany, dated the 30th ulto. & 1st Inst’t, filled me with anxious fears that the Garrison of fort Schuyler would be obliged to evacuate the Post for want of Provisions—and that a mutiny in the other Troops was to be apprehended.—In consequence of this alarming piece of information, I directed the Q M. Gl to send 50 Barls. of flour & the like qty. of salted meat imm’ly up, for the Garrison of Fort Schuyler—but of the latter there being only 24 in store, no more could be sent.

May 6th.—Colo. Menonville, one of the adjut. Generals in the French army came to Head Quarters by order of Count de Rochambeau to make arrangements for supplying the Troops of His most Christian Majesty with certain provisions contracted for by Doctr. Franklin.—This demand, tho’ the immediate compliance with it, was not insisted upon, comports illly with our circumstances; & it is exceedingly embarrassing.

The D Q Mr. at Sussex Ct House conceiving that the Provision Magazine & other stores at that place were exposed to a surprize, and in danger of being destroyed by the Indians & Tories who were infesting the settlement at Minisink, I directed Colo. Dayton to send a guard there from the Jersey Brigade near Morristown.

Mr. John Flood (at present a liver at lower Salem) whom I had sent for to obtain from him an acct. of the Harbours in the sound from Frogs point Eastward, arrived; and gave the information wch. is filed in my office.

Other letters arriving this evening late (more expressive of the wants of the York Troops at Albany, & the Posts
above.) I ordered 100, out of 131 Barrels of Flour which were in store, to be immediately sent up; & again called upon the Q M Genl in the most pointed terms to send active men to forward on, by every means they could devise, the salted proyin in Connecticut; & flour from Sussex Ct Ho. &c.

That the states might not only know our wants, which my repeated & pressing letters had recently, & often communicated, but, if possible, be impressed with them and adopt some mode of transporting it to the army, I resolved to send Genl. Heath (2d offir. in commd) to make to the respective legislatures East of York state, pointed representation; & to declare explicitly that unless measures are adopted to supply transportation, it will be impossible to subsist & keep the troops together.

May 7th—The wind which blew with great force from the So. East the last two days was accompanied this day by incessant rain and was a most violent storm. —& is supposed to have done damage to ships on the coast.

May 9th—Went to the Posts at West Point, and found by enquiry of General Heath that all the meal (meat?) deposited in the advanced redoubts for contingent purposes would not, if served out, serve the army two days—that the Troops had drawn none that day—& that none remained in the common Magazine.

May 10th—The Q M Genl representing that it was not in his power to get the salt meat of Connecticut transported—even for the money that was put into his hands for this purpose—the people now alleging that they had no forage—when the badness of the roads was an excuse when they were called upon by the Executive of their state in the month of March—and that nothing but military force could effect the transport for our present wants. Parties were ordered out accordingly and the officers commanding them directed to receive their Instructions from him.

May 11th—Major Genl. Heath set out this day for the Eastn. States, provided with Instructions, and letters couched in strong terms—representing the distresses of the army for want of provisions and the indispensable necessity of keeping up regular supplies by the adoption of a plan which will have system and permanency in’t—

This day also I received advice from Colo Dayton that 10 ships of the line, and 3 or 4000 Troops had sailed from New York—the intelligence was immediately communicated to Congress, and to the French Genl. & admiral at R Isld.

May 12th—Colo Dayton’s intelligence, so far as respected the sailing of Troops, was confirmed by two sensible deserters from Kings bridge; which place they left yesterday morning at two o’clock—they add the detachment consisted of the Grenadrs (Bh)—the corps of Anspach (two Battalions) & the 37th & 43d British regiments, amounting, as is supposed, to about 2000 men under the command of Majr Genl. Redeisel.—

May 13th — Received letters from Count de Rochambeau advising me of the arrival of his son—& from Count de Barras informing me of his appointment to the Command of the French squadron at Rhode Island—both soliciting an Interview with me as soon as possible—
appointed in answer, Monday the 21st inst. & Wethersfield, as the time & place of meeting.

May 14th—About noon intelligence was recd. from Genl. Patterson at West Point, that the Enemy were on the No. Side of Croton in force—that Colo. Green, Majr. Flag, and some other officers with 40 or 50 men were surprized & cut off at the Bridge — & that Colo. Scammell with the New Hampshire Troops had marched to their assistance— I ordered the Connecticut Troops to move on & support those of New Hampshire— In the evening, information was brot. that the Enemy (consisting of about 60 horse, & 140 Infantry) had retreated precipitately—& that several of our soldiers had been inhumanly murdered.—

May 15th — Information dated 12 o'clock yesterday reports 15 sail of vessels & a number of Flat boats to be off Fort Lee.—ordered a detachment of 200 men to march immediately to support the Post at Dobbs's ferry—countenance the militia, & cover the country in that neighbourhood—

Intelligence from C-Senr., dated 729—a detachment is expected to sail to-morrow from New York, and said to consist of the Anspach Troops—43d B. Regiment, remainder of the 76th.—80th, 17th Dragoons, & Infantry of the same—to be conveyed by 7 ships of the line, 2 fifties & 3 forty fours which are to cruze of the Capes of Virginia.—He gives it as the opinion of C-Junr. that the above detachment does not exceed 2000 men—that not more than 4000 remain—wch is only (he adds) to be accounted for on the supposition of their expecting a reinforcement immediately from Europe.

May 16th—Went to the Posts at West Point—received a particular acct. of the surprize of Colo Green & the loss we sustained which consisted of himself & Major (Flag) killed—three officers & a surgeon taken prisoners (the latter & two of the former wounded)—a sergeant & 5 R & F. killed—5 left wounded—& 33 made prisoners & missing—in all 44 besides officers—

The report of the number of shipping &ca at Fort Lee was this day contradicted in part—the number of vessels being reduced, & said to be no higher than Bulls-ferry—in consequence of this intelligence Lt. Col Badlam who marched with the detachment of 200 men pursuant to the orders of yesterday & had reached Stony point halted—but was directed not to return till the designs of the enemy were better understood.

May 17th—Received a letter from Captin Lawrence, near Dobbs's ferry, informing me that abt. 200 Refugees were building a block house & raising other works at Fort Lee.—order'd the detachment which had halted at Kings Ferry & another forming under Colo. Scammel to advance down & endeavor to annoy if they could not prevent them.

A Letter from Genl. Foreman of Monmouth (dated the 14th Inst) informs me that the British fleet from New York consisting of seven ships of 60 Guns & upwards—12 large Transport vessels, & 10 top sail schooners & sloops made sail from Sandy hook the 12th, with the wind at So. East.—but veering round to the southward, & westward, it returned within the hook and lay there till 10 o'clock next day when it again sailed—by two
o'clock it was clear of the hook—and steering southward.—

**May 18th**—Received letters from Generals Schuyler and Clinton giving an acct. of the threatened Invasion of the Northern Frontier of this State from Canada, and of the unfavourable prospects from Vermont.—and of the destruction of the Post of Fort Schuyler—the indefensible state of the works occasioned thereby—and submitting for considn the propriety of removing the Garrison to the German Flatts which he (that is Clinton) was requested to do if it appear'd to be the sense of the Governor & other principal Gentn of the State that it would be eligible.

Set out this day for the Interview at Weathersfield with the Count de Rochambeau & Admiral Barras.—reached Morgans Tavern 43 miles from Fishkill Landing after dining at Colo. Vandeburghs.—

**May 19th**—Breakfasted at Litchfield—dined at Farmington — & lodged at Weathersfield at the House of Joseph Webb Esqr. (the Quarters wch were taken for me and my suit.)—

**May 20th**—Had a good deal of private conversation with Govr Trumbull who gave it to me as his opinion that if any important offensive operation should be undertaken he had little doubt of our obtaining Men & Provision adequate to our wants.—In this opinion Colo. Wads-worth & others concur'd.

**May 21st**—The Count de Rochambeau with the Chevr de Chastellux arrived about noon — the appearance of the British Fleet (under Adm Arbuthnot) off Block Island prevented the attendance of the Count de Barras.

**May 22d**—Fixed with Count de Rochambeau upon a plan of Campaign—in substance as follows—That the French Land force (except 200 men) should march so soon as the Squadron could sail for Boston—to the North River—& there, in conjunction with the American, to commence an operation against New York (which in the present reduced state of the Garrison it was thought would fall, unless relieved; the doing which wd enfeeble their Southern operations, and in either case be productive of capital advantages) or to extend our views to the Southward as circumstances and a naval superiority might render more necessary and eligible.—The aid which would be given to such an operation in this quarter—the tardiness with which the Regiments would be filled for any other.—the insurmountable difficulty & expence of Land transportation—the waste of men in long marches (especially where there is a disinclination to the Service—Objections to the climate &ca) with other reasons too numerous to detail, induced to this opinion.—The heavy stores & Baggage of the French army were to be deposited at Providence under Guard of 200 men (before mentioned)—& Newport Harbour & Works were to be secured by 500 militia.—

**May 23d**—Count de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, while I prepared and forwarded dispatches to the Governors of the four New England states calling upon them in earnest & pointed terms, to compleat their Continental Battalions for the Campaign, at least, if it could not be done for the war or 3 years—to hold a body of militia (according to the Proportion given them)
ready to march in one week after being called for—and to adopt some effectual mode to supply the Troops when assembled with Provisn. & Transportation.

I also sollicited the Governors of the States of Massachusetts & Connecticut earnestly for a Loan of Powder & the means of Transporting it to the Army.

A Letter from Genl. St. Clair came to hand with accts. of an apparent intention of the enemy to evacuate New York.

May 24th—Set out on my return to New Windsor—dined at Farmington and lodged at Litchfield

May 25th—Breakfasted at Squire Cogswells—dined at Colo. Vandeburgs & reached head Quarters about sunset where I found letters from Generls. Schuyler & Clinton full of uncertain information respecting the enemy's landing at Crown point & intention to penetrate on the Hudson & Mohawk Rivers.—this uncertainty respects the number, not the fact—the latter seeming to be beyond a doubt.—In consequence of this information I ordered the Companies of Van Scaicks Regiment at West point to hold themselves in readiness to move at an hour's warning.

May 26th—Received a Letter from the Honble Jno. Laurens minister from the United States of America at the Court Versailles—informing me that the sum of 6,000,000 of Livres was granted as a donation to this country—to be applied in part to the purchase of arms—cloaths &ca for the American Troops and the ballance to my orders & draughts at long sight.—and that a Fleet of 20 Sails of the Line was on its departure for the West Indies 12 of which were to proceed to this Coast where it was probable they might arrive in the month of July.—He also added that the Courts of Petersbg. & Vienna had offered their mediation in settling the present troubles wch. the King of France, tho' personally pleased with, could not accept without consulting his allies.—A Letter from Doctr. Lee inclosing extracts from his Brother Wm. Lee Esqr. dated the 20th of Feby holds out strong assurances of Peace being restored in the course of this yr.

May 28th—The commanding officer of artillery—& the chief Engineer were called upon to give in estimates of their wants for the intended operation against New York.—The intention of doing this was also disclosed to the Q M General who was desired to give every attention toward the Boats, that a number of them might be prepared; & provide other matters necessary to such an undertaking—especially those things which might be called for by the Artillery, & the Engineering departments.

May 31st—A Letter from Count de Rochambeau informed me that the British fleet had left Block Island,—that Adm. de Barras would sail with the first fair wind for Boston (having 900 of his soldiers on Board to man his fleet)—and that he should commence his march as soon as possible but would be under the necessity of Halting a few days at Providence—

A Letter from Major Talmage, inclosing one from C. Senr. & another from S. G. dated the 27th. were totally silent on the subject of an evacuation of New York; but speak of an order for marching the Troops from Long Island—and the Countermand of it after they had
commenced their march; the cause for either they could not assign—Neither C. Senr. nor S G, estimate the enemy's regular force at New York & its dependencies at more than 4500 men including the new Levies; but C— says it is reported that they can command five & some add 6,000 militia & refugees.—S. G. disposes of the Enemy's force as follows.—

At Fort Washington & towards 2 Regts.
Laurel Hill—Fort George 57th
B ..............................
Haerlam—at a place called
Laurel Hill..............38 D.
At Hornes hook & towds. the city—22d & 42d B: Regts.
In the city Hessian Regim. 2
On Staten Island ............ 2
Total on this Isld. 1300
On Long Island.............
1st B Grenadrs, New Town. 1
2d . Ditto . . . . . Jamaica . 1
Worms Hessian Yagers
(called by him 6 or 700) No.
side of the Plains........ 1
Light Dragsns. 17th Regt. at
Hempstead Plains........ 1
Loyds neck—detachmts. from —
New Corps abt. 6 or 700.... 14

The detachment which left Sandy hook the 13th Inst. according to S. G.s acct.—consisted of the Troops on the other side—though it is thought he must be mistaken in naming the 46th & 86th Regiments—the first of them being a Convention Regimt. and the other not in America.—By accts. from Deserters the 37th Regt. went with the detachment and must be in place of the 46th as the 80th must be in that of the 86th.—

43 British Regiment.......... 300
Anspach. 2 Battalions.......... 700
Part of the 86th............. 150
Part of the 46th............. 150
Hessian Yagers—abt........ 150

JUNE 1450

June 1st—Received Letters from Generals Schuyler & Clinton, containing further, but still indistinct accts. of the enemy's force at Crown point.—

Letters from Doctr. Smith of Albany, & — Shepherd principal armourer at that place, were intercepted, giving to the enemy with acct. of our distresses, the strength and disposition of our Troops—The disaffection of particular settlements—the provision these settlements had made to subsist them—their readiness to join—them.—the genl. temper of the people.—and their earnest wishes for their advance in force—assuring them of the happy consequences which would derive to the Kings arms if they would move rapidly to Albany.—

In consequence of this information I directed the Q M. General to provide draft for, and the 6 Companies of Van Scaicks Regiment and Hazens to proceed immediately to Albany; and put themselves under General Clontons orders.—

June 4th—Letters from the Marqts. de la Fayette of the 25th ulo. informs that Lord Cornwallis had formed a junction with Arnold at Petersbourg—that with their united force he had marched to City point on James River—and that the detachment which sailed from New York the 13th of May had arrived in James River and were debarking at
Westover.—and that he himself had removed from Wilton to Richmond.

The Duke de Lauzen arrived this afternoon with Letters from Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Count de Barras, with the proceedings of a council of war held on Board the Duke de Burgogne proposing to continue the Fleet at Rhode Island under the protection of 400 French Troops & 1000 Militia in preference to the plan adopted at Weathersfield; requiring my opinion thereon which was given to this effect—that I conceived the first plan gave a more perfect security to the Kings fleet than the latter, and consequently left the Land force more at liberty to act, for which reason I could not change my former opinion but shou'd readily acquiesce to theirs if upon a re-consideration of the matter they adhered to it—accordingly, that delay might be avoided, I enclosed letters (under flying seals) to the Governors of R'd: Island & Massachusetts to be made use of or not, requesting the militia; and pressed the march of the Land Troops as soon as circumstances would admit of it.—

June 5th—Governor Rutlidge of South Carolina came to Head Qrs with representations of the situation of southern affairs, and to sollicit aids—l communicated the plan of campaign to him—and candidly exposed the true state of our circumstances which convinced him—or seemed to do so—that no relief cd. be given from this army till we had acquired a naval superiority and cd. transport Troops by Water.—

June 7th—A Letter from the Govr. of Virginia dated at Charlottesville the 28th ulto. representing the distressed state of Virginia & pressing my repairing thither, was received—other letters (but not official) speak of Lord Cornwallis's advance to Hanover Court House—that the Marquis was retreating before him towards Fredericksburg—and that General Leslie was embarked in James River about 1200 men destined, as was supposed, to Alexandria whither it was conjectured by the letter writers Lord Cornwallis was pointing his march.—

Accts. from Pittsburg were expressive of much apprehension for that quarter as a force from Canada was expected thither by way of the Lakes and the Alligany River.

A Letter from the Executive of Pennsylvania afforded little hope of assistance in the article of Provision or other things, from that state.—and was more productive of what they had done, than what they meant to do.—

June 9th—A Captn. Randolph—sent by General Clarke from Pittsburg, arrived here with letters & representations of his disappointments of men, and the prospect of failure in his intended Expedition against Detroit unless he could be aided by the 9th Virginia Regiment & Heths company at Pittsburg—but the weakness of the Garrison & other considerations would not admit this—nor did it appear to me that this reinforcement would enable him to undertake & prosecute the Plan.

June 11th—Received Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette containing information of Lord Cornwallis's movements from Westover. and that, at the date of his letter—the 3d Inst.—he had advanced to the North Anna.—but his design was not sufficiently understood—
supposed Fredericksburg.—The Marqs. was retreating before him with abt. 3000 men. Militia included—the Enemy's force exclusive of Leslie's detachment being estimated at five or 6000 men. 600 of wch were Horse.

June 13th—To facilitate the building, and repairing of Boats, a number of Carpenters was ordered from the line of the army to the Q. M. G: to aid the artificers of his department in this important business.—and Major Darby with a Captain 5 subs—6 Sergts. and 100 Rank and file were drawn from the army in order to collect and take care of ye public Boats.

June 14th—Received agreeable accts. from General Greene of his successes in South Carolina—viz—that Lord Rawdon had abandoned Cambden with precipitation, leaving all our wounded taken in the action of the 25th of April last, together with 58 of his own too bad to remove.—that he had destroy'd his own stores—burnt many buildings and in short left the Town little better than a heap of Rubbish—That Orangeburg, Forts McH. & Granby, had surrendered; their Garrisons including officers consisting of near 700 men—That ninety six & Fort Augusta were invested—that he was preparing to march to the Former—and that, Lord Rawdon was at Nelson's ferry removing the stores from that place which indicated an Evacuation thereof.—

June 16th—Directed that no more Invalids be transferred till further orders. 
—that a detachment be formed of the weakest men for garrisoning West point and that a camp be marked out by the Chief Engineer and Q M Genl near Peekskill to assemble the Troops on.—

June 18th—Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the army, which is to march for the new Camp in three divisions—the 1st on Thursday the 21st.
—the 2d on the 23d.—and the 3d on the 24th. inst.

To strengthen the detachment intended for the garrison of West point, I had previously called upon the State of Connecticut for 800 militia.

June 20th—Rec'd Letters from Genl. Clinton at Albany inclosing the examination of two Prisoners taken at Crown point by wch. and other intelligence it appears that no Troops had landed at that place and that the enemy's shipping only, had ever been there—In consequence, the Continental Troops to the No.ward were ordered to be in readiness to join the army on the shortest notice and Governor Clinton informed thereof that the new levies of the State and nine months men might be hastened to relieve them.—

June 24th—A Letter from the Count de Rochambeau, dated at Windham the 20th. advises me of his having reached that Town, that day, with the first division of his army—that the other 3 divisions were following in regular succession—that he expected to Halt the Troops two days at Hartford, but would come on to my camp from that place after the arrival of the division with which he was.

By a Letter from Govr. Trumbull it appear'd that the assembly of Connecticut had passed some salutary Laws for filling their Battalions & complying with my requisitions—but it is to be feared
that their list of deficiencies, which the respective towns are called upon to make good by drafts to complete the Battalions is short of the number wanting for this purpose.

_June 25th_—a letter from Genl. Heath of the 18th. holds up favourable Ideas of the disposition prevailing in the State of Massachusetts Bay to comply with everything required of them. Joined the army at its Encampment at Peekskill—Mrs. Washington set out at the same time towards Virginia—but with an intention to Halt at Philadelphia if from information & circumstances it was not likely she should remain quietly at Mt. Vernon. a Letter from Count de Rochambeau informs me that he shall be with his first division at Newtown on the 28th. where he purposed to assemble his force & march in Brigades while the Duke de Lauzens Legion continued to move on his Left flank.

Had an interview with Govr. Clinton, Lieut. Govr. Courtlandt & Generals Schuyler & Tenbrooke; in which I pressed the necessity of my recalling the Continental Regiments from Albany, & the Posts above & of the States hastening up their levies for 3 years and nine months—and agreed to order 600 militia (part of the quota required of Massachusetts bay) from the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to march immediately to Albany which was accordingly done & Govr. Hancock advised of it.—

Genl Stark was directed to repair to Saratoga & take command of the Troops on the Northern & Western frontier—and Genl. Clinton called upon in pointed terms to have the Continental Troops under his command in the most perfect readiness to join the Army.—rec a Letter from the Minister of France advising me of the arrival of between 3 & 4000 Troops abt. the 4th Inst. at Charles Town—that 2000 of them had debarked & that the rest were said to be destined for St. Augustine & New York.—that George Town was evacuated—& the enemy in Charlestown weak (not exceeding 450 men before the reinforcement arrived—which latter must be a mistake, as the Ministers informant added, that Lord Rawden had got there after a precipitate retreat from a Post above—and that the American parties were within 5 miles of the Town.—Lord Rawdens Troops alone amounted to more than the number here mentioned)

Having suggested to the Count de Rochambeau the advantages which might be derived to the common cause in general—and the Southern States in particular, if by arming the Fantasque & bringing the 50 gun ship to Rhode Isld. (which then lay at Boston) the fleet of his most Christian Majesty at Newport could appear in Chesapeake bay I received an answer from the French Admiral through the General that he was disposed to the measure provided he could obtain a loan of the French Guard (of 400 men which were left at Newport & which were granted) & 4 pieces of heavy artillery at Brentons point which the Count could not spare—but that the fleet could not be ready to sail under 20 days from the date of his letter (the 21st)—thus, uncertain, the matter stands.

_June 28th_—Having determined to surprize the Enemy’s Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island, if the prospt. of success continued favourable, & having fixed
upon the Night of the 2d. of July for this purpose.—and having moreover combined with it an attempt to cut off Delancy’s and other light Corps without Kingsbridge and fixed upon Genl. Lincoln to commd the first detachment & the Duke de Lauzen the 2d. everything was put in train for it and the Count de Rochambeau requested to file of from Ridgebury to Bedford & hasten his mar[ch]—while the Duke de Lauzen was to do the same & to assemble his command (which was to consist of abt. 3 or 400 Connecticut State Troops under the command of Genl Waterbury—abt. 100 York Troops under Captn. Sacket—Sheldens Legion of 200, and his own proper Corps.)—Genl. Lincolns command was to consist of Scammells light Troops and other detachments to the amount of 800 Rank & file properly officerd—150 Watermen—and 60 Artillerists.

June 29th—Recd a letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette informing me that Lord Cornwallis after having attempted to surprize the Virginia Assembly at Charlottesville and destroy some stores at the Forks of James River, in which he succeeded partially had returned to Richmond without having effected any valuable purpose by his manoeuvres in Virginia.—In a private letter he complains heavily of the conduct of the Baron de Steuben whom he observes has rendered himself extremely obnoxious in Virg.

July 2d—Genl. Lincoln’s detachment embarked last night after dark at or near Tellar’s point; and as his operations were to be the movement of two nights he was desired to repair to Fort Lee this day and reconnoitre the enemy’s works. —Position and strength as well as he possibly could & take his ultimate determination from appearances—that is—to attempt the surprize if the prospect was favourable—or to relinquish it if it was not, and in the latter case to land above the mouth of Spiken devil & cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps.

At three o’clock this morning I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops—and improve any advantages which might be gained by them—made a small halt at the New bridge over Croton abt. 9 miles from Peekskill—another at the Church by Tarry Town till Dusk (9 miles more) and compleated the remaining part of the mar[ch] in the night—arriving at Valentines Hill (at Mile square) about sunrise.

Our Baggage & Tents were left standing at the Camp at Peekskill.

July 3d—The length of Duke Lauzens march & the fatigue of his Corps, prevented his coming to the point of action at the hour appointed.

In the meantime Genl. Lincolns Party who were ordered to prevent the retreat of Delancy’s Corps by the way of Kgs Bridge & prevent succour by that route were attacked by the Yagers and others—but on the march of the Army from Valentines Hill retired to the Island.— Being disappointed in both objects from the causes mentioned I did not care to fatigue the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their arms while I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemys works.—In the afternoon we retired to Valentines Hill
& Jay upon our arms—Duke Lauzen & Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunx river on the East Chester road.—
Our loss in this days skirmishing was as follows—viz.:

[The figures are not given.]

July 4th—Marched & took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left.—Duke Lauzen marched to the White pln. & Waterbury to Horse neck.—

July 5th—Visited the French Army which had arrived at Norcastle.

July 6th—The French Army formed the junction with the American on the Grounds marked out—The legion of Lauzen took a position advanced of the plains on Chittendens Hill west of the River Brunx. This day also the Minister of France arrived in Camp from Philadelphia.

July 8th—Began a Work at Dobbs' ferry, with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provision & stores from Pennsylvania.

July 9th—Received a Letter from the Marqs de Lafayette informing me of Cornwallis's retreat to Williamsburg—that he had pushed his rear & had obtained advantages—having killed 60 & wounded an hundred, with small loss.—

Southern acct though not official speak of the reduction of Augusta & Ninety six by the arms of Major Genl Greene.

July 10th—A Letter from Governor Trumbull inclosing ye proceedings of a convention of Eastern Deligates gives better hope of a regular supply of provision than we have been accustomed to for more than two years as the business seems to be taken up systematically and regular modes adopted to furnish supplies at stated periods.—

General Heath also writes very favourably of the disposition of the Eastn States—but still we are without the reinforcements of men required of them.

The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters, in a promising way—as those at Wappings Creek also are by the Q. Mr. Genl's report.—

Hazen's & the 1st York Regimt who had been ordered to West point arrived there, but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay & several had deserted.—The other York Regimt were detained at Albany to bring down the Boats & boards

July 13th—The Jersey Troops arrived at Dobbs's Ferry agreeable to orders—Some French Frigates made an attempt on the Enemy's Post at Loyds Neck but without success not being able to land in the night.—

July 14th—Near 5000 men being ordered to march for Kingsbridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemys works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem river, & the Sound, were prevented doing so by incessant rain—

July 15th—The Savage sloop of war of 16 Guns—the ship Genl. Washington, lately taken by the Enemy—a ten Galley—and two other sma[ll] armed Vessels passed our post at Dobbs Ferry (which was not in a condition to oppose them)—At the same time three or four river Vessels with 4 Eighteen pounders—stores &c had just arrived at Tarrytown & with infinite difficulty, & by great exertion of Colo. Sheldon, Captn. Hurlbut, (who got wounded)—Captn.
Lieut. Miles of the Artillery — & Lt. Shayler were prevented falling into the hands of the Enemy as they got aground 100 yards from the Dock, and were set fire to by the Enemy, but extinguished by the extraordinary activity & spirit of the above Gentn — two of the Carriages however were a good deal damaged by the fire —

The Enemy, however, by sending their armed Boats up the River took the Vessel of a Capt'n Dobbs laden with Bread for the French Army—clothing for Sheldon's Regiment & some passengers.—this was done in the Night.—it being after sunset before the vessels passed the Post at Dobbs ferry.—

_July 16th_ — The Cannon & Stores were got out of the Vessels & everything being removed from Tarrytown, two French twelve pounders, & one of our 18 prs were brought to bear upon the ships which lay of Tarrytown, distant about a mile, and obliged them to remove lower down & more over to the West shore.—

_July 17th_ — The vessels being again fired at in the position they took yesterday, run up the river to Teller's point, & there come to burning the House of the widow Neyall.—(Noyelles).

_July 18th_ — I passed the North River with Count de Rochambeau—Genl. de Beville, his Qr. Mr. Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island—took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side.

From different views the following discoveries were made—viz :— That two Ships of 20 Guns & upwards lay opposite to the mouth of Spiken devil—one pretty near the East shore, the other abt the same distance from the West; the first is intended to guard the mouth of Spiken devil equally with the No. River.— Below these & directly opposite to Fort Washington (or Knyphausen) lay two transports with about 6 Guns & few men in each, the Eastermost ship seems designed to Guard the landing at the little bay above Jeffereys Rock.

— About the center of the Ground leading to Jeffrey's Rock or point a Guard mounts—

It appears to be no more than a Sergeants guard, with one centry in front, where there is a small Work—the Guard House standing within—

These are all the Guards—and all the security I could discover upon the No. River—on the right flank of the Enemy. — the shore from Jeffereys rock downwards was quite open and free—without Hutt's of any kind—Houses or Troops—none being encamped below the heights— There did not even appear springs, or washing places any where on the face of the Hill which were resorted to.—

The Island is totally stripped of Trees, & wood of every kind; but low bushes (apparently as high as a mans waste) appear in places which were covered with wood in the year 1776.

The side of the Hill from the Barrier below Fort Tryon, to the Bay opposite to fort Knyphausen is difficult of access; but there seems to be a place abt 200 yds above the bay, which has the best appearance of a landing, and is most private—but a hut or two on the heights abt. 200 yds above Fort Knyphausen, &
a little above the old long Battery, which
was thrown up in 1776 must be avoided
by leaving it on the left in getting to the
Fort last mentioned.

In the hollow below Morris's heights
(between that & Haerlam) is a good
place to land; but near the York road
opposite there appeared to be a few
Tents — and many Dragoon Horses
seemed to be at Pasture in the low land
between the heights. — a landing perfect-
ly concealed but not so good, might be
made a little higher up the river, and
nearer to those heights which ought to
be immediately occupied — (between the
old American lines and the foresaid
hollow)

From the point within the mouth of
Spiken devil, the way to the Fort on
Cox's Hill seems difficult, and the first
part of it covered with bushes — there is
a better way up from the outer point, but
too much exposed to a discovery from
the ship which lays opposite to it, and
on acct of its being less covered with
wood.

The ground round the Fort on Cox's
hill is clear of Bushes — there is an abatis
round the work, but no friezing; nor
could I discover whether there is a ditch.
— At the No. Et corner there appeared
to be no Parapet— & the whole seemed
to be in a decaying state — the gate is
next the No. River.

Forts Tryon, Knyphausen & Ft. George
on Laurell, with the Batteries in the line
of Pallisading across from River to river
appeared to be well friezed, ditched &
abattied — in a word to be strong and in
good repair.

Fort No. 8. is also abatied & friezed
at the Top — the gate is next Haerlam
river — there are no Houses or Huts on
the side of the Hill from this work till
you come near old Fort Independence.

On McGowans heights there appears
(by the extent of the Tents) to be two
Battns encamped — supposed to be Brit-
ish Grenadiers — a little in the rear of
this and on the (enemys) left, are a num-
ber of Huts — but whether they are In-
habited or not could not be ascertained
— there being different opinions on this
point from the nearest view we could get
of it. — On the height opposite to Morris'
White House there appeared to be an-
other Regt. (supposed to be the 38th.
British) Between this and Fort Kny-
phausen (abt. half way) are two small En-
campments contiguous to each other —
both together containing two or 3 and 40
Tents. — Hessians — On Laurel Hill near
Fort George is another Encampment in
view abt. 40 Tents & Huts which appear
to be Inhabited also — by (it is said) the
57th Regiment.

The other, and only remaining En-
campment in view, discoverable from
the west side of the river, is betw the
Barrier and King's bridge — in the Hol-
low between Cox's Hill and the heights
below —

One hundred Tents could be counted
in view at the same time, and others
might be hid by the Hills. — At this place
it is said the Jagers — Hessians & An-
pach lay.

July 19th — The Enemys shipping run
down the river, and left the navigation
of it above once more free for us — In
passing our Battery at Dobbs's where
were 2 Eighteen & 2 twelve pounders —
and two Howitzers, they recd. consid-
erable damage; especially the Savage sloop
of war which was frequently hulled, and once more set on fire; occasioning several of her people, and one of our own (taken in Dobbes sloop, and) who gives the acct to jump over board—several people he says were killed & the ship pierced through both her sides in many places and in such a manner as to render all their pumps necessary to free the water.

July 20th—Count de Rochambeau having called upon me, in the name of Count de Barras, for a definite plan of Campaign, that he might communicate it to the Count de Grasse—I could not but acknowledge, that the uncertainties under which we labour—the few men who have joined (either as recruits for the Continental Battns or Militia)—& the ignorance in which I am kept by some of the States on whom I mostly depended. —especially Massachusetts from whose Govr. I have not received a line since I addressed him from Wethersfd the 23d of May last.—rendered it impracticable for me to do more than to prepare, first, for the enterprize against New York as agreed to at Wethersfield—and secondly for the relief of the Southern States if after all my efforts, & earnest application to these States it should be found at the arrivl of Count de Grasse that I had neither men, nor means adequate to the first object—to give this opinion I was further induced from the uncertainty with respect to the time of the arrival of the French Fleet & whether land Troops would come in it or not as had been earnestly requested by me & inforced by the Minister of France.

The uncertainty of sufficient aids of men & means from the States to whom application had been made, and the discouraging prospect before me of having my requisitions complied with—added to an unwillingness to incur any expense that could be avoided induced me to desire Genl. Knox to suspend the Transport of the heavy cannon & stores from Philadelphia lest we should have them to carry back again or be encumbd with them in the field.—

July 21st—Wrote to the Count de Grasse in a Cypher of the Count de Rochambeau's, giving information of the junction of the allied Armys—the Position they had taken — our strength and that of the enemy's—our hopes & fears—& what we expected to do under different circumstances.— This letter was put under cover to Genl. Forman, who was requested to have a lookout on the heights of Monmouth, and deliver it himself upon the arrival of the Fleet—and who was also requested to establish a chain of Expresses for quick communication between Monmouth and Dobbs’s ferry—the Expence of which I would see paid.

Again ordered abt. 5000 men to be ready to march at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's Posts at Kingsbridge—and to cut off, if possible, such of Delaney's Corps as should be found without their lines.

At the hour appointed the march commenced in 4 columns on different roads. —Majr. Genl. Parsons, with the Connecticut Troops & 25 of Sheldon's horse, formed the right column (with two field pieces) on the No. River road:— the other Two divisions of the Army, under the Majr. Generals Lincoln & Howe,
together with the corps of Sappers and Miners, and 4 field pieces, formed the next column on the Saw mill river road. — The right column of the French (on our left) consisted of the Brigade of Bourbonnis, with the Battal of Grenadiers and Choissairs, 2 field pieces, & 2 twelve pounders—their left column was composed of the Legion of Lauzen, one Batt. of Grenadiers, & Choissairs of Sousonnis, 2 field pieces & 2 Howitzers— General Waterbury, with the Militia, and State Troops of Connecticut, were to march on the East Chester Road, and to be joined at that place by the Cavalry of Sheldon, for the purpose of Scouring Frog's Neck.— Sheldon's Infantry was to join the Legion of Lauzen for the purpose of Scouring Morrissania, and to be covered by Scammell's light Infantry who were to advance thro' the fields & way lay the Roads—stop all communication & prevent Intelligence getting to the Enemy.

At Mile Square (Valentine's hill) the left column of the American Troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also by mistake, as it was intended it should cross the Brunx by Garrineaus, & re-cross it at Williams's bridge.—

The whole Army (Parsons's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge about daylight. & formed on the heights back of Fort Independance—extending towards delancy's Mills. — While the Legion of Lauzen & Waterbury proceeded to scour the Necks of Morrissania & throgs to little effect, as most of the Refugees were fled, & hid in such obscure places as not to be discovered; & by stealth got over to the Island adjacent, & to the enemy's shipping which lay in the East River.—a few, however, were caught and some Cattle & Horses brought off.

July 22d—The enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our movement—or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them till the whole Army were ready to display.

After having fixed upon the ground, & formed our line, I began, with General Rochambeau and the Engineers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position and works, first from Tippet's hill opposite to their left—and from hence it was evident that the small redoubt (Fort Charles) near Kingsbridge would be absolutely at the command of a battery which might be erected thereon.— It also appeared equally evident that the Fort on Cox's hill was in bad repair, & little dependence placed in it—there is neither ditch nor friezing to it, and the No. East Corner appears quite easy of access (occasioned, as it would seem) by a rock.— the approach from the inner Point (mentioned in the reconnoitre from the Jersey shore) is secured by a ledge of Rocks, which would conceal a party from the observation & view of the ship till it got within abt. 100 yds of the Fort, round which for that or a greater distance the ground has little covering upon it of bushes—there is a house on this side under Tippets hill, but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing place most favourable to a partizan stroke— From this view and every other I could get of Forts Tryon, Knyphausen & Laurel hill, the works are formidable.—

There is no Barracks or huts on the East side of the Hill on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stands—nor are
there any on the hill opposite except those by Fort George.—Near the Blew bell there is a number of Houses, but they have more the appearance of Stables than Barracks.—In the hollow, near the Barrier gate, are about 14 or 15 Tents; which is the only Encampment I could see without the line of Pallisading, as the large one discovered on the 18th through the brake of the Hill betw'n Fort Tryon & Coxs's hill was not to be seen from any view I had.—

A continued Hill from the Creek East of Haerlam River, & a little below Morris's White House, has from every part of it the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining within range of shot from batteries which may be erected thereon — The general width of the river along this range of Hills appears to be from one to two hundred yards—the opposite shore (tho' more or less marshy) does not seem miry, & the banks are very easy of access—how far the Battery under cover of the block Ho. on the hill No. West of Haerlam town is capable of scouring the plain is difficult to determine from this side, but it would seem as if the distance was too great to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest the Creek before mentioned, & which is also nearest the height back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776.—It unfortunately happens that in the rear of the (continued) hill before mentioned there is a deep swamp, and the ground, East of that swamp are not so high as the heights near Haerlam river — In the rear of this again is the Brux, which is not to be crossed without Boats below De Lancy's Mills.

July 23d—Went upon Frogs Neck to see what communication could be had with Long Isl'd, the Engineers attending with Instrumts. to measure the distance across, found it to be — yards.

Having finished the reconnitre without damage—a few harmless shot being fired at us—we marched back about Six o'clock by the same road we went down & a reversed order of March, and arrived in Camp about Midnight.

This day letters from Genls. Greene and the Marqs. de la Fayette came to hand; the first informing of his having taken all the Enemy's posts in Georgia except Savannah — and all those in So. Carolina except Charles Town & Ninety Six—the last of wch he was obliged to abandon the siege of, on acct of the relief which was marching to it, consequent of the late reinforcement. received at Charles Town—The second, that Wayne's affair with Lord Cornwallis on the 6th Inst was partial on our side, as a part of our force was opposed to the enemy's whole army—that on our side the loss in killed, wounded and missing amounted to 5 Capt: 1 Captn Lieut 4 Lieuts 11 Sergts & 118 R & file.—that the enemy's loss was computed at 300 at least—that our loss of two field pieces proceeded, the horses belonging to them being killed,—and that Lord Cornwallis had retreated to the South side of James River from the Peninsula at James Town.—

July 29th—A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette (commanding in Virginia) informed me that after Lord Cornwallis had crossed James River he detached Tarleton with a body of horse into Amelia County with a view, as was sup-
posed, to destroy some stores which had been deposited there, but which had been previously removed—that after this the enemy's whole force removed to Portsmouth with a design it was said to embark part of them—and that he had detached Generl Wayne to the South side of James River to cover the Country, while the enemy lay in it, and to march Southerly if they did not—he himself with the main body of his Army having taken a position at a place called Malvin hill not far from Shirley.

Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen Schuyler, & were finished—the light Infantry Company of the Regiment was ordered down with the next Boats—and the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done.

About this time, the discontents in the Connecticut State line occasioned by some disappointment of a Committee sent from it to the assembly, in settling an Acct of Subsistence &c began to increase, & put on a more serious face; which induced me to write a second letter to the Govr of that State—the distress of the Line for want of a small portion of the pay due it contributed not a little to irritate them.

July 30th—Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to assemble in the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade.—and receiving Letters from Govr Clinton & Genl Clinton complaining that none of the Massachusetts Militia repaired to Albany agreeable to my requisition, I again addressed Govr. Hancock in pointed terms to send them on—and complained of not having recd answers from him to any of my letters since the Conference with Count de Rochambeau and a communication of the plan of operation which was agreed on at Weathersfield the 22d. of May last.

Received a Letter from the Count de Barras, referring to one written by him to Genl. Rochambeau in cypher; pointing in stronger terms than heretofore, his disinclination to leave Newport till the arrival of Admi de Grass—This induced me to desist from further representing the advantages which would result from preventing a junction of the enemy's force at New York; & blocking up those which are now in Virginia, lest in the attempt any disaster should happen, & the loss of or damage to his fleet, should be ascribed to my obstinacy in urging a measure to which his own judgment was opposd, & the execution of which might impede his junction with the West India fleet, & thwart the views of the Count de Grasse upon this coast.—especially as he gave it as a clear opinion, that the West India fleet, might be expected by the 10th of next month.

July 31st—Governor Trumbull informed me, that in order to facilitate the collection of a Specie Tax for the purpose of sending money to the Troops of the Connecticut line Gentlemen were sent to the different Towns of the State to try by personal influence & exertion to hasten it to the army—and that he & some of his Council had removed to Hartford to forward on the Recruts for the Continental Regiments—and the Militia—and in a word to promote the operations of the Campaign as much as in them lay—.
LETTERS OF WASHINGTON
SECOND SERIES
THIRTY
NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME
PUBLISHED
1754 TO 1777
I
Reprinted from the Baltimore Repertory for
March 1811*
Wills Creek 24 April 1754
May it please your Excellency,

It is with the greatest concern I acquaint you, that Mr. Ward, ensign in Captain Frentz’s company, was obliged to surrender his small fortress in the Forks of Monongahela, at the summons of Captain Contrecoeur, commander of the French forces who fell down from Venango with a fleet of 360 canoes and battoes, conveying upwards of one thousand men, eighteen pieces of artillery, and large stores of provisions and other necessaries—Mr. Ward having but an inconsiderable number of men not (exceeding 30) and no cannon to make a proper defence was forced to give up the fort on the 17th instant—They suffered him to draw out his men, arms, and working tools, and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants with them. I have heard of your excellency’s great zeal for his majesty’s service, and for all our interests on the present occasion; therefore I am persuaded you will take proper notice of the Indians’ moving speech and think their unshaken fidelity worthy your consideration.

I have arrived thus far with a detachment of 159 men; Col. Fry with the remainder of the regiments and artillery is daily expected. In the mean time we shall advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads as we march, fit for the carriage [of] the great guns &c. and are designed to proceed as far as the mouth of Red Stone Creek which enters the Monogahela about 37 miles above the fort (the French have taken) from whence we have water carriage down the river; there is a store-house built by the Ohio Company at the place, which for the present may serve as a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions.

Besides the French herein mentioned, we have credible information that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence that 600 of the Chippoways and Ottoway Indians are marching down Scioto Creek to join them.

I ought first to have begged pardon of your excellency for this liberty of writing, as I am not happy enough to be ranked among those of your acquaintance. It was the glowing zeal I owe my country that influenced me to impart these advices and my inclination prompted me to do it to you as I know you are solicitous for the public weal and warm in this interesting cause—that should rouse from the lethargy we have fallen into, the heroick spirit of every free-born English man to attest the rights and privileges of of our king (if we don’t consult the benefit of ourselves) and resque from the invasions of a usurping enemy, our Majesty’s property, his dignity, and land.

I hope sir, you will excuse the freeness of my expressions, they are the pure sentiments of the heart of him who is
II
Communicated by Ferdinand J. Deer

[Fort Cumberland Sep 20 1755]

Sir, you are hereby desired to give in an exact return of all the clothing of every kind, arms of all sorts, ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Pack Saddles, that are at Winchester and to be very particular in distinguishing the quantity & quality of each sort.

I must also desire that you will provide Barracks, Provisions and other absolute necessary for the Recruits as they arrive at that place of Rendezvous and, if you find any difficulty in getting Provisions in the neighbourhood of Winchester you must send to Conogogee to enable you do this I have furnished you with £20.

I have left a letter and orders for Capt Bell or his subalterns, which I desire you will deliver or cause to be delivered so soon as he or they come to their Rendezvous which will be the first of October, as the letter contains the officer's Instructions, the first that arrives is ordered to open it.

Given under my hand at Fort Cumberland the 20th Sept 1755.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Mr. Commissary Dick

III
Communicated by Curtis Guild

Fort Loudon June 16 1757

Sir:

This moment the inclosed letters came to my hands; I have not lost a moments time in transmitting them to you as I look upon the intelligence to be of the utmost Importance. If the Enemy is coming down in such numbers and with such a train of Artillery as we are bid to Expect Fort Cumberland must inevitably fall into their hands as no Efforts can be timely made to save it. I send you sir a copy of Council of War held at this place; and I intend to pursue the resolution therein contained, till I receive orders how to act. It is morally certain that the next object which the French have in view is Fort Loudon and that it is yet in a very untenable posture; they have no roads for carriages into any other province but thro' this place and their eyes here a quantity of stores belonging to his Majesty and this colony very much exposed and unguarded. I shall not take up your time sir with a tedious detail of the Fort I have despatched one express to Governor Dinwiddie and another to Colo. —— I am Your Excellency's Most

Obed Hble Servt

GEO WASHINGTON

IV
Communicated by Ferdinand J. Deer

Mount Vernon in Virginia

Sept 30th 1757

Dear Sir,

Permit me to recommend Col. Fairfax, the bearer of this to your Friendly notice, while he stays in Philadelphia.
He is son of our late President, who is but just dead, and nearly related to the present Lord Fairfax Proprietor of this Neck Business calling him to England, he is proceeding hence to New York hoping to get a Passage in the Packet or some ship of War & being a stranger in your City wanted Introduction, to whom then can I better introduce him than the agreeable Mr. Peters. I hope in doing this I make use of no unwelcome liberty— if I do your genteel treatment of myself made me assume it and must plead my excuse.

My best respects is tendered to the Governor & I am with great truth, your obedient and obliged

Humble Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Rev. Richard Peters

V

Communicated by Dr. Pierre C. Van Wyck
Mount Vernon Sept 30 1757
Honored Madam—Your letter by Mr. Smith I received on my way to Col Fairfax's funeral; in answer to that part relative to my Bro'r Charles' Marriage I shall observe, that if there is no other objection than the one you mention, it may soon be removed; and that Mrs Thornton if she believes I am capable of taking these ungenrous advantages, knows little of the principles which govern my conduct:— however I suppose Mrs Thornton is actuated by prudent Motives and therefore would be safe.—If she will get any Instrument of writing drawn I will sign it provided it does not effect me in other respects than her Daughters Fortune, if my Brother dies under Age.

I have waited till now, expecting the arrival of my Negros Cloaths from Great Britain; but as the season is advancing, and risks attending them I can no longer depend, and therefore beg the favour of you to choose me about 250 yds Oznbitgs 200 yds of cotton 35 pr Plad Hoes and as much thread as is necessary in Mr Lewis' Store if he has them if not in Mr Jackson's and send them up by Jno who comes down with a Tumbler for that purpose.

I set out this afternoon on my return to Winchester.

I offer my Love to Charles, and am Hon'd Madam,
Yr. most Dutiful and affect'e Son

GO. WASHINGTON

VI

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

[———] Jany 5th 1758

Sir
I have not leisure at this time to enquire into the Right Mr. Darrell pretends to have of altering the form of the Land I bought of him. I should be glad therefore to know if I receive Deeds according to the present courses & bounds, whether it will invalidate in any degree, my claim at a future prosecution of it.

I am your most obedient Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Capt Geo. Johnston

VII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer
Camp—at——River 26th June 1758
Sir
I have just Incamped at this place on my [way] back to Fort Cumberland, with a weak escort to a large convey of Provisions & the intent of this therefore is
to desire that you will immediately upon receipt of it, detach one hundred men, and three waggons to our assistance. Do not suffer the least delay, I order the waggons upon a supposition that you have some at Pearsalls in Pay, but if I am wrong in this suggestion, be pleased to engage any you can, in time, for this service as we are plagued in a most extraordinary manner with bad Teams.

I am Sir, your most obedient Servt.

G. Washington

To Capt. Naggener or Commanding Officer at Pearsalls Fort

VIII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Pearsall, 30 June 1758

Orders for Sergeant David Wilper

You are to remain at this place with a Corporal and Twelve men for defence of the Post, and such of the Country People as may resort to it, as also for security of the stores &c that now are, or shall be lodged here, taking care to pass your receipts for them and to produce proper vouchers for their delivery again.

You are to observe strict discipline suffer no soldier to straggle from the Fort without leave, nor no Liquor to be sold to your men without your permission.

Make regular returns of your command to me while I am at Fort Cumberland & to Lieutenant Smith after I have marched from that Place unless you receive orders to the contrary and apply to him for what ammunition you may want. In every respect you are to conform to the Rules & Discipline of War in the like cases.

Given under my hand at Pearsalls this 30th day of June 1758

Mr. Wilper  G. Washington

IX

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 29th 1758

Dear Sir

Permit me to return you my sincerest thanks for your great assistance at the late election, and to assure you that I shall ever return a lively sense of the favour. I am extreme sorry that you neglected your own election in Augusta by this means, but I hope you are secure in Hampshire.

Our expedition seems overcast with too many Ills to give you any satisfaction in a transient relation of them. God knows what's intended, for nothing seems ripe for execution, backwardness & I would if I dare, say more, appears in all things.

Tomorrow I am summon'd to a conference with Col. Bouquet on the Ray's Town Road, when I shall warmly urge the advanced Season and every other argument that the Important matter requires to hurry things forward and shall endeavor to obtain leave (if possible) to advance on with the Virginians to the crossing at least, opening the Road & constructing Posts as we go.

I am Dear Sir

your most obedient Servant

[———]  G. Washington

X

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

Mount Vernon, Oct. 30th 1762

Dear Sir

I am sorry to be the messenger of the
news, but it is incumbent upon me to inform you of the Death of the mare, you committed to my care, how she died, I am able to give you but a very unsatisfactory account for on the 3rd Inst I set out for Frederick and left her to all appearance as well as a creature could be Mr. Green and I observing a day or two before, how fat and frolicksome she seemed & on my return in 8 days time I got the news of her death. She discovered no visible signs of ailment as I am told in the morning of the 7th, when let out of the stable, but before night was swollen to a monstrous size & died in a few hours—Bishop (my old servant) opened her but could perceive no hurt bruise or other apparent cause of so sudden a death which inclines me to think it was occasioned by eating blasted corn, a piece of which I had in ground. I wanted to clean and never could fence my chariot Horses of it, the rest, consequently followed & this I am persuaded puffed her up in the manner related. She had no foal in her, which assures me that she never would breed, as I am convinced, she had a competent share of Ariels performances, not content with which she was often caught in amorous mood with a young horse of mine, not withstanding my utmost endeavours to keep them under you will feel the loss of this accident more sensibly but can not be more concerned at the account, than I was, for I had pleased myself with the thoughts of delivering her to you in fine order, when you returned to below

We receive the news of your return with a great deal of pleasure & if there is any thing previous to it in which I can be serviceable, I hope you will command me, you did me singular services in a like case, & why wont you give me an opportunity of making a grateful return. Mrs. Washington writes to Mrs. Fairfax under this cover to whom & Miss Fairfax please to offer my best wishes

I am Dear Sir
your most obed & Hble Servant

[———]

G. WASHINGTON

XI

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

1768

This ticket (No. 274) shall entitle the Possessor to whatever Prize may happen to be drawn against its number in the Mountain Road Lottery.

G. WASHINGTON

XII

Communicated by Ferdinand J. Dreer

May 30th 1768

Rev. Sir

Mr. Magowan who lived several years in my Family, a Tutor to Master Custis (my son in law & ward) having taken his departure for England, leaves the young gentleman without any master at this time. I should be glad therefore to know if it would be convenient for you to add him to the number of your Pupils. He is a boy of good genius, about 14 years of age, untainted in his morals & of innocent manners. Two years and upwards he has been reading of Virgil & was (at the time. Mr. Magowan left him) entered upon the Greek Testament.

I presume, he has grown not a little rusty in both having had no benefit of his Tutor since Christmas, notwithstanding he left the country in March only. If he comes, he will have a boy (well
acquainted with House business, which may be made as useful as possible in your Family to keep him out of Idleness & two horses to furnish him with the means of getting to Church & elsewhere as you may permit, for he will be put entirely & absolutely under your Tuition & direction to manage as you think proper in all respects.

Now Sir, If you incline to take Master Custis, I should be glad to know what conveniences, it may be necessary for him to bring & how soon he may come for as to his Board & schooling (provender for his Horses, he may lay in himself.) I do not think it necessary to enquire into and will cheerfully pay Ten or Twelve pounds a year, extraordinary to engage your peculiar care of, & a watchful eye to him as he is a promising boy, the last of his family & will possess a very large Fortune, add to this my anxiety to make him fit for more useful purposes than Horse Racer.

This letter will be sent to you by my Brother at Fredericksburg & I should be obliged to you for an answer by the first Post to Alexandria near to which place I live.

I am Sir, your most obed Servant

G. Washington

P. S. If it is necessary for him to provide a Bed, could one be purchased in your Neighborhood. it would save a long carriage.

Rev. Bouchier

XIII

Communicated by Charles Bruff

Sir— April 20th 1773

As you have usually paid the Int't of your Bond at this Court, I have taken the liberty of requesting you to do it now to Mr. James Hill, as it is not convenient to me, to be down at the Meeting of Merchants, Mr. Hills receipt for the Ten pounds Sixteen shillings due at the foot of this Letter will be the same as if passed from Sir.

Yr Most Obdnt Servt

Go Washington

May 4th 1773 Recv'd the above sum of Ten pounds sixteen Shillings of Doctor James Carter.

James Hill

XIV

Communicated by Wm. M. Darlington

Mount Vernon Feb'y 12th 1774

Dear Sir

Satisfied as I am of the many applications you must have had made to you for assistants to Survey the Officers and Soldiers Lands under the Proclamation of Octr 1763, I cannot help taking the liberty of mentioning my Friend & acquaintance Captn Thos Rutherford to you, as one—To say anything in favour of a gentleman, whose character is well known, is useless, to you altogether unnecessary, as you are as well acquainted with Captn Rutherford as I am; I shall only add therefore, that your favours to him on this occasion, will be considered in the light of an obligation conferred on Dr Sir Yr Most Obdnt Servt

Go Washington

XV

From facsimile in New York Manual, 1851

Mount Vernon

Mar 6th 1775

Dr Sir,

Mr. Fitzhugh delivered me your favr
of the 13th ultimo, on Tuesday last—but as I received it on the Road, I could not answer it by him, & wish it was in my power to do it satisfactorily now—So far am I from having £200 to lend, that, involved as I am with one expense and another particularly on a very heavy charge of Seating my Lands over the Allegheny Mountains in order to comply with the conditions of the Grant. I would gladly borrow that Sum myself for a few Months, so exceeding difficult do I find it, under the present scarcity of cash to collect enough to answer this emergency & at the same time comply with my other engagements—This information you may rely on as a fact from Dr Sir
yr Most Obed. Servt.
Go Washington

To Mr. Jno. Washington,
near Leeds in King George

XVI
From the Collection of Henry M. Morris
Camp at Cambridge Augt 4th 1775

Dr Sir
I have been favoured with your Letter of the 18th ultimo by Messrs Ogden & Burr & wish it was in my power to do that justice to the merits of those Gentlemen which you think them entitled to—when ever it is, I shall not be unmindful of your recommendations—the two or three appointments with which I have been honour'd by Congress were partly engaged before I received your Letter and you will please recollect that the ultimate appointment of all other Officers is vested in the Governments in which the Regiments were originally raised; I can venture to pronounce therefore, that four Commissions in the army will be disposed of out of the four New England Governments; the good policy and justice of which, you may judge of as well as I can; No Volunteers from any other Colonies, however deserving they may be of notice, or to be considered on acct of the Expense which they are run to, will stand little chance whilst there is an application from any person of the Government from whence the Regiment came.

Admitting this to be the case & I believe hardly any one will doubt it had not the Congress better reserve these appointments in their own hands? It will be putting the matter upon a much larger bottom and giving merit a better chance; nor do I see any inconvenience arising from it, as it is highly presumable that during the continuance of these disturbances, the Congress will be chiefly sitting, or acting by a Committee from whence commissions might be as easily obtained as from a Provisional Assembly or Congress— I have taken the liberty of suggesting this matter, as I conceive the Service will be infinitely promoted thereby; as merit only, without a regard to Country will entitle a man to preference, when, & so often as vacancy's may happen—Having wrote fully to the Congress respecting the state of publick affairs, I shall refer you to that, & am with great regard
Dr Sr
Yr most Obedt Hble Servt
Go Washington

To Colo Lewis Morris
of New York now at Philadelphia
XVII

Communicated by B. F. de Costa

Note. — This letter is printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington [Vol. V. 68], with the omission of the following paragraphs.

Camp at Cambridge August 29 1775

Dear Sir

1st. After the first paragraph, p. 68, ending "than you can easily imagine." As we have now nearly completed our lines of defence, we have nothing more in my opinion to fear from the enemy, provided, we can keep our men to their duty and make them watchful and vigilant, but it is among the most difficult tasks I ever undertook in my life to induce these people to believe that there is or can be danger till the Bayonet is pushed at their breasts; not that it proceeds from any superior prowess, but rather from an unaccountable kind of stupidity in the lower class of these people, which believe me, prevails but too generally among the officers of the Massachusetts part of the army, who are nearly of the same kidney with the privates, and adds not a little to my difficulties; as there is no such thing as getting officers of this stamp to carry orders into execution—to curry favor with the men (by whom they were chosen, and on whose smiles they may possibly think they may again rely) seems to be one of the principal objects of their attention.

2d. After the second paragraph as printed by Sparks, p. 69, ending, "is impolitic to a great degree."

I have made a pretty good slam amongst such kind of officers as the Massachusetts Government abound in since I came to this Camp, having broke one Colonel and two Captains for cowardly behaviour in the action on Bunker Hill, two Captains for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their company—and one for being absent from his post when the Enemy appeared there, and burnt a house just by it. Besides these, I have at this time one Colonel, one Major, one Captain, and two subalterns under arrest for tryal; —In short I spare none and yet fear it will not all do, as these people seem to be too inattentive to everything but their interests.

3d. After the third paragraph as printed by Sparks, p. 71, ending, "without any effect as yet."

There has been so many great and capital errors and abuses to rectify, so many examples to make, and so little inclination in the officers of inferior rank to contribute their aid to accomplish this work, that my life has been nothing else (since I came here) but one continued round of annoyance and fatigue, in short no pecuniary recompense could induce me to undergo what I have, especially as I expect by showing so little countenance to irregularities and publick abuses, to render myself obnoxious to a greater part of these people.

But as I have already greatly exceeded the bounds of a letter, I will not trouble you with matters relative to my feelings.

Note.—There are some trifling variations from the text printed by Sparks, which do not require notice.

XVIII

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Cambridge, 27th Feb 1776

Sir,

We were falsely alarmed a while ago
with an acct. of the Regulars coming over from the Castle to Dorchester. Mr. Bayler whom I immediately sent off is just returned with a contradiction of it. But as a rascally Rifle man went in last night & will no doubt give all the Intelligence he can, wd it not be prudent to keep six or eight trusty men by way of Look outs or Patrols tonight on the Point next the Castle as well as on Nuke Hill. At the same time ordering particular Regimts to be ready to march at a moments warning to the Hights of Dorchester; For should the Enemy get Possession of those Hills before us they would render it a difficult task to dispossess them—better it is therefore to prevent than to remedy an evil.

I am yr most obed

GO. WASHINGTON

To Major Genl Ward, Roxbury

XIX

From the Collection of John V. L. Pryyn
Cambridge March 19, 1776

My Lord

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th Instant & to give you my congratulations upon your late appointment by the Honourable Congress

If the intelligence is true and to be depended on, which was brought by the Gentn to New York, I think with you; that we shall have an opportunity of securing & putting the continent in a tolerable posture of defence and that the operations of the Summers Campaign will be not so terrible, as we were taught to expect, from the accounts and denunciations which the ministry have held forth to the publick.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the morning of the 17 Instant General Howe with his army abandon'd the Town of Boston without destroying It, an event of much importance and which must be heard with great satisfaction, and that we are now in full possession—Their embarkation & retreat were hurried and precipitate, and they have left behind 'em stores of one thing and another to a pretty considerable amount, among which are several pieces of Heavy Cannon & one or two Mortars which are spiked—The Town is in a much better situation and less Injured, than I expected from the reports I had received, tho' to be sure It is much damaged and many Houses despoiled of their valuable furniture.

The Fleet is still in King and Nantasket Roads and where they Intend to make a descent next, is altogether unknown, but supposing New York to be an object of much importance & to be in their view, I must recommend your most strenuous and active exertions in preparing to prevent any designs or attempts they may have against It. I have detached the Riflemen & Five Battalions from home to your assistance, which will be followed by others as circumstances will allow. These, with what forces you have & can assemble, If there shou'd be an occasion, I trust will be sufficient to hinder the Enemy from possessing the City or making a Lodgement 'till the main body of this army can arrive.

I am My Lord with great esteem

your Most Obed't Humble Servt

G. WASHINGTON

[Lord Stirling]
Trumbull received on the 5th Inst. I was informed he had ordered three Regiments of Horse on to this place (under your command) with all possible dispatch, and was desired in case they were not wanted to inform Colo. Sillaman thereof, accordingly I wrote Colo. Sillaman acquainting him, it was my desire the Men might come on provided they could leave or send back their Horse, which letter did not go forward so soon as I intended. Majr. Starr this morning waited on informing me of his arrival with 50 of the troop, & that the rest were on their March.—I have ordered him to find some pasture for his horse this day, and immediately ride forward and acquaint You, that there is not more forage on hand or to be had than is absolutely necessary for the Use of our Working and Artillery Horses,—and that it is my desire your Men may be halted some way in the Rear of this place, and their Horses sent back, otherways the Men can only be a Moth & check to the service, as they cannot act as Horse Men in case of Action, or if they could forage would not be found to support them. —I think it absolutely necessary the Men should be hear 'till the New Levies all arrive,—but for the above reasons shall be necessitated to order their return unless they can be persuaded to come on without their Horse.—I would not be supposed by this to discourage the troop of Horse from being in constant readiness in the different States, as I am fully persuaded they will be much more usefull than the Militia to throw in succours to a place on an Emergency.— I am pleased to see with what cheerfullness and alacrity the troops from your
Province step forward to the assistance of their Countrymen when ever call'd, & doubt not it will continue. Majr. Starr will be able to inform you fully from what I have mentioned to him the absolute necessity for the Men, & the utter impossibility of keeping the Horse. Baggage Waggon may be hired to bring on Baggage &c for your Men, from any place they leave their Horse.

I am Sir Your Most Huml Servt
GO. WASHINGTON
Col. Seymour

XXII
From the Clinton MSS. in the State Library, Albany
Head Quarters N. York 26th July 1776
Dear Sir
Yours of the 23d Instant is duly Received and am pleased with your timely notice of your Situation Strength, movements, &c &c. and think time is not to be lost or expense regarded in getting yourselves in the best posture of Defence, not knowing how soon the Enemy may attempt to pass you— The Fire Rafts you mention are not of the best construction but probably are the best that can be procured with the dispatch Necessary— Cables and Anchors I should suppose might easily be procured from the Vessels which used to be plying up and down the River—and are now lying Idle.— Salt Petre from the Manufactures in the Country as neither are to be had in this place,—the necessity of the Case will fully Justify your taking the former wherever to be found, and the safety of the people I should imagine would induce them to assist you to the latter all in their power.

I have sent up Lieut. Machine to lay out and oversee such Works as shall be tho't necessary by the Officers there, and from your representation of the Hill, which overlooks the Fort,—I think it ought to be taken possession of Immediately.— You who are on the spot must be a better Judge than I possibly can, must leave it with you to erect such Works as you, with Col. Clinton and the Engineer may think Necessary. — a proper Abstract or pay Roll should be made out, of the Wages due the Artificers, examined and certified by you or your Bro when it may be sent here and the Money Drawn.— Your method of fixing fires, with advanced Guards if they are Vigilant must answer the purpose you intend— Your dismissing all the New Englandmen to 300 is a step I approve of,—I hope you may continue to prevent the Enemy from obtaining any supplies or Intelligence and from committing any Ravages on the distress'd Peasantry on and about the Shores,—while you are able to keep them in this Situation below the Forts they can do little Damage,— by every conveyance I shall like to hear of your Situation and the Enemies Manoeuvres.

I am Sir wishing you Success—
Your Most Huml Servt
GO WASHINGTON

P.S. Since the above the Q. M. Genl. Informs me you may be supplied with Turpentine here, and thinks can get Salt Petre enough for the present Emergency
General Clinton

XXIII
Communicated by George Jackson Fisher
Head Quarters, New York
Sir 17 Aug. 1776
I am favoured with yours of the 13th
& 14th inst. and am pleased to find you have been successfull in procuring Cannon for the Defence of Hudsons River; also that there is such a good prospect of effectually securing the Pass at Fort Montgomery, the mention you make of General Clinton's attention to that & other important Objects gives me great satisfaction, & confirme me in the opinion that he is fully qualified for the trust reposed in him by the Congress, in their appointing him a Brigadier— I approve much of the measure for making a number of Matrosses by putting a part of the Garrison to exercising the Artillery, the same steps have been taken here.— If any material advantages can be derived from fitting out the two Sloops you speak of I shall be glad you have undertaken it, tho' I confess they are not very apparent to me at present— I cannot consent to those Vessels being manned from among the Levies, unless absolutely necessary, if the Officers can inlist them out of the Militia I have no objection there to—I shall comply with your request in furnishing Capt. Benson with a sufficient quantity of Powder for the two Armed Vessels. & am with due Regard & Esteem

Sir, Your very Humble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Robert Yates Esqr.
Chairman of the Committee
at Poughkeepsie

XXIV

From the original in the possession of T. Harrison Garrett, published in the Southern Magazine for March, 1874

Col Morris's on the Heights of Harlem 30 Sept 1776

Dear Lund

[The following paragraph was omitted from this letter as published in the Historical Magazine, VII. 33:]

I therefore in answer to your last Letter of the 18th shall say
With respect to the Chimney I would not have you for the sake of a little work spoil the look of the Fireplaces, tho that in the Parlour must, I should think, stand as it does; not so much on acct of the wainscotting, which I think must be altered (on acct of the Door leading into the new Building) as on acct of the Chimney Piece & the manner of its fronting into the Room.—The Chimney in the Room above ought, if it could be so contrived, to be an angle Chimney as the others are; but I would not have this attempted at the expense of pulling down the Partition.—The Chimney in the New Room should be exactly in the middle of it—the doors and every thing else to be exactly answerably and uniform—in short I would have the whole executed in a masterly manner.—

You ought surely to have a Window in the gable end of the New Cellar (either under the Venitian Window, or one on each side of it.—)

Let Mr Herbert know that I shall be very happy in getting his Brother exchanged as soon as possible, but as the Enemy have more of our officers than we of theirs, and some of ours have been long confined (& claim ye right of being first exchanged) I do not know how far it may be in my power at this time, to comply with his desires.—

Remember me to all our Neighbors and friends, particularly to Colo Mason, to whom I would write if I had time to do it fully and satisfactorily—without
this I think the Correspondance on my part would be unavailing— I am with truth and sincerity

Dr Lund Yr affecte friend

GO. WASHINGTON

[Lund Washington Esq]

XXV

From the Washington Papers in the Collection
of the late Dr. Joshua I. Cohen, of
Baltimore, Md.

Head Quarters Trenton,
5 Decemr 1776

Sir
I have yours of this morning from Bristol. As the most Considerable part of the Army is like to be in this Town and its Neighbourhood, I think you better remove the Treasury as near as possible on the pennsylvania Side of the River, when you have fixed upon a House, a proper Guard shall be appointed. It is very inconvenient for officers to go for Money, which is wanted every Moment for one Purpose or other, even as far as Bristol. Inclosed you have a Letter for Govr Livingston which desire Colo Griffin to send over to Burlington by a trusty Messenger; if Govr Livingston should not be at Burlington, he will certainly be at Philada to which place Colo Griffin (who lodges at priestleys) will be pleased to send it.

I am Sir Yr most obt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

P.S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed for Colo Reed also

Richard Dallam Esqr.

XXVI

Communicated by William W. Carruth

Head Quarters Jan. 1 1777

Gentlemen
Pursuant to powers given me by the Honorable Congress I have appointed the late Major Lee Colonel of a Regiment to be raised in the Defence of America: He is apprehensive he may find some Difficulty in procuring Arms— Permit me to sollicit your Attention to this deserving Officer, and give him all the Assistance in compleating his Corps not only with Arms but other Necessaries.

I flatter myself that Colo Lee will not be posponed to other Officers who are recruiting in your State. Tho' his Establishment is different— The common good and the Safety of the whole must & I doubt will be the Object of your Attention. I am Gentlemen
most truly & respectfully

Your Obedient Humble Servant

GO WASHINGTON

The Hon President of Council
of Massachusetts Bay

XXVII

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

Head Quarters Morris Town
3d March 1777

Sir
A letter from Govr Livingston informs me that you are yet at Burlington— When I ordered You to march with such of your Battalion as was then enlisted, I hoped that you would soon have had it in your power to move; and am not a little uneasy at the delay— The times demand every man that can possibly be brought into the Field— You will loose no time in coming on, with all the men enlisted into your Battalion, to Princeton; where, if your Men are not already sufficiently cloathed, the Barracks are as commodious as those at
Burlington; and there remain till you hear farther from me—
I am Yr. most Hble Servt
Go WASHINGTON
Col Israel Shreve
Burlington

XXVIII
From the original in the Maryland Historical
Society
Head Quarters Morristown
12th March 1777
Sir
You are hereby required immediately to send me an exact return of the State of your Regiment, and to march all the Recruits you have to Philadelphia, where they will be inoculated and receive further orders from the Commanding Officer in that City.
No plea's for delay, drawn from the dispersion of the officers and men can be admitted. Every Commanding Officer should know where his inferior Officers, and those where their Recruits are; and shou'd be able to collect them in the most expeditious manner—
You and the Major must come on with the Regiment, leaving behind a Sufficient number of proper Officers to carry on the Recruiting Service; also the Lieut Colo. to direct and hurry them on as fast as they get the compliment of men respectively assign'd to them.
I am Sir Your Hble Servt
Go WASHINGTON
Coll. Mordecai Gist, at Baltimore

XXIX
From the McLane papers in the N.Y. Historical Society
Head Quarters 28 March 1777
Sir
I have certain information that Lord Cornwallis returned from Jersey yesterday, and 'tis said they intend an attack upon this army with their joint force before Genl Green can rejoin us. I therefore depend upon your keeping a very good look out upon their line, and gaining every intelligence from people coming out of Town, that I may have the earliest notice of their movements or intentions
I am Sir
Yr most obt Servt
Go WASHINGTON
Capt McLean or next in Command
near Rising Sun

XXX
Communicated by Robert Ludlow Fowler
Headquarters Morristown
29 March 1777
Sir
After returning my sincere thanks to you and the other officers of your Battalion for your services since your arrival in this State, I am under the necessity, however painful to me, of requesting you to remain at your present post a few days longer [not having it in my power at present to releive you]. I am sensible of the disadvantages which must, of course, accrue to you and many of your Battalion, by being from home the approaching season, but when you consider our situation and that I only want you to stay until the troops (now on their march from Philadelphia) arrive, I flatter myself I need not add a word more to induce you to this necessary step, than that your marching the first of April will leave that useful post entirely defenceless.
If you would agree to remain eight days longer, I am satisfied it will answer
every purpose, and I think cannot materially injure you. If you find the men are dissatisfied, go at the time appointed. You will please order the arms etc to be delivered to the persons appointed by Lord Stirling to receive them

I am Sir, Your most obdt Servt

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To Col Rumsey

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LETTER OF MARTHA WASHINGTON

The original of the following letter is in the collection of Mr. Curtis Guild, of Boston:

Mt Vernon Aug 28 1762

My dear Nancy

I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 25 of July just as I was setting out on a visit to Mr Washington in Westmoreland where I spent a week very agreeably. I carried my little patt with me and left Jacky at home for a trial to see how well I could stay without him though we ware gon but wone fortnight I was quite impatient to get home. If I at any time heard the doggs barke or a noise out, I thought thair was a person sent for me. I often fancied he was sick or some accident had happened to him so that I think it is impossible for me to leave him as long as Mr Washington must stay when he comes down—If nothing happens I promise myself the pleasure of coming down in in the spring as it will be a healthy time of the year. I am very much obliged to you for your kind invatation and assure yourself nothing but my childrens interest should prevent me the sattisfation of seeing you and my good Friends I am always thinking of and wish it was possible for me to spend more of my time amongst. It gave me great satisfaction to hear of your dear billys recovery which I hope will be a lasting wone; you mentioned in your letter that Col More intended hear but we have seen nothing of him. We heard at Fredericksburg that he and my brother had been thaire but no higher. I should been very glad to seen them heare

We all injoy very good health at present, I think patty seems to be quite well now, Jacky is very thin but in good health and learn thaire books very fast. I am sorry to hear you are unwell but hope your complaint is slight. I have no news worth telling you. We are daly expect the kind laydes of Maryland to visit us. I must begg you will not lett the fright you had given you prevent you coming to see me again—If I could leave my children in as good care as you can I would never let Mr W—— come down without me—Please to give my love to Miss Judy and your little babys and make my best compliments to Mr Bassett and Mrs Dawson

I am with sincere regard
dear sister

yours most affectionately

MARTHA WASHINGTON

[Mrs. Bassett]

WASHINGTON'S FIGURE

The following letter appeared in the New York Evening Post:

Custis, in his "Recollections of Washington," says:

"Of the portraits of Washington, the most of them give to his person a fulness that it did not
NOTES

possess, together with an abdominal enlargement greater than in the life, while his matchless limbs have in but two instances been faithfully portrayed—in the equestrian portrait by Trumbull, of 1790, a copy of which is in the City Hall of New York, and in an engraving by Loister, from a painting by Cogniet, French artists of distinguished merit. The latter is not an original painting, the head being from Stuart, but the delineation of the limbs is the most perfect extant."

About fifty years ago the writer of this, the grandson of an officer of the revolution, called to pay his respects to that gallant and patriotic old soldier, Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, of Litchfield, who was one of Washington's aids during most of the war. Of course, the conversation very naturally turned upon the scenes and events of those trying days, Valley Forge, André's execution, and the like. Colonel Trumbull's portrait of the Chief being mentioned, Tallmadge said, laughingly, that the legs in that picture were painted from his. He said that the demands of the service made it very inconvenient for General Washington to give as much time in sitting as the painter required, that it was frequently remarked how much his legs were like those of the General, that Trumbull pronounced them an exact pattern, and so, with Washington's consent he served as a substitute, and thus the artist was able to take all the time he needed to perfect that part of the portrait, which has always been greatly admired. J. L.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

I am not familiar with the history of Portraits of Washington, and perhaps that is the reason why I was somewhat surprised, in looking over a lot of old almanacs in my possession, to find what is undoubtedly an excellent wood-cut of Washington, resembling the Gilbert Stuart portrait of 1790, though the face is turned in the opposite direction, and in some minor respects the likeness differs from the Stuart portrait. While the engraving appears to have been remarkably good for that day in America, the printing is poor, as might be expected from the paper and the weak presses of the time. The picture is on the last page of "Greenleaf's New York, Connecticut & New Jersey Almanack, for the year of our Lord 1801. Brooklyn printed and sold wholesale and retail by T. Kirk." It is followed by an

ODE TO

Gen. Washington

Point of that Pyramid whose solid base
Rests firmly founded on a Nation’s trust,
Which while the splendid column sinks in dust,
Shall stand sublime, and fill its ample space;
ELECTED CHIEF OF FREEMEN: Greater Far
Than kings whose noble parts are fix’d by birth!
Nam’d by thy country’s voice, for long-try’d worth
Her crown in Peace, as once her shield in War.
Deign, Washington, to hear a British lyre
That, ardent, grec thee with applauseive lays,
And to the Patriot-hero homage pays.
O would the Muse his mortal strains inspire,
That, high above all Greek or Roman fame
Might sound to heroes unborn thy purer nobler
[Name!]

Paterson, N. J.

W. N.

—London Letter, September 30, 1780, by the Grantham Pacquet from Falmouth—
The whole length picture of General Washington for the French King gives a sort of presentiment of the surrender of the whole continent to the power of France. This American Gladiator has surrendered himself upon canvas; and the French army, as soon as they can
get a secure footing on the Continent, will surrender himself in *propria per-sona* or lay his already distressed country under such contributions as shall make his Christian Majesty ample amends for the expense he has been at to complete their subjugation under the appearance of supporting them in their liberties or rather in their infamous rebellion against the Mother Country.—*Rivington's Royal Gazette Dec. 6, 1780* EDITOR

WASHINGTO\Ns EPI\n
The Father of his Country—This epithet seems to have been applied to the tyrant before it was given to Washington by popular voice. On page 183 of Hanway's Soldiers Faithful Friend printed at London 1776 there is a vignette of George the Third; the head of the King is enclosed in a wreath of laurel and surrounded with the legend G. III THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

The Deliverer of America—I recall the impressions which I received during the short stay I made in the family of the Deliverer of America. [At New Windsor in 1781]—Dumas' *Memoirs of his own time I 35*

A Polyphemus—Our old acquaintance Mr Washington we learn is approaching us *Polyphemus like*, with hasty and ample strides, his dire intents (supported by myriads of heroes and in his train a thir-teen inch mortar drawn by eight charming lively oxen) are given out to be another coup upon Powles Hook. His last halt was at Paramus some thirty miles off.—*Rivingtons Royal Gazette, Aug. 6, 1780* EDITOR

The Atlas of America—Among the papers of Doctor Solomon Drowne of Providence is preserved an interesting letter, of which the following is a translation. The writer, the Chevalier de Silly, was a Second Lieutenant in the Regiment of Bourbonnais one of those which followed de Rochambeau from Newport to Yorktown. HENRY T. DROWE New York

At Newport the 15 March 1881 I found myself my dear Drowne on duty all of last week which is the cause of my delay in replying to your obliging letter; add to this the arrival of the celebrated Washington the Atlas of your country. Our army received him with the marks of distinction due to his rank and to his personal qualities; we had not eyes enough to see him with. Man is born with a tendency to pride and the further he progresses in his career in an elevated rank the more his self love nourishes this vice in him but so far from this Washington although born with every superior quality adds to them an imposing modesty which will always cause him to be admired by those who have the good fortune to see him; as for esteem he has already drawn to himself that of all Europe even in the heart of his enemies and ours 'tandem oculi nostri, videuntur honorem et virtutem.'

Enfin nos yeux ont vu
L'honneur et la vertu

At length our eyes have seen honor and virtue. After General Washington she who has attracted my attention was the amiable Sally Church; I am in despair that I could not be with her as often as
I could have wished (The King’s service goes before every thing) Moreover John Greene a young companion without a touch of the gout has always faithfully accompanied her.

Write an immediate answer my dear Drown inform me whether you understand my letter— I am with the greatest friendship your affectionate

SILLY
Sous Officier

I pray you to give my compliments to your wife. My Brother is your Servant—
To Mister Solomon Drown
Doctor at Providence

WASHINGTON EULOGIES

The perusal of the very attractive Washington numbers of the Magazine have led me to think about the large number of sermons that have been preached, the discourses delivered, and the eulogies pronounced on Washington, during the years that have elapsed since his death. Not long since I made a somewhat careful examination of one hundred and thirty of these sermons, etc., bound up in five volumes. Among them were productions of the pens of the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., President of the College of New Jersey, Gouverneur Morris of New York, President Dwight of Yale College, Gen. Henry Lee, the Hon. Fisher Ames, the Rev. Dr. Spring of Newburyport, Judge Joseph Story, the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, and the Hon. B. R. Curtis. In one of the volumes referred to I found the Latin address of President Willard of Harvard College, delivered Feb. 21, 1813, also John Hancock's copy of Thomas Paine's Eulogy, the handwriting of the owner being in the bold character in which Hancock wrote his signature to the Declaration of Independence. Nearly all the sermons were preached by New England clergymen. There is one preached in Baltimore and one in Charleston, S. C. A favorite text selected for several of the sermons was the following: “Know ye not that there is a Prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?” In several of them there is drawn a parallel between Moses and Washington. I find also in quite a number of them a reference to what was said by President Davies in his sermon before Capt. Overton’s independent company of volunteers raised in Hanover County, Va., soon after the defeat of Braddock. “I cannot but hope Providence has preserved him (i. e., Washington) in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.” In one of the volumes is a copy of the proceedings at the centennial celebration of the birth of Washington, Daniel Webster being the president of the day, and making on the occasion one of the most eloquent of his speeches. I count up also a few Masonic addresses. In one delivered by B. B. French it is stated that Washington, assisted by his fellow Masons, laid the corner-stone of the Capitol in 1793. When the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid, June 24, 1851, Mr. French says that he wore, as a Mason, the same apron which Washington wore on the occasion alluded to. He also says that the apron was made and presented to Washington by the lady of Lafayette. I might refer to Elegies and Odes, and original Hymns, and at least one Acrostic, which I find bound up in these volumes. Some of them are curious speci-
mens of what, no doubt, their authors regarded as high flights of poetic genius.

Providence

J. C. S.

WASHINGTON EPITAPHS

Brownsville, Pa.—The note in the Magazine for August, 1879 (III. 513), under the caption of Washington Epitaphs, Brownsville, Pa., contains a few errors which I am sure no one would be more willing to have corrected than I. C.

Three supposed nephews or near relatives of General Washington lie buried at Brownsville, none of whom were poisoned by their slaves.

The history of their connection with Brownsville is very interesting, and as it is worthy of permanent record, and, so far as I know, has not been recorded elsewhere, I give it as I have heard it from aged and reliable citizens of Brownsville. Early in 1818 two brothers, Archibald and John H. Washington, from Southampton County, Virginia; a cousin, Edward B. Mechin, from South Carolina; and a Mr. Atkinson or Atchinson, the first three said to have been nephews of General Washington, left the State of Virginia with about 100 slaves (the number is variously stated by old residents as from 50 to 100). Mechin was 28, Archibald Washington 33, and John H. Washington, 38 years of age.

The main facts of their history are derived from J. H. Rigdon, Esq., for many years a Justice of the Peace in Brownsville, aged 86 years; Mr. Joshua Gibbons, aged 80 years; Mr. Joseph Graff, aged 72 years; and Mrs. Samuel Page, aged about 79 years—very respectable citizens of Brownsville, whose memory is still strong, and whose word is reliable, and who were living at Brownsville in 1818. Squire Rigdon and Mr. Gibbons state that these four slave-owners were emigrating to Kentucky with their family slaves for permanent settlement there. Mr. Graff and Mrs. Page state that they were "slave-drivers" who had gathered up these slaves from the jails and markets to sell again in the West. And yet these last witnesses state that the "slave-drivers" brought slaves through Brownsville almost invariably tied or handcuffed, corralled together like horses, but that these slaves were brought here unbound, and were allowed by their masters the liberty of the town, and were well known by name to all the inhabitants before they were taken away. Mrs. Page, who was a Quakeress, says the slaves were remarkably orderly, well-behaved negroes, and apparently attached to their masters, so much so that no one who knew the circumstances of their masters' death credited any report of their having been poisoned.

At that time Brownsville was still at the head waters of navigation for the western country. Nearly all the emigration westward made this the point whence it took boats for places in the Ohio and Mississippi Valley. To this point, then still known as "Redstone Old Fort," Washington directed his march in 1753. Here George Roger Clark embarked his small force for the Illinois country in 1778. Here St. Clair and Wayne took boats for their campaign against the Indians.

These four slave-owners reached Brownsville about the latter part of March, 1818. They were evidently men
of means, as they stopped with their slaves at the large stone and rough-cast hotel, now standing at the top of Main street, and known far and wide as the “Workman Hotel,” where Atkinson and the slaves remained for three months, until flat boats could be built for their embarkation, boarding the slaves in the hotel, and, as Mr. Rigdon says, paying all their bills. The hotel was then kept by the widow of John Beckley, who was drowned in the Monongahela in 1817.

When they arrived at Brownsville the two Washingtons and Mechin were suffering with a low fever contracted in their journey. They placed themselves at once under the treatment of Dr. Jesse Pennill, a Quaker physician of skill. Their disease rapidly developed into what was then commonly called the “jail fever,” now recognized as the “typhus fever.” Dr. Pennill was himself soon attacked by the same disease, and was obliged to give up his patients to attend to his own health.

Dr. Henry W. Story, also a physician of experience, was then employed. Mr. Rigdon assisted in nursing the three white patients, and is positive that Dr. Story pronounced the disease, which so rapidly swept these young men into the grave, a malignant type of typhus fever. Mr. Graff says that Mr. Underwood, who laid the bodies out, took him into the room to see them, previously washing his face in whiskey to prevent infection. Mr. Graff also states that fifteen of the slaves died of the same disease at the same time as George Graff (his father), and William Edmundson made the coffins, and his father's books show this fact, and he remembers seeing the parties buried. Moreover, these three witnesses state that no indications appeared, no suspicions were held, and no charge was made at the time that the victims of the fever were in any way foully dealt with, or that the slaves had poisoned any of them. Everything that human skill and money could do for their recovery was done without avail. Archibald Washington died April 10th, John H. Washington April 13th, and Mechen April 15th. It was nearly, if not quite, three months after they arrived here that Atkinson, who alone survived the fever, having finished building his boats, embarked the remaining slaves for Kentucky, taking with him for assistance Mr. Jacob Copeland of Brownsville. Before reaching Wellsburg, Virginia, on the Ohio River, Mr. Copeland was also seized with the typhus fever, and died at Wellsburg. Not until many years afterwards was it rumored that these four white persons had been poisoned by the slaves.

These Washingtons, who themselves claimed to be related to the President, were evidently men of respectability, and it was thought by some at the time very proper that their remains should be buried in the Episcopal graveyard, then the largest and most respectable of the three graveyards in Brownsville. But this was not allowed. Brownsville was at this time a town of about 150 houses, and settled largely by members of the Society of Friends. There were then in and about the town four Friends meeting houses, and in the town three Protestant churches. The conscientious opposition of the Society of Friends to the institution of slavery is well known.
The Quaker citizens of Brownsville were very much exercised over the presence of the four slave-owners and their slaves in their midst, and a spirit of antagonism toward the masters was quickly stirred up by one Captain Basil Brashears, a very excellent man in other respects, who kept a hotel about 75 feet below the Workman Hotel on the Main Street. When the young men died, according to the evidence of the witnesses mentioned, Brashears succeeded in having them refused burial in the Episcopal and Methodist graveyards for the reason that they were slave-owners, and they were consequently buried in an old graveyard, at that time generally used as a Potter's field. Before 1800 Thomas Brown, who died 1797, or Basil Brown, his brother, both of whom owned the town-site in part, and from whom this historic spot derived its very unhistoric name, donated to the town for a graveyard a piece of ground lying on the site of old Fort Burd. There Thomas Brown himself lies buried. In 1818 it was usedmiscellaneously for whites, blacks, and strangers. Here the bodies of the three nephews of Washington were consigned to the earth. Some years after their death their relatives sent money to Mr. Valentine Geisey, a prominent merchant of Brownsville, to erect stones over their graves. Mr. Geisey enclosed the three graves with a high brick wall, in one side of which were set three gray sandstone slabs, about two feet by four, bearing the following inscriptions, which differ somewhat from those noted by Mr. Craig:

"In memory of Archibald Washington, a native of Virginia, he was born in the County of Southampton on the 25th of February, 1785, and departed this life the 10th of April, 1818."

"In memory of John H. Washington, a native of Virginia, he was born in the County of Southampton the 8th of June A. D. 1780 and departed this life the 13th of April, 1818."

"In memory of Edward B. Mechen, who died at this place, April the 15th A.D. 1818, aged 28 years and 21 days. He was a native of S.C.""

The old graveyard has long since fallen into decay. The brick wall around the graves of the three nephews of Washington has disappeared, torn down by vandal hands. The property is now enclosed by Mr. J. W. Jeffries, without a deed or title, but with the tacit consent of the Council. The few old tombstones, instead of being preserved upright on the spot where the graves were made, now form the pavement from the dwelling house of Mr. Jeffries to his stable, with the single exception of the stone which marked the resting place of Thomas Brown, which Mr. Brown's heirs have required to be restored to its place, and which, inscribed as Mr. Craig notes it, stands against the garden fence of the adjoining lot, which Mr. Jeffries owns.

Whose sons these three nephews of Gen. Washington were I have not been able to learn. Sparks gives the list of Gen. Washington's brothers and sisters, but not of their issue. Wells's Washington Genealogy does not contain their names. What subsequently became of the slaves is not known, but the fact of these three respectable gentlemen having been refused proper burial on account of their
being at the time of death slave-owners is beyond dispute. The charge against their slaves of having poisoned them, though repeated time and again for the past many years, and generally believed, rests on no evidence, but is a later day suspicion, which the testimony of living persons refutes.

Horace Edwin Hayden
Brownsville, Pa.

Westmoreland, Virginia — The last volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (XVII 1880) contains an account, by Charles C. Perkins, of a visit made by the Secretary of State General Sherman and himself to the birthplace of Washington in Westmoreland county. About a half mile to the northward of the ruins of the old homestead is the old burial place of the Washingtons. The following are given from the grave-stones:

“Here lyeth the body of John Washington, Eldest son to Captain Lawrence Washington, who departed this life ye 10th of January 1696* | Aged 10 years and 6 months, | Also Mildred Washington, Eldest daughter to said | Washington, who departed ye 1st of August 1696 | Aged 5 months |”

* It is uncertain whether 1690 or 1696.

“Here lyes ye body of Jane | wife of Augustine Washington | Born at Pope’s Creek Virginia | Westmoreland ye 24th of Xber | 1699 & died ye 24th of 9ber 1729 | Who left behind her two sons | & one daughter.”

Those curious in Washington Genealogy will do well to consult Mr. Perkins' account of the visit, the object of which was to determine how the meagre approciation, placed by Congress at the disposition of the Secretary of State for the preservation of these national relics from further degradation, may be best applied.

Editor

WASHINGTON’S HEAD QUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Berkeley House; Keith’s House; House near Coryell’s Ferry — Bucks County, Pennsylvania—This county has the honor of containing three old-time dwellings in which Washington Quartered during the revolutionary war when commanding the Continental Army. They are all standing, inhabited, and in good state of preservation. The first of these stands within the limits of Morrisville, opposite Trenton, and not much, if any, over half a mile west of the Delaware. When Washington crossed the Delaware with the rear guard of his army, Sunday, December 8th, 1776, he took up his quarters at the country house of Mrs. Berkley, while the troops were stationed opposite the crossing. This dwelling is what is now called “Summer Side,” a fine old country seat, owned and occupied by John H. Osborne.

The dwelling, built about 1750, and in fine state of preservation, occupies a commanding situation, with a farm of 162 acres belonging to it, and is within the site once selected by Congress for the Capital of the United States. In this house, George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, lived and died, and it afterwards belonged to the Waddells. Local tradition, seldom at fault in such cases, points this house out as Washington’s quarters immediately after he crossed the river, and memen-
tos of the troops have been found in the adjacent fields.

After Washington had placed his troops in position to guard the fords of the Delaware and prevent the enemy crossing, the headquarters of the army, and the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief's most trusted lieutenants, were fixed at farm houses in the same neighborhood in Upper Makefield township, where they were always within easy communication.

Washington occupied the dwelling of William Keith, on the road from Brownsburg to the Eagle Tavern; Greene was at Robert Merrick's, a few hundred yards away across the fields and meadows; Sullivan was at John Hayhurst's; and Knox and Hamilton were at Dr. Chapman's over Jericho Hill. The troops, in the vicinity, were encamped in sheltered places along the creeks, and not far removed from the river. We have no doubt the position for head-quarters was selected because of its sheltered situation, its nearness to the river, and its proximity to Jericho Mountain, from the top of which, when the leaves are off the trees, signals may be seen a long way up and down the river. Here Washington was near the upper fords of the river, at which it was supposed the enemy would attempt to cross, and within a half hour's ride of Newtown, the depot of supplies.

The three old mansions, in which Washington, Greene, and Knox quartered, are still standing in a good state of preservation, and their occupancy is too well-attested to be disputed. I visited these dwellings a few years ago, accompanied by a friend familiar with the locality. The Keith mansion, which we first visited, has undergone no material change, except from the tooth of time. Then, as now, the main building was a two-story, pointed-stone house, 24 by 28 feet, built by William Keith in 1763. The pine door, in two folds, set in a solid oaken frame, was garnished with a wooden lock, 14 by 8 inches, the same which locked out intruders when Washington occupied the house. The interior, finished in yellow pine, remains unchanged, and one room has never been despoiled by the painter's brush. Washington probably occupied the main front room down stairs for an office, and the one over it for his chamber. How oft he ascended and descended the stairway, between the two rooms, with a heavy heart, especially while making ready for Trenton! The same roof, now covered with tin, is on the house. At that time the front yard was enclosed by a stone wall. The property, containing 240 acres, and purchased by William Keith, of the London Company, nearly a century and a half ago, has never been out of the family. The situation, on the south side of Jericho Mountain, is retired, and pleasantly exposed to the southern sun. The Merrick house, a quarter of a mile away to the east, on the road from Newtown to Neely's mill, a pointed-stone dwelling, 20 by 20 feet, and kitchen adjoining, was bought by Samuel Merrick in 1773, and now belongs to Edward, a descendant. When Greene occupied it, the first floor was divided into three rooms, now all thrown into one, and the family lived in the log end on the west. As the house was not then finished, the General had the walls
of the rooms down stairs painted in a tasteful manner, with a picture of the rising sun over the fireplace. At that time Samuel Merrick had a family of half-grown children, who were deeply impressed with passing events, and their descendants are full of traditions of the times. Greene purchased the confidence of Hannah, a young daughter, by the gift of a small tea canister, which was kept many years in the family. They tell how the Rhode Island blacksmith lived on the fat of the land while quartered at the house of their ancestor, devouring his flock of turkeys, and monopolizing his only fresh milk cow, besides eating her calf. At the last supper which Washington took with Greene at the Merrick house, at which she was present, the daughter Hannah waited upon the table, and kept the plate from which the Commander-in-chief ate as a memento of the great occasion. The Hayhurst house, where Sullivan quartered, was on the adjoining farm to Keith's, where this plain member of the Wrightstown meeting lived with his family of five small children. The Chapman mansion, the quarters of General Knox, and now owned by Edward Johnson, is on the north side of Jericho Mountain, a mile from Brownsburg. It is in excellent condition, and is the best house of the Revolutionary period I have seen in the county. Knox occupied the first floor of the east end, then divided into two rooms, but now one, 25 by 17 feet. Alexander Hamilton, a youthful captain of artillery, lay sick in the back room. The late Peter Cattell, who lived and died on an adjoining farm, then a boy of twelve, used to speak of seeing Washington at Knox's quarters.

In August, 1777, the Continental army tarried thirteen days on the Neshaminy hills, Bucks County, on the York road from Coryell's Ferry, now New Hope, until it should receive notice of the destruction of the British fleet which had recently sailed from New York. During this time Washington quartered in the stone house not far from the north end of the bridge over the Neshaminy, and on the left side of the York road going south. It is now owned by the estate of the late John Bothwell and by one of his sons, and is a comfortable house of the Revolutionary period. The whipping post was erected on the opposite side of the road. While Washington quartered in this house Lafayette reported to him for service in the Continental army; and in it was held the first council of war at which Lafayette had a seat. The troops were encamped around Headquarters, within half a mile or so, on both banks of the Neshaminy. The army marched hence the 22d of August, through Philadelphia, and then to engage the enemy on the field of Brandywine.

W. H. H. Davis
Doylestown, Pa.

The Whitemarsh Headquarters — In the notice of the Elmar house, February number, 1879, of the Magazine (III. 158), the editor, following Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, II. 321, assigns the ownership of the house in which Washington established his headquarters to one Elmar. General Reed, writing to President Wharton on the 4th November, 1777, dates his letter
“Head Quarters at George Emlen’s near Whitemarsh Church.” In this letter he says that “the meadows were entirely overflowed so that in retiring the guards the men marched near breast high in water.” Reed’s Life of Reed, I 335

Pannebecker’s Mills — Samuel Pannebecker, a Pennsylvania Mennonite, owned by descent the falling mills on the Perkiomen Creek on the Skippack road. It was one of the best known points in this section of the country. After the defeat of the Brandywine on the 11th September, 1777, and the surprise of Wayne at Paoli, and Washington’s unsuccessful manœuvres to prevent Howe’s passage of the Schuykill and cover Philadelphia, the Chief came down the road from Potts’ Grove with his army of ten thousand men, and encamped here on Friday, the 26th September. Here, on Sunday, the 28th, he heard of the defeat of Burgoyne at Stillwater, and the general orders, announcing the glorious news to the army was dated from this spot. The mills are now the village of Shwencksville.

Houses Visited by Washington

The Van Winkle House, now Passaic Hotel, Paterson, N. J.—Surgeon Thacher and the Marquis de Chastellux describe a man with an enormous head, who lived near the Passaic Falls, N. J. His head was so large and so heavy that it had to be supported by a framework at the back of his chair, contrived for the purpose, and he was unable to move without assistance. Washington called to see him once, and in the course of conversation asked him whether he was a Whig or a Tory, to which he replied, “Well, I do not take an active part on either side.” The name of this human curiosity was Peter Van Winkle, an uncle of the late United States Senator Peter G. Van Winkle, of West Virginia. The family occupied a stone house, still standing, at the foot of Bank street, Paterson, N. J., and of late years known as the Passaic Hotel.

Paterson, N. J.

Garrison’s, on the Wesel road, Paterson, N. J.—The “traditional” Washington was so faultless, that it is a positive relief to hear of his making a promise which he never kept. Mrs. Gerrebrandt Van Houten (née Garrison), of Paterson, N. J., deceased many years ago, used to say that when she was a child a party of American soldiers were encamped on her father’s farm, on the Wesel road, just below Paterson. Washington frequently stopped at her father’s house, and would take her on his knee, and when he left that neighborhood promised to send her a “fine doll, with big black eyes, just like her own.” But though she looked long and anxiously for the fulfilment of the promise, the “fine doll, with big black eyes” never came.

Paterson, N. J.

The Indian Queen, Elizabeth, N. J.—Somewhere about 1787–9 General Washington, on one of his journeys to and from New York, is remembered to have stopped at this once noted old New Jersey hostelry. In the Revolution time, as well as before and many years
after, it was kept by Mr. Samuel Smith, a citizen of good family and social standing. A venerable lady, now in her 97th or 98th year, viz., Mrs. James Barnes, the widow of a Presbyterian clergyman, who has lived the greater part of her life in the State of Kentucky, her present residence, told the writer, when visiting this city a few years ago, that she had a distinct and very pleasant recollection of seeing the General, in her young childhood, at the period above mentioned, in her father's house, the "Indian Queen" tavern. As she was playing about the room she attracted the attention of Washington, who kindly caressed her and patted her on the head. And thus this great and good man left his memory lastingly impressed upon her heart.

The old tavern, now encased in another of much larger dimensions, viz., the "Sheridan House," of which it is the kernel, is still standing in the city of Elizabeth.

William Hall

Governor Belcher's house, Elizabeth, N. J.—This ancient private mansion, then the residence of the distinguished patriot and former New York citizen, William Peartree Smith, was once honored with the presence of Washington, and in an early part of the Revolutionary Septennial. A record of its then worthy occupant and of his "Port Royal Smith" family may be found in the January, 1879, number of the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record." On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to Elisha Boudinot, subsequently Judge Boudinot of Newark, and brother of Col. Elias Boudinot, President of the first Continental Congress, the ceremony taking place Oct. 4, 1778, Gen. Washington was present as an invited guest, and Alexander Hamilton as groomsman. An alarm of a raid by the British was given while they were in the house, which Hamilton was sent out to inquire about, but which proved to be groundless. The facts here mentioned were communicated to the writer several years since by E. J. C. Atterbury, Esq., of Trenton, N. J., a descendant of Peartree Smith. They have been more recently repeated by ex-President Maclean, in his elegant and elaborate History of the College of New Jersey. This ancient house, subsequently the residence of Governor Aaron Ogden, is still standing and in good condition. It is the property of ex-Congressman Clark.

William Hall

The Doremus House, Pequannock, N. J.—This was near the house where Washington had his Pompton Headquarters, in 1781.—There is now there, in decay, and there was then, in its prime, a stone farm-house, which was the home of Thomas Doremus, of the old Holland race. He was the grandfather of the venerable Thomas C. Doremus of this city, one of our oldest merchants. The aged father of this well-known citizen was wont to speak, and with great delight, of General Washington's stopping and lodging over night occasionally, in his boyhood days, in this, his old paternal stone house. These visits were stamped on his memory by and with several interesting little particulars.

William Hall
Beaverwick, N. J., was a famous family mansion in the vicinity of Pompton, which Washington visited occasionally, and where he once met several distinguished French officers from Rochambeau’s fleet and army.

William Hall

The Burr Tavern, Warren, Connecticut — Washington stopped there, and was in the habit of promenading the walk in front.

Newport

J. E. M.

The Shaw House, New London — In the February, 1879, number of the Magazine of American History mention was made of this house, visited by Washington in 1776.

In Starr’s Centennial Sketch of the Town of New London occurs the following passage, with additional details of the event:

“Washington was the guest of Capt. Nathaniel Shaw, at his stone house in Bank street, and some of the members of the Council of Safety of Connecticut, and conferred with them respecting the future operations against the enemy.

The Chamber which Washington occupied that night at Mr. Shaw’s has acquired from the circumstance an enduring interest. The owners of the mansion have endeavored to keep it unchanged in appearance. No alteration has been made in size or by way of adornment. The bed curtains and the other furniture are the same. It looks now as it did then.

Lafayette visited it in his famous tour. It was then owned by the Hon. Elias Perkins.”

The New York Historical Society held its annual meeting on the evening of the first Tuesday in January. The officers were re-elected. Among them Mr. Charles O’Conor, whose resignation, however, was later accepted, upon which the rules were suspended by unanimous consent, and he was elected an Honorary member. We regret to announce that this, our distinguished, citizen, has changed his residence from New York to Nantucket for the benefit of the sea air. He has been for thirty-three years an active member of the institution, and has bestowed upon it many valuable gifts.

A paper was read by General J. Watts de Peyster on the battle or affair of King’s Mountain. This was essentially the paper printed in the December number of this Magazine. General de Peyster assumed that this skirmish was the turning point of the Revolutionary war; this is to exaggerate the importance of what was after all merely the punishment of a band of marauders by the yeomanry of the country. The effect of the summary measures taken by the Whig leaders to chastise the men who had kept the loyal districts of the Carolinas in alarm was undoubtedly great; but the affair, or battle as General de Peyster properly terms it, had neither tactical or strategic importance.

The Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., held its sixty-eighth annual meeting on the 21st of October last. The semi-annual report of the council, while alluding to the inefficiency of the Publishing Fund, notices a reasonable in-
crease in the Library; among the volumes added are the rare books selected at the Brinley sale under the provisions of the family of this distinguished collector. The recent enlargement of the Library Building has greatly increased its efficiency and use.

The 30th Anniversary of the First Woman's Rights Convention, in which the well-known advocates, male and female, of Woman Suffrage were present, was held at Worcester at the same time.

This cause is making rapid progress. Women have full suffrage in Wyoming and Colorado, and school suffrage in twelve states. The ballot is now earnestly called for.

The Virginia Historical Society have taken possession of their new rooms in the Westmoreland Club House at Richmond, and already make an attractive exhibit in their valuable collections of books, manuscripts, portraits, and relics. Its roll of membership includes the names of some of the ripest scholars in the country. Its library reaches 10,000 volumes. It deserves and should receive the cordial support of the city and the state. The Southern Historical Society has its office on the library floor of the state capitol at Richmond.

The Rev. J. Williams Jones, its efficient Secretary, has general charge of its affairs. The chief object of the Society is to collect documents and papers relating to the late civil war. It also gathers material connected with the general history of the southern states. Its organ is the monthly magazine, "Southern Historical Society Papers," now in its sixth year, and of acknowledged value.

The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, met on the first Tuesday in January, when the usual table business was transacted, and Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, Ga., was selected as the orator for the annual meeting, which will be held on the 14th February. The reports of this Society appear in The Morning News of Savannah.

On the evening of the 21st of December Henry Cruger Van Schaack of Manlius, N. Y., read a paper before the Chicago Historical Society: "A Vindication of Mrs. General Benedict Arnold from the charge of complicity in her husband's treason." He charged upon Burr the responsibility for this accusation, and attributed it to his vindictiveness because his advances were repelled by her. At the same meeting a model in wood of the Old Block House at Fort Dearborn, was presented by H. H. Hurlbut, who read a paper on the romantic incidents connected with it.

A Pioneer Celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Arrival of the Grandville Colony, was celebrated at Grandville, Ohio, on the 13th of November, 1880, when a paper was read by the Hon. Isaac Smuckers. The scope of the address was limited to an account of the settlers who occupied the territory, now known as Grandville Township, prior to the arrival of the New England Colony in the autumn of 1805. This sketch is a valuable addition to that of the same Township read by Captain M. M.
Munson on a similar occasion at Grandville, in January, 1868.

The Pioneer Society of Licking County, Ohio, published its report of Pioneer notes and Memorial sketches for September, 1880, in the Newark American of October 1st, which includes some brief memoirs, among which is noticeable that of its recent President, Hon. P. N. O'Banon, who died on the 13th of September upon the farm on which he was born, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He had filled many offices of trust.

The regular monthly meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held on the 14th December. Only routine business was transacted.

There was a large meeting of the Long Island Historical Society in the church opposite its new building on the evening of the 28th of December. The new home of this active organization has been substantially completed at a cost of over $135,000. A subscription is rapidly advancing towards a sufficient sum to equip the building with its library and museum for future usefulness. A paper was read by Judge John H. Dillon on the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, or the Excellencies and Defects of our Laws. A description was given of Lincoln's and Gray's Inns, the Inner and Middle Temples and Westminster Hall, which form the judicial university of England.

The Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., held a meeting on the 14th of December in memory of the late Jones Very of Salem. William P. Andrews read a paper on the Life, Works and Spiritual Experience of Mr. Very, which he illustrated by extracts from his poems. Glowing tributes were paid to him as an Essayist and Poet.

We learn from the Savannah Morning News that a Youths' Historical Society has been formed in that city. They propose to meet their expenses by public entertainments of a varied literary and historical character. This is an excellent idea, which may be followed to advantage in other cities.

The Detroit Free Press of the 19th of December contains a pleasing paper on the Legends of Detroit, in which the historical importance and souvenirs of Bois Blanc Island are described. It was on this commanding site that Tecumseh and his warriors awaited the issue of the battle of Lake Erie in 1813. The romance of White Fawn, the pride of the Hurons, is also given.

In the same issue, under the head of Historical Notes, No. 13, will be found an account of the chronological landmarks of this region.

The recent death of John C. Calhoun, a grandson of the famous senator from South Carolina, is recorded in a late number of the Savannah Morning News. After the late war he drifted to California, where, after various experiences, he became an inmate of the insane asylum of Stockton, and was drowned some time in December, in the vicinity of San Francisco.
The old Provost Homestead in the town of Pelham, Westchester County, New York State, was totally burned on the 30th of December, with many articles of historic value. The Provost family hold their land under a patent granted by the English crown. They sided with England in the Revolutionary struggle.

The unveiling of the statue erected in memory of General Philip Kearny in December, was the occasion of a general holiday in Newark. The statue is a full length life size, in green bronze, standing on a square bronze pedestal. On the south panel is inscribed: "Philip Kearny, Major General United States Volunteers; born, June 2d, 1815. Killed in Battle at Chantilly, Va., 1st December, 1862." On the north panel: "Erected by authority of the State of New Jersey, 1880." Generals Grant and Sherman, and Governor McClellan were present. The oration was by Hon. Courtland Parker. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the assemblage was immense.

In the streets of Savannah are testimonials to the memory of General Nathaniel Green, the hero of the Southern campaign, 1780–81, and of Pulaski, who fell in the attack of the allies upon Savannah in 1779. Two years ago an association was formed in the same city to erect a testimonial in memory of Sergeant William Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, who fell on the ramparts of Savannah the same day that Pulaski gave up his life.

The plans of the New York Chamber of Commerce for the erection of a statue of Washington on the steps of the Sub-Treasury are rapidly progressing. Money has been offered in such large sums that it will be necessary to limit the amount of subscriptions in order to admit of a greater number of participants in the patriotic work.

The Stony Point Memorial Association, the preliminary meeting of which was held at the rooms of the Magazine of American History on the 18th of September last, will shortly complete its organization.

The movement is in charge of Mr. Henry Whittemore, Secretary of the Rockland County Historical Society. It is proposed to commemorate, by a monument, the victory of Anthony Wayne, 16th July, 1779. The organization will include officers to represent each of the states which had troops in the engagement.

To promote the work of the Saratoga Monument Association, Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, Chairman of the Committee of Commemoration, has contributed to it the plates of her history of Burgoyne's Campaign, and of the accompanying maps.

The volume is for sale by Thomas W. Johnson, agent for the Memorial Committee, No. 673 Broadway, N. Y., for one dollar. The entire proceeds are to go to the purposes of the Association.

The joint committee of Congress has finally concluded a plan for the Yorktown celebration. The ceremonies in which the United States authorities will participate, will be limited to three days.
The arrangements, to which the Army and Navy Departments contribute their experience and co-operation, are not completed.

The French Government will be officially invited to send representatives. The oration will be delivered by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; the poem, by James Barron Hope, of Virginia.

The original resolution of Congress, 29th of October, 1781, for the erection of a monument, was:

Resolved, That the United States in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commander of the auxiliary troops of his most Christian Majesty in America, and his Excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the Naval Army of France in the Chesapeake.

And on the 6th November, 1781, it was

Resolved, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs be directed to prepare a sketch of emblems of the alliance, between his most Christian Majesty and the United States, proper to be inscribed on the marble column to be erected in the town of York, under the resolution of the 29th October last.

The congressional committee however concluded to leave the preparation of the sketch of emblems to the commission to be appointed by the Secretary of War. The report of this commission, consisting of R. W. Hunt, Samuel Van Brunt, and J. Q. A. Ward, was transmitted to the senate on the 20th of December last. The model of the column proposed is now to be seen at the War Department. Its height will vary according to the scale adopted, from 97 to 135 feet.

The following are the inscriptions submitted by the Commission for the four sides of the column:

North side—Erected in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, adopted October 29, 1781, and an Act of Congress, June 7, 1850, to commemorate the victory by which the Independence of the United States of America was achieved.

South side—On this spot, October 19, 1781, after a siege of nineteen days by 5,500 American and 7,000 French troops of the line, 3,500 American militia, and 36 French ships of war, Earl Cornwallis, Commander of the British forces at Yorktown and Gloucester, surrendered with his whole army, 7,251 officers and men, 580 seamen, 244 cannon, and 24 standards, to George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France, to the Comte de Rochambeau, commanding the French troops, and to the Comte de Grasse, commanding the French fleet.

East side.—The provisional articles of peace concluded November 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty of peace concluded September 3, 1783, between the United States of America and George III., the King of Great Britain and Ireland, declare: "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States."

West side.—The treaty concluded February 6, 1778, between the United States of America and Louis XVI., King of France, declares: "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."
Liberality by those who have the welfare of the city at heart, will place this excellent institution on a basis of permanent usefulness, and obtain for it a home. He proposes to secure the rent of a commodious building, to be immediately constructed on the corner of Charles and Saratoga streets, in a sum of $2,500 per annum for five years, and if the public will equip and endow it with a fund equal to $3,000 annually, he will convert the guarantee into an absolute gift of $10,000.

It has been until recently supposed that the lettres galantes, written to Aaron Burr and carefully preserved by him, were destroyed after his death by Matthew L. Davis, his friend, who assumed the administration of his estate; but Mr. Thurlow Weed, in a conversation lately published in the Indianapolis Journal, and from it republished by the New York Evening Post, stated that many of them were returned to their authors. In the reprint of the conversation in the latter paper it is added "that these letters have not been destroyed, but a large number of them are now packed away in a house in a village on Long Island."

The Hon. Alexander H. H. Stewart of Virginia, in a letter giving an account of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence at Stanton, Virginia, relates an impressive scene which occurred at the Eagle Tavern there July 4, 1826. In the midst of the festivities, the intelligence of the death near noon that day of Thomas Jefferson was received. Mr. Chapman Johnson, to whom it was communicated, rose, requested all present to fill their glasses, rise and remain standing, when in solemn manner he offered the following beautiful impromptu sentiment. "The memory of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence! Though the mortal man may never witness another celebration of the day which his pen has so much illustrated, his immortal spirit will be present and inspire the last anthem which hallowed his memory."

The Texas press gives information of a plan to divide that vast territory into four new additional states, which is to be submitted at the coming meeting of its Legislature. The joint resolution of Congress, for annexing Texas to the United States, provides for such division, stipulating only that these new additional states shall have sufficient population and be formed by consent of the said state. The last census shows that she has sufficient population. It is held, however, that her sale of her claim to New Mexico limits her right to three additional states. An attempt at this period to exercise this right would give rise to a sectional controversy similar to that which arose over Kansas. How far the secession of Texas, and the consequent action of Congress necessary to her admission to the Union, may have affected this privilege, is a matter for the Supreme Court to decide.

The Archaeological Institute of America, established in Boston, has recently sent out an expedition to investigate the remains of the ancient Greek city of
Assos, which lies on Turkish soil, on the Southern coast of Mysia, in Asia Minor, east of the promontory of Lectum, the modern cape Baba, in the plain of Troy. For the archaeologist it is said to be virgin soil. The ruins are extensive, including an acropolis, a temple, a theatre, and walls with gate-ways and towers; unquestionable remains of Greek fortification.

The names of the Brulé Sioux chiefs now in Washington, to complete the negotiations for railroad rights of way through their reservation, are White Ghost, Iron Native, Dear Hand, Little Pheasant, Medicine Bull, Bull Head, Don’t-Know-How, Dog Back, Bear Bird, Big Mane, Weasel and Handsome Elk.

Mr. A. S. Logan, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Indian chief of the Six Nations of that name, has been appointed by Secretary Schurz to a position in the Interior Department.

The portrait of Pitalesharu, head chief of the Pawnees, which appeared in the November number of this Magazine, an engraving on wood by J. H. Richardson, our oldest wood engraver, is pronounced to be one of the finest specimens of that art in this country.

The drawings of Headquarters and houses which have appeared in our pages, have all been from original sketches by Mr. Abram Hosier, who has in his portfolio a large number of drawings of this character.

Historical interest throughout the country is greatly promoted through adoption by local newspapers of a department of Notes and Queries. The Daily Telegraph, Harrisburgh, Penn., prints two columns of historical and geographical information in its issue of Jan. 1st. The Richmond Standard, under the same title, publishes a series of valuable contributions on Virginia family history.

To the Christian Advocate, of Thursday, December 30th, under the title of the Capture and execution of Maj. André, Rev. D. Curry, D.D., contributes a careful, well poised examination or study of this always interesting subject. For the first time we find applied to the conduct of André in his last extremity the just epithet of melo-dramatic. Viewing it in its moral light he considers his case as one that calls for the sternest condemnation. Dr. Curry proposes in another article to consider the subject in respect to the actions and motives of his captors. This paper we await with interest.

The destruction by fire on the night of the 1st of January, 1881, of the historical buildings of Mt. St. Vincent, in Central Park, East 103d street, destroyed another of the few remaining landmarks of old New York. The wooden structure with its old fashion beams and fireplaces, was built before the Revolution by Andrew McGown, and was on the line of the British outposts during the late summer and fall, 1776, when the armies of Washington and Howe watched each other from the Point of Rocks and the heights which overlooked McGown’s Pass; the Harlem Plains, fertile, uninhabited and debatable ground, lay between.
KASKASKIA AND ITS PARISH RECORDS

In Southern Illinois, near the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above the mouth of the Ohio, is situated the ancient village of Kaskaskia, supposed to be the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Father of the waters. The eminent historian who concedes to it this distinction finds it difficult to fix the date of its origin, and leaves that undetermined. Its foundation has been variously ascribed to members of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi on their return in 1682, to Father James Gravier in 1683 or in 1685, to Tonti in 1686, and to others still, missionaries or explorers, at different dates in the latter part of the seventeenth century. But the uncertainty upon this point has arisen, in part at least, from the confounding of Kaskaskia with an earlier Indian settlement of the same name on the Illinois river, where was established the Jesuit mission afterwards removed to the existing village. And this, perhaps, will be more apparent from a brief sketch of the history of that mission.

When Father Marquette returned from his adventurous voyage upon the Mississippi in 1673, by the way of the Illinois, he found on the latter river a village of the Illinois tribe, containing seventy-four cabins, which was called Kaskaskia. Its inhabitants received him well, and obtained from him a promise to return and instruct them. He kept that promise faithfully, undaunted by disease and toilsome journeys and inclement weather, and, after a rude wintering by the Chicago river, reached the Illinois village again, April 8th, 1675. The site of this Indian settlement has since been identified with the great meadow south of the modern town of Utica in the State of Illinois, and nearly opposite to the tall cliff soon after known as Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, and in later times as Starved Rock. Marquette established there a mission, to which he gave the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin,
and, for a little time, was able to teach the chiefs and the people. But continued illness soon obliged him to set forth upon that return voyage which brought him to a lonely grave in the wilderness.

To him succeeded the zealous priest, Claude Allouez, who seems to have been at the mission the following year, and at all events reached it in April, 1677. He was lodged, as he says, in Marquette’s cabin, and erected a cross 25 feet high in the midst of the town, which the old men earnestly commended him to place well so that it could not fall. Departing shortly after, he returned in 1678, but the incursions of the resistless warriors of the Five Nations scattered the Illinois, and checked the mission, and the approach of La Salle, who was unfriendly to him, compelled Allouez’s retirement the following year. The attempts of the priests who accompanied La Salle to continue the work, were set at naught by the attacks of the Iroquois upon the Illinois, who fled before their fierce oppressors. In 1684, however, Allouez returned under more favorable auspices, and was at the mission the greater part of the time until his death in 1690.

He was followed by the famous Jesuit, Sebastian Rasle, who embarked in a canoe at Quebec, in August, 1691, to go to the Illinois, and completed his journey of more than eight hundred leagues the following spring. Within two years, he was recalled to his original charge among the Abnaki Indians, to find a martyr’s fate long after at the hands of New England soldiers by the waters of the Kennebec.

Father James Gravier, who had been at the mission during Allouez’s absence in 1687, received it from Father Rasle, and built a chapel within the walls of Fort St. Louis which overlooked the village. His journal of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady at the Illinois, from March 20th, 1693, to February 15th, 1694, gives a very interesting account of his labors among the Indians upon the Illinois river.” This it will be noticed is ten years or more after the time when some have supposed he founded the present Kaskaskia, three hundred miles or more to the southward, upon the Mississippi. The Illinois nation or confederacy was composed of five bands or tribes, the Kaskaskias, the Peorias, the Cahokias, the Tamaroa, and the Mitchigamias. Gravier’s work was principally among the first of these, but extended also to the Peorias. He longed to include in it the Tamaroa and the Cahokias, who were on the Mississippi between his mission and the site of the Kaskaskia of to-day, but was unable to do more than to make them a single brief visit, because he was alone in the land. Of the Mitchigamias, who were still lower down the great river, but north of the place he is said
to have founded in 1683 or 1685, and whose village he must have passed in order to reach it, Gravier seems hardly to have heard. And it is but reasonable to infer that at the date of his journal he had not traveled as far as their settlement.

During his stay in this region, Father Gravier studied the language of the Illinois, and reduced it to grammatical rules, and was regarded by his successors as the real founder of the mission, because he ensured its permanency. When recalled to Michilimackinac, about 1699, he left the Fathers Binetéau and Pinet in charge of the different branches of the original establishment, and with them labored Gabriel Marest, who seems to have been particularly associated with the Kaskaskia tribe. It will readily be seen that in the writings of such a number of missionaries, at these various dates, concerning a mission frequently spoken of as at Kaskaskia, or the village of the Kaskaskias, many allusions might occur which would seem to refer to the present place of the name.

But the evidence that this mission remained upon the Illinois river until the year 1700, and that there was no settlement before that time upon the site of the Kaskaskia we now know, appears to be well nigh conclusive. A letter written to the Bishop of Quebec by John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a missionary priest, describes the journey of his party from Michilimackinac to the mouth of the Arkansas, by the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, in the year 1699. They stayed at the house of the Jesuit Fathers at Chicago, and set out from there about November first, on what one of their predecessors calls the divine river, named by the Indians Checagou, and made the portage to the river of the Illinois. Passing the Illinois village before referred to, they learned that most of the Indians had gone to Peoria Lake to hunt. Arriving there, they met the Fathers Pinet and Maret, with their flock, of which St. Cosme gives a good account, and he speaks of their work as the Illinois mission. The party journeyed onward under the guidance of La Salle's trusty lieutenant, Tonti. While on the Illinois river, certain Indians attempted to prevent their going to the Mississippi, and intimated that they would be killed if they did so. Tonti replied that he did not fear men, that they had seen him meet the Iroquois, and knew that he could kill men; and the Indians offered no further opposition. They reached the Mississippi the 6th of December, 1699, and the next day reached the village of the Tamarois, who had never seen any “black gown,” except for a few days when the reverend Father Gravier paid them a visit. A week later, they ascended a rock on the right, going down the river, and erected a beautiful cross, which their escort saluted
with a volley of musketry, and St. Cosme prayed that God might grant that the cross, which had never been known in those regions, might triumph there. From the context of the letter, it is evident that this ceremony took place not far below the site of the present Kaskaskia, which St. Cosme must have passed to reach this rock, but he makes no mention of such a village. Furthermore, within fifteen miles or so of Kaskaskia, there is a rocky bluff on the Missouri side of the river, known now as the Cape of the Five Men, or Cap Cinq Hommes. This doubtless is a corruption of the name of the good Father St. Cosme, as appears from a map made a little more than one hundred years ago, which gives both names, Cinqhommes and St. Cosme, to this very bluff. It probably is the identical one which he ascended, and he could not have spoken of the cross as unknown in those regions, had there then been any settlement so near the spot as the Kaskaskia we now know. Tonti, who was the leader of this party, is thought by some to have founded Kaskaskia in 1686. Nobler founder could no town have had than this faithful and fearless soldier, but the facts just narrated make such a theory impossible.

Again in the early part of the year 1700, a bold voyager, Le Sueur, whose journal is in print, * pushed up the Mississippi from its mouth, where D'Iberville had just planted the banner of France, and passed the site of Kaskaskia, without notice of such a place. He speaks of the village of the Tamarois, where by this time St Cosme had taken up his abode on his return from the south. About July 15th, going northward, Le Sueur arrived at the mouth of the Illinois, and there met three Canadian *voyageurs* coming to join his party, and received by them a letter from the Jesuit Marest, dated July 15th, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the Illinois. The letter of St. Cosme, and the journal of Le Sueur, seem to show clearly enough that down to the middle of the year 1700, the present Kaskaskia had not been settled, and that the Mission was still on the Illinois river.

And lastly we have the journal of the voyage of Father James Gravier, in 1700, from the country of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi; * from which we learn that he returned from Michillimackinac, and set out from Chicago on the 8th of September, 1700. He says he arrived too late at the Illinois, of whom Father Marest had charge, to prevent the transmigration of the village of the Kaskaskias, which was too precipitately made, on vague news of the establishment on the Mississippi, evidently referring to the landing of D'Iberville the year before. He did not believe that the Kaskaskias, whom Marest accompanied, would have separated from the Peorias and other Illinois,
had he arrived sooner; and he obtained a promise from the Peorias to
await his return from the Mississippi. After having marched four days
with the Kaskaskias, Gravier went forward with Marest, whom he left
sick at the Tamarois village, and departed from there October 9th,
1700, to go to the lower part of the Mississippi, accompanied only by
some Frenchmen. The Indians with Marest, we may presume, halted
upon the peninsula between the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi rivers,
where we soon after find them; and thus doubtless was accomplished
the transfer of the mission to its final location. The eagerness of the
Illinois tribes to be in closer communication with the French was
probably intensified by their desire to escape any further assaults from
their dreaded enemies, and to rear their wigwams where they would
never hear the war-cry of the Iroquois. Both motives would operate
more powerfully with the Kaskaskias than with any others, because
they had been longer under the influence of the French, and because,
in their old location, they were the first to receive the onslaughts of the
rebellious factotum of the Illinois. Hence they set out to go to the lower
Mississippi, but Gravier’s influence, and perhaps Marest’s illness as well,
led them to pause at the first suitable resting place, and that became
their permanent abode. And when we consider that a few years later,
this same Father Marest, who accompanied these Indians on their
migration, was stationed at the present Kaskaskia, in charge of the
Mission of the Immaculate Conception, as appears from his letters;14
that he died and was buried there, as is shown by the parish records;15
and that we hear nothing further of a mission of this name on the
Illinois river; we may reasonably conclude that the Kaskaskia of our
time should date its origin from the fall of the year 1700, and should
honor James Gravier and Gabriel Marest as its founders.

From Marest’s letters we know that some Frenchmen intermarried
with the Indians of this village, and dwelt there, and we may naturally
infer that their presence attracted others of their race, trappers, fur
traders, and voyageurs to the new location. And so, almost at the dawn
of the history of the territory included within the limits of the State of
Illinois, the present Kaskaskia was inhabited by a mixed population of
whites and Indians, under the sway of the priests of the Order of Jesus.
At first a mission simply, then a trading station, and soon a military
post; within twenty years from its foundation, it had enough of the
features of a permanent settlement to justify the worthy priests in
organizing there a parish, which succeeded to their beloved mission,
and was known by the same name.
A large portion of the church records of this parish, beginning perhaps with its establishment, and some extracts from those of the earlier mission, have fortunately been preserved to this day; and they throw many a curious and interesting side-light upon the events of the times in which they were written. Of their authenticity there can be no question. Some of them are still in the custody of the priest of the parish, and others are in the possession of a prelate of the church that has labored so long and so zealously in the region of which these records illustrate the history. By his thoughtful care, the earlier books, which suffered damage at Kaskaskia in the flood of 1844, were removed to a place of greater security. And recently the volumes containing the entries made between the years 1695 and 1835 have been arranged and re-bound, and with proper care may remain a monument of the early history of what is now the State of Illinois for many years to come.

In the re-binding, has been preserved intact the old parchment cover of the first of these records, on which may be dimly traced in the faded ink the words “Registrem pro anno 1696,” but the remainder of the inscription is too indistinct to be deciphered. Probably it is the same in which Father Marest carried the scanty records of the mission at its removal. The originals of these mission records have not been preserved, and we have in their stead a copy of a portion only, entitled “Extrait des Registres de Baptême de la Mission des Illinois sous le titre de l’Immaculée Conception de la S. V.” The copy itself, a small quarto of six pages, is in Latin, and the first entry is of the baptism, March 20th, 1695, by James Gravier, of Pierre Aco, the newly born son of Michael Aco, and Maria Aramipinchicoue. The godfather was D. de Mautchy, in whose place stood D. Montmidy, and the godmother was Maria Joanna, grandmother of the boy. This Michael Aco was one of the Frenchmen who accompanied Father Hennepin on his journey to the Upper Mississippi, when the Falls of St. Anthony were discovered and named, and probably was the leader of the party although the intrepid falsifier Hennepin assumes that honor for himself in his account of the expedition. Aco's wife was the daughter of the chief of the Kaskaskias, and Gravier's journal describes their marriage in 1693. She was a convert, and through her influence her parents embraced Christianity, and she rendered great service to the missionaries as a teacher of the children. The boy Pierre Aco lived to be a citizen of the second Kaskaskia, and the transcript of the old French title records now in the office of the recorder of Randolph County, Illinois, contains a deed from
him of a lot in Kaskaskia executed September 12th, 1725. The two
other entries in the mission record in 1695 are of the baptisms of
children of French Fathers and Indian mothers, the second of Michael,
son of Jean Colon La Violette and Catharine Ekipakinoua, whose god-
father was Michael Aco. It is curious to notice the difficulty the good
fathers seem to have found in writing the names of the Indian women
who appeared at these baptisms, as mothers and godmothers of the
infants, as shown by their use of Greek characters for this purpose.
We can imagine them standing at the font, listening to the many syllab-
abled titles of parents and sponsors, smoothly uttered in the Illinois
tongue, and vainly trying to reproduce them, until in despair they have
resource to their classical learning for symbols of something akin to the
new sounds.

In the year 1697, another son of La Violette and Catherine of the
lengthy name, was baptized by Father Julian Bineteau, who had been a
missionary in Maine in 1693, and the next year was stationed on the St.
Lawrence. St. Cosme met him at Chicago, in 1699, when he had
recently come in from the Illinois and was ill. He died, not long after,
while following his Indians on their summer hunt over the parched
prairies, when fatigue and exposure led to a severe sickness of which
he expired in the arms of his devoted colleague, Gabriel Marest.

In September, 1699, Father Marest baptized Theresa Panicoue; and
the same year, in November, another son of La Violette was baptized
by De Montigny of the same party with St. Cosme, and Tonti was the
godfather. St. Cosme, in the letter from which quotation has been
made, speaking of their descent of the Illinois and landing at an Indian
village, November 28, 1699, says: "We said mass in the cabin of a soldier
named La Violette, married to a squaw, whose child Mr. De Montigny
baptized." The entry in the mission record and the letter therefore
confirm each other.

The first ceremony recorded after the removal of the mission to
the present village, is a baptism performed April 17, 1701, by Gabriel
Marest; and the first and indeed the only one at which Gravier offici-
ated, after this removal, occurred April 13, 1703, when he baptized
the infant son of Pierre Bizaillon and Maria Theresia. No further
mention is made of Father Gravier in these records; but we know from
other sources that he returned to the Peorias to labor among them, was
dangerously wounded in a tumult excited by the medicine men, and de-
scended the river in search of medical treatment, and that his injuries,
aggravated by the long voyage, proved fatal to him at Mobile in 1706.
Under date of April 13, 1703, there appears in the midst of the entries of baptisms the single sentence "Ad ripam Metchagamia dictam venimus." Whether this commemorates an expedition by some priest to the shore of Lake Michigan, which perhaps he gazed upon from the site of Chicago, or a visit to the little river flowing into the Mississippi, by which dwelt the Mitchagamias who gave their name to both lake and river, we cannot tell. But it indicates an event which to some one seemed of importance enough to be recorded, in the archives of the mission as carefully as were the ceremonies of the church. In 1707, first appears the name of the Father P. J. Mermet, who came from the great village of the Peorias, after the death of Pinet and Bineteau, to join Marest, with whom he was happily associated for many years. The latter, writing of their life at Kaskaskia, says: "Mermet remains at the village for the instruction of the Indians who stay there, the delicacy of his constitution placing it entirely out of his power to sustain the fatigues of the long journeys. Nevertheless, in spite of his feeble health, I can say that he is the soul of this mission. For myself, who am so constituted that I can run on the snow with the rapidity with which a paddle is worked in a canoe, and who have, thanks to God, the strength necessary to endure all these toils, I roam through the forests with the rest of our Indians, much the greater part of whom pass a portion of the winter in the chase."

April 26, 1707, Mermet performs the baptismal ceremony for the daughter of Tinice Outauticoue, (godmother Maria Oucanicoue), and George Thorel, commonly called the Parisian. It is strange to think that there should have been at that early day in the western wilderness, one having so much of the airs and graces of the gay capital of France, as to be known distinctively as its citizen. The subsequent baptisms at the mission seem all to have been by Mermet and Marest, and the names of the women are usually Indian, including such remarkable ones as Martha Merououetamoucoue and Domitilla Tehugouanakigaboucoue. Occasionally, however, both parents are French. Thus, March 3d, 1715, was baptized Joannes son of Jean Baptiste Potier and Francoise Le Brise, who officiated as godmother at a ceremony in November of the same year. These are the earliest appearances of one of the matrons of the hamlet, who seems from subsequent notices to have afterwards become a perennial godmother. She figures in that capacity on two occasions in 1717, having also presented a child of her own for baptism in that year, and on one of the only two
chronicled in 1718, and we find her at the font again in 1719. With an entry made October 2d of the latter year, the baptismal register of the mission proper seems to end; although a very few entries in 1732-3 and 1735 are appended, but these seem to belong rather to the parish.

For the parish by this time had been established; and the next in order of these documents is a quarto of twenty-two pages, written in French, as all the rest of these records are, beginning with the "Registre Des Baptemes faits dans L'eglise de la Mission et dans la Paroisse de la Conception de Ne dame. Commencé le 18 Juin, 1719." It is evident from this that the mission chapel was still in use, but that a parish had been duly formed. And we learn from the first entry that another element had been added to the population, and that the soldiers of France were at the little village. This is of a baptism performed June 18, 1719, by Le Boulenger of the Society of Jesus, chaplain of the troops, and the godfather is Le Sieur Jacques Bouchart de Versae, ensign of the troops. We may mention in passing that the infant is the daughter of the marriage of Jean B. Potier and Francoise Le Brise. The priest here named, Joseph Ignatius le Boulenger, is said to have been a man of great missionary tact and wonderful skill in languages. His Illinois catechism, and instructions in the same dialect concerning the mass and the sacraments, were considered to be masterpieces by other missionaries, for whose benefit he prepared a literal French translation. The names of French officers, Charles Legardeur de l'Isle and Claude Charles du Tisné, appear as godfathers in two succeeding entries, and our good friend Françoise Le Brise officiates on both occasions as godmother. We regret to notice that the godmothers as a rule, and she is no exception, declare that they are unable to write, and therefore make their marks. One baptism is of the daughter of a slave woman bearing an Indian name. January 20, 1720, was baptized the son of Charles Danis, a name well known at Kaskaskia as that of one of the first settlers, to whom was made the earliest recorded land grant in that locality. It was dated May 10, 1722, and executed by Pierre Duque Boisbriant, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, and first king's lieutenant of the province of Louisiana, commanding at the Illinois, and Marc Antoine de la loire des Ursins, principal secretary for the Royal India Company. The godfather for Danis' child was this same Pierre Duque Boisbriant, who was the first military commander in that region, and in one sense may be called the first governor of Illinois. And about this time we meet with the name of Jean Charles Guymon-
neau of the Company of Jesus, who was the principal officer of the church at the Illinois, and had special charge of an Indian village six miles inland from the Mississippi.

And now another change takes place, and Kaskaskia is no longer in the pastoral care of a missionary or military chaplain, but has its regular parish priest. Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois, who describes himself as “curé de cette Paroisse,” signalizes his accession by opening a new “Registre des Baptèmes faits dans l’église Paroissiale de la Conception de Ne Dame des Cascaskias,” which he commences July 9, 1720. And this, perhaps, indicates the time of the substitution of a parish church for the earlier mission chapel. The entries preceding this date, made by Boullenger and Guymonneau are, as the manuscript plainly shows, copies, and not the original record, and how this happened we speedily learn. For the precise Beaubois inserts in his register the following statement: “All that which precedes is an extract which I, Nicholas Ig. de Beaubois, S. J., Curé of the parish of the Conception of our lady of the Cascaskias, certify to be correct and conformed to the original, which I have suppressed because it was not in order, and because it was kept on scattered leaves, and the present extract is signed by two witnesses, who have compared the present copy with the original; the 25th of July, 1720: De Beaubois, S. J.” We could wish that this choleric priest had been a little more patient, or his predecessor a little more careful, for the scattered leaves of that suppressed original contained probably the only autograph of Commandant Boisbriant ever written in the parish register, and would have been a little earlier original record than any we know of now in Illinois. But it was not so to be, and we must content ourselves with the fact that this register which Beaubois began is an undoubted original, containing perhaps the earliest existing manuscript penned in what is now the State of Illinois. And its opening entry of July 9th, 1720, has a special interest of its own, for the godfather at that baptism was “Le Sieur Pierre D’Artaguiette,” captain of a company, and his signature is appended. He was a gallant young officer of good family in France, who some years later distinguished himself greatly in the wars with the Natchez Indians, and won promotion thereby, and the position of Commandant at the Illinois. From his station there, in 1736, he marched against the Chickasaws, under the orders of the royal governor of Louisiana, and bravely met a tragic death in the campaign. Next we have an entry of a child baptized by a soldier, because it was in danger of death before it could be brought to a priest, but Beaubois
nevertheless performs the ceremony over again. In the year 1720 le Sieur Girardot, ensign of the troops, appears as godfather, and from this time on regularly officiates in that capacity, vying with Francoise Le Brise in frequency of attendance at the baptismal rite in the character of sponsor. His name was long known in Kaskaskia and its neighborhood, where he spent many years, and it is probably borne to-day by the town of Cape Girardeau in Missouri. In 1721 Le Sieur Nicholas Michel Chassin, Commissary of the Company of the West in the country of the Illinois, signs the register. He was one of the representatives of John Law's famous Mississippi Company, or Company of the West, afterwards merged in the Company of the Indies. In the same year a child was re-baptized, over whom the ceremony had been once performed, on account of the risk and danger of the voyage up the Mississippi, by le Sieur Noyent, Major de la Place, at New Orleans, September 10, 1720, which seems to show that the date of 1723, usually given for the founding of New Orleans, is incorrect. So too a child, born at the Natchez in December, 1720, and baptized there by a voyageur, Pierre La Violette, probably a son of the soldier named in the mission records, was again baptized at Kaskaskia in May, 1721. And in the following June that worthy woman, Francoise Le Brise, comes once more to the front in her favorite rôle of godmother, and unhesitatingly asserts that she is not able to sign her name, and is permitted to make her mark, which she does with a vigor and emphasis which indicate that she was a woman of weight and influence in the community. By this time she has a competitor in one Catharine Juillet, who almost divides the honors with her, and who about this period officiates at the baptism of the son of a Pawnee slave, in company with le Sieur Philippe de la Renaudière, directeur des mines pour la Compagnie d'Oc- cident, who signs his name to the register. And the succeeding entry is that of the baptism of the son born of the marriage of this Renaudière, who was a great man in the new colony, and the lady Perrine Pivot. This affair was one of state, and to the record of it are affixed the signatures, not only of the parents and the godfather, Le Gardeur de L'Isle, but of D'Artaguette, Chassin, St. Jean Tonty—perhaps a relative of the great Tonti—Jean Baptiste Girardot and others. The last entry of a baptism in this book is on July 28th, 1721, and no baptismal register between that date and the year 1759 can now be found.

But next in order of time comes the Registre des Decedes dans la Paroisse de la Conception de Notre Dame des Cascaskias, Commencé le 4e de Janvier 1721, which begins with "the death in the parish on that day,
at two hours after midnight, of Adrien Robillard, aged about forty-one years, an inhabitant of the parish, married the preceding night to Domitilla Sacatchioucoua. He had made confession and received the viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction. His body was buried with the accustomed ceremonies in the cemetery of the parish, upon the high ground near the church, the same day of the month and year aforesaid. In witness whereof I have signed. N. Ig. de Beaubois S. J." In 1721 appears the death of the wife of Francois Freiul, called the Good Hearted One, of the King's Brigade of Miners; and also a solemn service for the repose of the soul of the deceased Sieur Louis Tessier, churchwarden of the said parish, who died at Natchez the third of the month of June. In 1722 an entry is made, which strikingly illustrates the perils which beset the people of that little village on the great river, which was their only means of communication with the nearest settlements, hundreds of miles away. It reads as follows: "The news has come here this day of the death of Alexis Blaye and Laurent Bransart, who were slain upon the Mississippi by the Chickasaws. The day of their death is not known." Then, in a different ink, as if written at another time, is added below: "It was the 5th or 6th of March, 1722." And this state of things is sadly emphasized by the entry immediately following: "The same year, on the 22d of June, was celebrated in the parish church of the Kaskaskias a solemn service for the repose of the soul of the lady Michelle Chauvin, wife of Jacques Nepven, merchant of Montreal, aged about 45 years, and of Jean Michelle Nepven, aged twenty years, and Elizabeth Nepven, aged 13 years, and Susanne Nepven, 8 years, her children. They were slain by the savages from 5 to 7 leagues from the Wabash. It is believed that Jacques Nepven was taken prisoner, and carried away with one young boy, aged about nine years, named Prever, and one young slave girl, not baptized." This family doubtless was removing from Canada to Kaskaskia, as a number did about this time, and had traveled the long and weary way by the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, the Miami River, the portage to the Wabash, and the Ohio. From fifteen to twenty miles above the mouth of the latter river, then called the Wabash by the French, or within eighty miles or so of their destination, when they were counting the hours to their glad arrival there, they were waylaid by the merciless savages, the mother, son and two daughters killed, and the father and two servants taken captives. One daughter appears from other minutes in these records to have escaped this catastrophe, and she became the wife
of the young ensign, Jean B. Girardot, whose signature becomes so familiar to us as we turn these ancient pages. There follows another solemn service for Jean B. Robillard, who died and was buried at Point Coupée, upon the Mississippi, the 14th of July of the year 1722, and then the death of Pierre Barel, a married man having wife and children in Canada.

The Register is kept entirely by Father Beaubois during these years, except one entry by Boullenger, who states that he made it for Beaubois in his absence, which words are heavily underlined. As he inserted this in the wrong place, by order of dates, and styles it an omission, it is a wonder that Beaubois permitted it to remain. And we can but be thankful that he did not lose his temper on his return, and suppress all that had gone before on this account.

In 1724 the simple relation of what happened in a single day gives us a graphic picture of the sad scenes the infant settlement had sometimes to witness. In that year, "the 12th of April, were slain at break of day by the Fox Indians four men, to-wit: Pierre Du Vaud, a married man about twenty-five years of age, Pierre Bascud dit Beau Soleil, also a married man about 28 or 30 years of age, and two others, of whom one was known by the name of the Bohemian, and the other by the name of L'Etreneusieu, the three last dwelling and employed at Fort de Chartres. Their bodies, having been brought to Cascaskia the same day by the French, were buried at sun set in the cemetery of this parish." From break of day to set of sun! These four, who perhaps had just begun their daily labor in the forest or the fields, were set upon in the early morning by the wily savages, who had come from the far away Fox villages in quest of scalps, and made good their retreat with their trophies, before the sad news was known at the stronghold where the victims dwelt, or at the little village which gave them sepulchre before the evening shades had fallen. It is interesting to notice also that one of these men was called the Bohemian, probably the first of that race who came to Illinois, and the earliest use of the name in the annals of the West. September 15, 1725, is mentioned the death of Martha, daughter of M. Girardot, "officier des troupes," and of Theresa Nepven, his wife. In 1726 inserted in this burial register are the baptisms of a negress and negro belonging to residents of the village, and in 1727 that of a slave of the Padoucah tribe of Indians. These, with others following, seem to refer to baptisms performed during fatal illness, and hence included in the list of deaths. The attention is attracted by the larger handwriting, and the crosses and heavy
lines in the margin of the last entry in this burial register, which reads:
"On the 18th of December, 1727, died Zebedée Le Jeune Donné, of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, having received the sacraments, and was buried in the parish church, under the second bench from the middle. The same day were transferred from the old chapel to the said church the bodies of the Reverend Fathers Gabriel Marest and Jean Mermet, religious priests of the Company of Jesus, Missionaries to the Illinois, who died at the said mission." Thus we learn that Marest, one of the founders of Kaskaskia, and Mermet, who likewise was most intimately associated with the early history of the place, both labored there until the end, and found there a grave. The good shepherds, who had followed their wandering flock from the banks of the Illinois to a home by the Mississippi, and had seen the roving mission change to a permanent settlement, where they had toiled long and zealously, were buried first in the mission chapel. But when this structure had fallen into decay, and a new edifice had taken its place, loving hands reverently brought thither the precious dust, that the faithful pastors might still sleep in the midst of their own people.

The record of the deaths occurring in the parish, between the termination of this register in 1727 and the commencement of the burial register opened in 1764, has disappeared. After the first burial register, and in the same book, is a portion of the first marriage register of the parish, which begins abruptly in 1724 with the nuptials of Antoine and Marie, slaves of the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits. Among the witnesses who sign, are Girardot, who seems as ready to officiate at a wedding as at a christening, Zebedée Le Jeune, the priest whose death in 1727 is noted in the burial register, and one Francoise, the last name not given, who makes a mark we think we recognize, and who does not seem to be at all deterred from offering her services as a witness by her inability to write her name. The same year was the marriage of the widow of a sergeant of the king's miners, which Girardot witnesses, and that of a Frenchman, a widower, to an Indian woman, the widow of Charles Danis. This seems to have been a notable wedding, and D'Artaguette and Legardeur de L'Isle sign among the witnesses, and the inevitable Francoise le Brise makes her mark. Then follows the marriage of a native of Brittany with Anne, a female savage of the Nachtoches tribe, which both Girardot and Francoise le Brise grace with their presence; and the next year that of a Frenchman with a German woman, which seems to have attracted the attention of the aborigines, as two chiefs, one the head of the Tamaroa tribe, make their
marks as witnesses. In 1726 Jacques Hyacinthe, of the Pawnee nation, was married to Therese, a freed savage woman of the Padoucah tribe, and the whole party signed with their marks.

Turn we now to another entry of which the handwriting, clear as copper-plate, and the ink almost as dark as if used but yesterday, make it well nigh impossible to realize that more than one hundred and fifty years have passed since the characters were formed, and the event described took place. It tells us that in the year 1727, the twentieth day of the month of October, the nuptial benediction was pronounced over two inhabitants of the parish, Joseph Lorrin and Marie Philippine, and shows that this was a great social event in the early day. Chassin of the Royal India Company, Girardot, Pierre de Franchomme, and others of the gentry of Kaskaskia sign the register as witnesses, and then appear two signatures, distinct and bold as though freshly written, which we have not met with hitherto. These are the names of Vinsenne and St. Ange fils: the Chevalier Vinsenne, commandant of the post by the Wabash, on the site of which the city of Vincennes in Indiana, bearing a name derived from his, has grown up, and the young St. Ange, one of his officers, a relative doubtless of the sterling soldier, who was to be the last French Commandant of the Illinois. They had come from their distant station, the nearest neighbor of Kaskaskia, a hundred leagues in bark canoes, or had traversed the prairie and threaded the forest for days together, to greet old friends and new, and to dance gaily at the wedding, all unmindful of the sad fate to which they were doomed; for, ere ten years passed by, these two, with the knightly D’Artagguette and the heroic Jesuit Senat, were to perish at the stake among the savage Chickasaws, who wondered to see the white men die so bravely.

The last entry in this marriage record is under date of June 7th, 1729, and for a space of nearly twelve years, or until January 3rd, 1741, there is no register of marriages in this parish extant, and the book containing the intervening entries has probably been destroyed. On the day last mentioned it begins again, with R. Tartarin as Curé, and from that time on it is kept in a folio volume of 220 pages, apparently containing a complete record of the marriages at Kaskaskia, from 1741 to 1835. In November, 1741, is noted the marriage of the widow of Pierre Groson de Ste. Ange, lieutenant of a company detached from the marine, perhaps the young officer who died with D’Artagguette five years before. September 19th, 1746, Father P. J. Watrin becomes Curé, and about this period the names of natives of Quebec and of Detroit
residing at Kaskaskia frequently occur in the register. Brother Charles Magendie of the Company of Jesus acts as assistant to Father Watrin, and we hear also of Monseigneur Mercier, Vicaire General, who occasion-ally exercises his authority. Slaves, red and black, and freed men and freed women of both colors, give light and shade to the good father’s pages, and are dismissed with brief mention. But when on January 7th, 1748, the wedding of Monsieur Joseph Buchet, exercising the functions of Principal Secretary of the Marine, Sub-delegate of Monsieur the Commissary Ordonnateur and Judge at the Illinois, once a widower, and Marie Louise Michel, twice a widow, is celebrated, and the Reverend Father Guyenne, Superior of the Missions of the Com-pany of Jesus in Illinois, performs the ceremony, assisted, as we should say, by the priest of the parish, the entry is thrice as long as usual. And the Chevalier de Bertel, Major commanding for the King at Fort Chartres, and Benoist de St. Clair, Captain commanding at Kaskaskia, sign the record, and others of the first circles of Kaskaskia, and all are able to write their names. Then follows the wedding of the daughter of Sieur Leonard Billeront, Royal Notary at the Illinois, with the son of Charles Vallée, another name known long and well at Kaskaskia.

In this year Father S. L. Meurin, who describes himself as a mis-sionary priest of the Company of Jesus, exercising the functions of Curé, signs one marriage entry; and the next year Father M. T. Fourré officiates at the wedding of two slaves of Mr. de Montchevaux, Captain commanding at the Cascaskias. And January 13th, 1750, Father Watrin performed the ceremony at the union of Jean Baptiste Benoist de St. Claire, Captain of infantry, who had now become Commandant at the Illinois, and Marie Bienvenue, daughter of Antoine Bienvenue, Major of militia, who had not long before removed from New Orleans to Kaskaskia, where his descendants still reside. And the same year De Girardot signs once more as a witness. In 1751 there appears the name of St. Gemme, which later was prominent in the history of the place. When the property of the Jesuits in Kaskaskia was sold by the French commandant for the crown, under the royal decree for the sup-pression of the order, St. Gemme was the purchaser, and he became the richest subject in the village, furnishing to the King’s magazines as much as 86,000 weight of flour in a single season, which was only part of one year’s harvest. The family came from Beauvais in France, and its members were often called by the name of that town, but the true patronymic was St. Gemme, which some descendants of that stock to-day write St. James. In 1755 De Girardot’s signature greets us
again, and for the last time in these records. Aubert, Jesuit, relieves Watrin in 1759, and the succeeding year joins in wedlock Dussault de la Croix, officier des troupes du Roy, son of Messire Dessault de la Croix, Chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, and the widow of Antoine de Gruye, Lieutenant of the troops, written permission having been given by Monsieur de Macarty, Major Commandant at the Illinois. One of the witnesses is Neyon de Villier, a bold officer in the old French war, who did much damage on the frontiers of the colonies. He was one of seven brothers, who all held commissions under King Louis, and was Macarty’s successor as Commandant of the Illinois country. April 11th, 1763, the bans of marriage were published for the third time between Messire Philippe Francois de Rastel, “Chevalier de Rocheblave, officier des troupes de cette colonie, natif de Savournon Diocese de Gap en Dauphiné, fils de Messire Jean Joseph de Rastel, Chevalier Marquis de Rocheblave, Seigneur de Savournon le Bersac place du bourg et de vallée de vitrolles,” and Michel Marie Dufresne, daughter of Jacques Michel Dufresne, officer of militia of this parish; written permission having been given by Monsieur De Neyon de Villiers, Major Commandant at the country of the Illinois, who signs the register. This Rocheblave, at the transfer of the country by the French to the English, took service under the banner of St. George, and was the last British Commandant of the Illinois, being captured at Fort Gage, on the bluff above Kaskaskia, July 4th, 1778, by the able leader, George Rogers Clark. In 1764 Father Meurin seems to take charge of the parish, which he describes as that of the Immaculate Conception of the holy virgin, Village of Kaskaskias, Country of the Illinois, province of Louisiana, diocese of Quebec; and associated with him at times was Brother Luccelot, Missionary Priest at the Illinois.

The sturdy priest, Pierre Gibault, assumes the functions of Curé des Kaskaskias et Vicaire General des Illinois et Tamarois in 1768, and his bold signature, with its unique flourish, greets us through these records for fifteen years or more. We should know that the man with such a chirography would have been just the one to render the efficient assistance which he gave to George Rogers Clark, and must have belonged, as he did, to the church militant. He was very slow to recognize the change in the civil government of the country, when it was ceded by France to England, which was quite distasteful to him, and hardly notices it in these records. But in 1776, when the Vicar General of the Illinois country, the former curé, S. L. Meurin, officiated, we find this transfer indicated in the mention of Mr. Hugh Lord, Captain com-
manding for his Britannic Majesty, and his signature and those of some of his officers are subscribed to one entry. In May, 1778, Father Gibault condescends to speak of Mr. De Rocheblave as Commandant-in-Chief in the country of the Illinois, but does not say under which king; and before he made the next entry, on the 4th of August of the same year, the hapless Rocheblave, to Gibault's great satisfaction, was on his way to Virginia, a prisoner of war, and Clark and his "Long Knives," as his men were called, held the fort.

Reluctantly we see the last of the handwriting of this friend of the new republic, which is followed in 1785 by that of De Saint Pierre as Curé, and De la Valinière as Vicar General; and in their time, from 1792 onward, English names begin to appear, such as Archibald McNabb, from Aberdeen, and William St. Clair, son of James St. Clair, captain in the Irish Brigade in the service of France, and John Edgar, once an English officer, and afterwards a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia and of Illinois, and Rachel Edgar, his American wife, who persuaded him to forswear the King of Great Britain and all his works; and William Morrison, who emigrated from Philadelphia in 1790 to establish a mercantile business in the old French town. And with these are the new French names, representing the arrivals from Canada during that period, and noticeable among them that of Pierre Menard, afterwards the first Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, the son of a liberty-loving Canadian, who fought by the side of Montgomery at Quebec. In 1793 Gabriel Richard takes up the record as parish priest. Later he was stationed at Detroit, and took a leading part in the early history of Michigan, representing that Territory in Congress, and was the only Catholic priest who was ever a member of that body.

The register runs on without a break well into the present century, and we note as we pass the marriage on May 22d, 1806, of Pierre Menard, widower, and Angelique Sauzier, granddaughter of Jean B. Sauzier, once a French officer at Fort Chartres, who resigned and settled in the Illinois country. Donatien Ollivier was the officiating priest. In 1817, at the wedding of a daughter of William Morrison, Ninian Edwards, then Governor of the Territory of Illinois, afterwards third Governor of the State, and Shadrach Bond, first Governor of the State, sign as witnesses. July 11, 1819, at the marriage of a son of Pierre Chouteau to a daughter of Pierre Menard, it is recited that the husband was born at St. Louis in the Missouri Territory, and the wife at Kaskaskia in the State of Illinois, which is the first mention of the State of Illinois in these records. Many members of these two
families, both prominent in the early history of the Illinois country, witness this entry. In April, 1820, William Morrison, Eliza, his wife, Governor Shadrach Bond, and William H. Brown, in after years a leading citizen of Chicago, appear as witnesses, and the last entry in this book, commenced in 1741, is made in 1820. A smaller volume in the same cover continues the list of marriages to 1835, and in a clerkly hand Sidney Breese, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, affixes his signature to an entry made February 11th, 1822. John Reynolds, afterwards Governor of Illinois, is a witness in 1824, and two years later Felix St. Vrain, the Indian agent murdered by the savages at the outbreak of the Black Hawk war, signs the record, and with him Nathaniel Pope, delegate to Congress from the Territory of Illinois, and first United States Judge for the District of Illinois—all in the time of Francois Xavier Dahmen, priest of the Congregation.

We might continue thus to cull from these old records things grave and gay, quaint and interesting, but the limits of this paper compel us to forbear, and we must leave untouched the later baptismal and burial registers. It is pleasant to pore over the brown pages, to decipher the cramped handwriting, and to imagine the long succession of worthy priests making their careful entries, little thinking that they would ever be read beyond the bounds of their own parish, or be of value to any but the dwellers therein, but they made them none the less faithfully. And so these parish records, intended simply to show the births, marriages and deaths among the people of one little village, for the greater part of its existence an outpost of civilization in the heart of the western wilderness, unconsciously and so most accurately reveal much of the early history of the region which is now a great State.

They tell us of the black robed missionaries, who made those long and weary journeys to plant the cross among the savages, and toiled to spread their faith with a zeal and devotion unsurpassed; of the bold pioneers, who, for the sake of gain and adventure, traversed the wilds with their lives in their hands and of their merciless foes; of the days of wild speculation, when the streets of Paris were full of eager purchasers of shares in the wonder-working company which was to found an empire on the banks of the Mississippi, and draw endless riches from the mines to be opened there; of the high-born officers, who sought distinction or promotion by service in this far-away colony, and of their soldiers, trained to war across the sea; and, as we read, plumes and banners wave, and sabres clank, and the red men look curiously at
the musketeers, and those whose names are written in the pages of these time-worn books pass before us, and the old scenes come back again. They give us glimpses too of the struggle between two mighty nations for the valley of the Beautiful River, and for dominion in the New World, the prelude to the mightier struggle in which the victor in the earlier strife lost its conquests and its ancient possessions as well; and of the part which this early settlement played in those contests. We see the sceptre pass from one nation to another, and when the sound of war is hushed we note the coming of peace, with commerce and agriculture in its train. And as the tide of enterprise reaches the old French village, we see its temporary transformation into an American town, and can realize its astonishment at finding its limits extending, its population doubling, its streets thronged, and itself the seat of government of a vast territory and the first capital of a State. And we can appreciate its relief when the wave recedes and the new names disappear, and rejoice with it that this episode is over, and it is left to its ancient ways and its own familiar people, and to a rest which has since been almost undisturbed.

And hence, for one who approaches it to-day, there is little to disturb the impression that it is really the Kaskaskia of the olden time to which he draws near. The way still lies, as of yore, through a forest, in which stands the old residence of Pierre Menard, vacant and fast going to decay, but with its furniture and books still in place, as if its occupants of long ago had left but yesterday. It is a type of the village itself, once astir with life, now full of stillness. As you cross the Kaskaskia river by the old-fashioned ferry, and are greeted by the ancient ferryman, the illusion is not dispelled. And the wide streets, unmarked by wheel tracks; the antique French houses, with their high dormer windows; the old brick buildings, the first erected of that material in Illinois, each with a history—this one the earliest court house in the State, and that one the old United States land office—built of three-inch bricks, brought from Pittsburg in flatboats in 1792; the priest’s house, constructed of materials from the ruins of the nunnery once located there; and the parish church, containing the bell cast at Rochelle in France in 1741 for this parish, the first that rang between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi—all give one a mingled impression of antiquity and departed greatness.

You may dine at the village tavern, in the same great room, fully thirty feet square, in which dinner was served to the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825, when he tarried here on his way down
the Mississippi, and note the quaint wood carving of the high mantelpiece, and of the mouldings of the doors and windows, and see beneath the porch the heavy hewn timbers of which the house is built,justifying the tradition that it is a century and a quarter old, and was already venerable when Edward Coles, the second Governor of Illinois, made it his residence. You may see part of the foundation of the William Morrison house, at which a reception was given to Lafayette, and the dilapidated framework of the Edgar mansion, where he was a guest. The site of the house of the French commandant, which was afterwards the first State House of Illinois, will be pointed out to you, and the place where stood the nunnery, and such landmarks as the corner-stone of the property of the Jesuits confiscated by the French Crown, and the post of Cahokia Gate, once giving passage through the fence that bounded the Common Fields, which are still divided and held by the old French measurement and title. And you will learn that the little village, now containing less than three hundred souls, is the owner of some eleven thousand acres of the most fertile land in the Valley of the Mississippi, under the grant to it of Kaskaskia Commons, by his Most Christian Majesty Louis the XV., in 1723, and derives therefrom abundant revenue. The older residents will talk to you of the flood of 1784, of which they have heard their fathers tell; and of Lafayette’s visit, which they remember as boys, when, perched on the fence, they saw the stately form, in foreign garb, pass into the Edgar mansion, or peered at him through the windows as he sat at dinner in the large room of the tavern; and of the great flood of 1844, when the water was five feet deep above the floors of their houses, and large steamboats came up the Kaskaskia river and through the streets of the village, and, gathering the terror-stricken inhabitants from trees and roofs, went straight away across the Common Fields to the Mississippi. Of more modern events they have little to say, nor do the later years furnish them topics to take the place of these.

The little community, content to believe itself the first permanent European settlement in the Valley of the Mississippi, sleeps on, dreaming of its early days and of its former importance. It pays little heed to the warnings which the mighty river has already given it, and is seemingly unmindful that the third and last is at hand. The distance from the village center to the river bank, once three miles, has been reduced one-half, and the rich farm lands, which once bordered the stream, have gone in its current to the Gulf of Mexico. And now the Mississippi, unsatisfied even with this rapid destruction, in the very
wantonness of its strength has cut its way above the town towards the Kaskaskia river, despite the efforts of the Government engineers to check it, until but a space of three hundred yards separates the two. The grave of Illinois' first Governor has been disturbed, and but recently his remains were removed to a safer resting place. And when the junction is made, the united rivers at the next flood time will spare nothing of the ancient village, which meanwhile listens idly to the murmur of the approaching waters, and smiles in the shadow of its impending doom, which, before another spring has passed, may be so complete that there will remain no memento of Kaskaskia save its old Parish Records.

EDWARD G. MASON

1 Bancroft's History of the United States, I. p. 195.
2 Davidson and Stuve's History of Illinois, p. 110.
4 Montague's History of Randolph County, Illinois, p. 12.
5 Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 55.
6 Parkman's Discovery of the Great West, p. 69.
7 Shea's History of Catholic Missions, pp. 410-415.
9 Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 43.
11 Ibid., p. 92.
12 Kaskaskia Parish Records, p. 9, Burial Register.
THE NANCY GLOBE

The Nancy Globe is perhaps the most beautiful of all the ancient globes. It is of rich silver-gilt, measuring about six inches in diameter, being preserved among the treasures of the Public Library of Nancy, France. Its origin is not now known. It appears to be alluded to for the first time by Père Vincent, who, in his "Histoire de l'ancienne image miraculeuse de Notre Dame de Sion," says (p. 163) that, among the precious objects offered to the Virgin of Sion, by Duke Charles IV., was a very rich cup in the form of a globe, which had been converted into a Ciborium. Père Truillot, in a similar work, published at Nancy in 1757, speaks of "a very rich cup, representing the terrestrial globe, six inches in diameter, on which are perfectly cut and described all the countries, lands, kingdoms, seas and rivers, as on a Mappe-monde, the lands being distinguished from the waters by beautiful gilding, and a celestial blue representing the waters" (p. 74). The writer goes on to say: "This cup is surmounted by an armillary sphere, with all the circles representing the heavens, the earth being in the middle, about the size of a walnut, the whole being supported by a nude Atlas, eight inches high, posed directly at the foot of the globe, this Atlas holding in his hands a Horn of Plenty, of his own height, the top being charged with all kinds of fruit around his head, which, together, support the globe and the sphere; the whole is of silver, properly gilt within and without, having the height of about eighteen inches."

The globe was presented at the shrine of the Virgin upon the occasion of the King's happy return from Germany to Lorraine. It was borne in solemn procession from Nancy to Sion, and there deposited with the Tiercelins. Upon the suppression of the religious houses it was carried back to Nancy, and placed in the Public Library. Some one having proposed to melt down the instrument for coinage, a commission was appointed to decide upon its value. The committee, however, wisely declared that it was worthy of a distinguished place among the historic monuments, and provided for its careful preservation. About the year 1835, Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, issued a Circular to the Scientific and Literary Societies in the Departments, urging the study of neglected or forgotten relics of this kind. Whereupon certain members of the "Royal Society of Science, Literature and Arts," of Nancy, turned their attention to the globe.
Eventually the subject was specially committed to M. Blau, an Honorary Inspector of the Society, who had admired the globe as early as 1794, when it was in the possession of the Tiercelins. Securing the cooperation of M. Forbillier, who had constructed a very perfect globe, about ten feet in diameter, for the Public Library of Epinal, M. Blau had a careful representation of the Nancy Globe made on the stereographic projection, which was published in connection with his paper given in the "Mémoires" of the Society for 1836, and separately during the same year. It is to the drawing made by M. Forbillier that we are indebted for our representation of the contents of the globe proper, though the general view of the instrument was made from an excellent photograph.

M. Forbillier's sketch does not vary at all from the globe, except where it was necessary by the transfer of designs from a gold or silver surface to paper. The work is very accurately done, and gives the orthographical errors of the original, which are of the class common to all the ancient globes, and, upon the whole, inevitable. M. Blau says that the gilding within and without, the arabesque designs, and its general beauty, leave nothing to be desired. The globe opens horizontally in two hemispheres, and may without difficulty be converted into a Ciborium, by the removal of the sphere of Ptolemy, and the substitution of a cross. Evidently the instrument has served this double purpose, and if so, it is easy to explain the loss of the globe of the size of a nut which Père Trouillot describes as suspended within the armillary sphere. M. Blau observes that this loss is all the more to be lamented, from the fact that, though he dismounted the instrument and searched carefully into every recess, he was unable to find anything to indicate its origin or the date of its publication. It has been conjectured that the date and name of maker were engraved on the little globe within the armillary sphere; but if this were so, the inscription is lost, like the belief in the astronomical system which the armillary sphere was designed to illustrate.

The only clue to the nationality of the maker of the globe is found in the names of the cardinal points engraved in small Roman capitals on the horizon of the Ptolemaic sphere. The resemblance of the names and characters to those of the cardinal points as given in Sherz's German Glossary of the Middle Age (Strasbourg, 1781), leads to the conjecture that the globe was made at Nuremberg, and that it was acquired by Charles IV. when in Bavaria. It was evidently intended for some important person. M. Blau thought that it was a copy of a globe of the same size, for the reason that the maker does not
appear to have been capable of reducing a large design. Charles
must have taken an interest in such works, as would appear from the
fact that his engineer, Jean L'Haste, dedicated to him “Sommaire de
la sphere artificielle” (Nancy, 1624), in which he states, that after eight
years of labor, he had engraved for his Highness both a celestial and a
terrestrial globe in bronze of a large size.

The gilding of the globe, as already stated, separates the water very
distinctly from the land. The water was formerly of a deep blue, and
even to-day it appears a superbly chased brown, imitating the undula-
tions of the sea when slightly agitated. The polar circles and the
tropics are figured without graduation. The ecliptic, the equator and
the colures are divided into 360 degrees, though they are not numbered.

The ornamentation indicates the taste of the earlier map makers,
the ships and sea monsters being quite remarkable. “Zanzi,” put for
Zanzibar, in the Indian Ocean, betrays the bad influence of the earlier
globes. The islands of the East are in a state of primitive confusion,
several having been thrown in where no islands exist. In the countries
bordering the Indian Ocean there are no indications of the progress
of the sixteenth century enterprise, which also helps to give the globe
the appearance of an age that it does not possess. Much of this,
however, may be referred to what appears to have been the ruling
desire of the engraver, namely, the desire for artistic beauty, to secure
which many words are abbreviated.

Around the South Pole is the great imaginary continent of the
Vilpian Globe and the Map of Mercator, which indeed forms so striking
a feature on many of the early geographical representations. The
origin of this representation is lost in the dim antiquity, when men
exercised fancy in such a remarkable manner. In the east it extends
northward to the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, while in the west
it reaches to an equal distance. At the Straits of Magellan Terra del
Fuego is welded on to this vast continent, which would appear to be
under the rule of crowned heads, whose subjects dwell in tents.

Turning to the western world, it is found that, while the globe honors
Vespucii, whose name is given to the New World, it is drawn in accor-
dance with the Columbian idea as respects those features that are false.
Northern and Central America are represented as parts of Asia, while
the rivers of India empty into the Gulf of Mexico, called “Mare Cath-
ayvm.” This region, as well as the east coast of North America, fails
to show the progress of exploration. Yucatan, as on many maps,
appears as an island. “Terra Florid” and “Baccalearvm” are therefore
still in Asia. In Florida there is no indication of the exploration of Cortes, while Cartier has no recognition in "Terra Francesca," notwithstanding his voyages of 1534 and 1542. The globe, however, must have been made subsequent to 1540, since the Amazon, explored in 1539, is indicated, though, like the La Plata, still more definitely shown, it is given without the name. The Sea of Parima also appears to be indicated in connection with the Amazon, which would bring the date of the map down somewhat beyond 1540. The western coast of South America shows no explorations later than 1538-40, the rivers emptying into the sea south of Capricorn being the offspring of the imagination, in common with other features of the globe. The representation of Newfoundland, called "Corterealis," is very poor, like the coast line from that point to the Gulf of Mexico, but the outlines of Greenland are quite tolerable, in addition to being interesting. Iceland lies in its proper position with respect to Greenland. The most of early geographical representations show the northeast passage, but on our globe the "Mare Glaciale" forms a cul de sac, and the land spreads over and around. In "Hispania Nova" the Spanish and Asiatic names are mixed together. Lower California is not indicated, yet it is clear that at the time the globe was made a great deal was known about the Pacific coast. The ideas respecting the North Atlantic are, however, very backward, and nothing of striking interest is presented. In 1511 the maker of the Lenox Globe repudiated the Columbian idea, yet upon this globe, which may be placed towards 1550, the theory of Columbus dominates. When Columbus, June 12, 1494, forced his companions to declare, under oath, that Cuba was a part of Asia, he struck a heavy blow at the progress of geographical knowledge. As respects himself, he proved that he was slow to accept original ideas. The engraver appears to have been acquainted with the Ptolemy of 1513, and he has drawn from it such names as "Caninor" and "Costal," the latter being put for "Costa Alta," the high coast, which is found on the so-called Cabot map as "Cesta Alta." The only name of real interest is "Anorombega," or Norombega, which first appears as "Aranbega" on the map of Jerome Verrazano, 1529. We need not delay, however, to dwell upon the names in general, since many of them are so disguised that a formal study would prove tedious and unprofitable. We may observe, nevertheless, that the great antarctic continent, which was seldom wanting in such representations, appears in full proportions on the globe; while Africa has the customary lakes and rivers, showing that modern explorations are simply rediscoveries. In the
north polar region the ideas of the period are indicated. The north-
easter n passage, which on the Lenox Globe is open, in accordance with
modern discovery, is closed up on the Nancy Globe, and the designer
indicates his belief in the Pygmies and the Hyperboreans.

As indicated, however, the maker of the globe appears to have been
more deeply concerned in the artistic character of this semi-religious
instrument, than in its true geographical character. Hence many very
interesting discoveries are neglected, though well known at the time.
In conclusion, we may say the most prominent feature is found in its
embodiment of the false geography of Columbus, which was relin-
quished with the unwillingness that attended the abandonment of the
Ptolemaic system of astronomy.

B. F. DE COSTA
CHRISTIAN FEBIGER

COLONEL OF THE VIRGINIA LINE OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Colonel Christian Febiger, although a native of Denmark, may be regarded not so much as one of those distinctively “foreign officers” who came to this country during the progress of the struggle to assist in securing American independence, as a European friend, who, if not altogether a colonist, had so far lived among and become attached to the American people as to share in the sense of their grievances and join with them in the contest from the outset. He is to be remembered as an officer who rendered extensive and noteworthy services during the Revolution.

From authentic records touching his personal history, we learn that Febiger was born on the island of Fünen, Denmark, in the year 1746. It is probable that about his sixteenth year his father died, as he speaks of having been his own master since that age, while his mother was still living at Fünen in 1786. It is certain that he received an early military education, possibly at Copenhagen, where he had friends, and that while still a young man he accompanied an uncle who had been appointed governor of the island of Santa Cruz, West Indies, as one of his staff. Whether he there decided to abandon a military career and attempt some mercantile ventures on his own account does not appear, but the next we hear of him, he is traveling, in 1772, through the American colonies, from Cape Fear in North Carolina to the Penobscot in Maine, stopping and making observations “in every town and port,” inquiring into the resources of the country and noting its actual products. This journey seems to have left a favorable impression, and during the two following years, as he informs us himself, he was “commercially engaged in the Eastern States in the lumber, fish and horse trade.”

Febiger was doubtless prospering in business when the war broke out, and the war necessarily completely interrupted it. He was evidently established at the time either in Boston, Salem, or a neighboring coast town, as it was from this vicinity that he first joined the Colonial forces. His sympathies with the Massachusetts people must have been sincere and ardent, or he could not have involved himself so early in the struggle. He seems to have had no hesitation in the matter. Nor
can we suppose that he rushed in for the sake of military adventure—his entire career showing that he had the cause of the Colonists much at heart. Being a trained soldier, he offered his services in the emergency, and they were accepted. The record here, unfortunately, is meagre, but we have the fact that ten days after the Lexington alarm, or April 28, 1775, he joined Colonel Samuel Gerrish's Massachusetts State Militia Regiment, composed of companies from Essex and Middlesex counties. A little later he appears as its Adjutant—the exact date of his appointment, so far as known, not being preserved—and the regiment took its place in the cordon of raw troops drawn around the British regulars in Boston. The fact that he received the Adjutancy indicates that he already had friends and some influence either in or about Boston, and that he was known as a person familiar with the subject of military organization.

The battle of Bunker Hill soon followed. There Febiger first developed his courage and ability to command, which is nearly all that we know about him in connection with the affair. The struggle at Prescott's redoubt was progressing and Putnam was hastening troops to its support. "Among others," says Frothingham in his "Siege of Boston," "a part of Gerrish's regiment under Nighl marched from Cambridge to Ploughed Hill, where Adjutant Christian Febiger, a gallant Danish soldier who had seen service, took command, called upon the men to follow him, and reached the heights in season to render valuable service." Frothingham's authority for this incident seems to be the account of the battle by Swett, who gave many details from personal knowledge. There can be little doubt that Febiger distinguished himself on the occasion, as we find him appointed not long after to accompany Arnold's Quebec expedition, which included none but officers of approved conduct and known resolution. We may fairly assume that his Bunker Hill record was, in part at least, the reason of his selection in the latter case.

Here, again, in regard to the march to Quebec, our knowledge of Febiger's individual services is quite limited. The journals of some of his companions occasionally refer to him; that of Captain Thayer, of Rhode Island, establishing the fact that he was one of the two Adjutants in the expedition. A letter from Febiger to Colonel Meigs, written after the war, mentions the further fact that he made drafts of the route, which are unfortunately lost. The late Judge Henry, of Pennsylvania, a volunteer in the expedition, recalls the circumstance in his narrative, that one evening after a peculiarly exhausting march, he reached Febi-
ger's camp-fire in a condition which excited the latter's sympathy. He was heartily welcomed to the mess and received with the usual camp tonic. "The heart of Febiger," says Henry, "seemed overjoyed at the relief he had and could afford us. The liquor had restored our fainting spirits, but this was not enough for his generosity to exhibit. He requested us to take seats around the fire, and wait the boiling of his kettle, which was well replenished with pork and dumplings. This was all devoted to our use, accompanied by an open-heartedness and the kindest expressions of interest for our sufferings, and regard for our perseverance in our duty as military men. This meal to all of us seemed a renewal of life. It was accustomed food. Febiger, ere this time, was unknown to us, but in the process of events, he acquired our esteem and entire confidence, as a friend and a real soldier." At the storming of Quebec, December 31, 1775, Febiger was taken prisoner with the greater part of his comrades, among whom were Morgan, Heth and Porterfield, of Virginia; Lamb, of New York; Meigs, of Connecticut; Greene, of Rhode Island, and others, and with whom he was confined until released on parole in August, 1776. On September 11 following the prisoners reached New York, landed near Elizabeth, New Jersey, and on the 1st of January, 1777, were regularly exchanged, the preference in the exchange being given them over all others.

Upon his release from parole, Febiger immediately re-entered the service by accepting a commission in the Virginia Continental line. The reasons which inclined him to go to that State do not appear, but it is quite probable that the friendships he had formed during the Quebec expedition had something to do with it, as the regiment which he joined was officered largely by old Virginia comrades in captivity, who may have induced him to share the fortunes of war thereafter with themselves. However this may be, we find that Richard Henry Lee recommended him for a position in the new line, that the House of Delegates appointed him, November 13, 1776, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and that soon after he was assigned to the Eleventh Virginia Continentals, of which Daniel Morgan was Colonel. John Marshall, the future Chief Justice, was its Adjutant, and among the Captains we have McGuire, Bruin, Porterfield and Henry, all Quebec heroes, although the latter was prevented by illness from serving. Febiger and Major Heth, afterwards Colonel in the same line, leave on record a manly letter to the Virginia House, signed by each November 15, in which they acknowledge the honor of their appointments, but regret that "the peculiarity and delicacy of their situation will neither admit of their immediate acceptance, or allow
them to acknowledge themselves in such terms as they would wish to use. They can only say that whenever they are at liberty to accept of their appointments, and once more step forth in defence of their bleeding and much injured country, their utmost abilities and warmest endeavors shall ever be fully exerted in preserving that honor which the Virginians have in every instance, during the present contest, most justly acquired." They were released from their paroles, as already stated, a few weeks later—January 1st following.

The Eleventh Virginia seems to have been raised mainly in the vicinity of Winchester, Virginia, Morgan's home, where we infer from one of his letters that Febiger repaired to assist in recruiting. Early in the spring of 1777 it marched in two detachments for Headquarters in New Jersey. There the new army was gathering, but all too slowly, and Washington was compelled to call for the troops from the recruiting stations as soon as they formed in companies, to enable him to keep up some show of a front against the enemy, who were now threatening to move upon him. Under these instructions Lieutenant Colonel Febiger started from Virginia, February 23, 1777, in advance of Morgan, bringing with him "the first division" of the regiment, and on March 6 he was in Philadelphia. A little later we find him in camp and then marching and fighting with the army in the Pennsylvania campaign.

From Colonel Febiger's Order Books—those invaluable guides in the study of Revolutionary history—it is possible to trace his movements throughout the war with considerable particularity. His first camp appears to have been at Princeton, New Jersey, and his first regimental order, dated April 16, the approval of a court martial sentence punishing a soldier for disorderly conduct; the interesting item here being that Lieutenant Marshall was one of the members of the court, who was also directed, as Adjutant, to see that the drummers were duly provided with "Cats and cord" for the whipping. Was this the judge's first experience in dispensing justice for national ends? After Princeton, the regiment is at Bridgewater and Bound Brook, where on April 17, it furnishes the guard on Quibble Town road. About this time, also, Colonel Morgan arrives from Virginia with the remainder of the regiment and assumes command, to hold it only for a short time, however, as on June 13, he was put at the head of that famous corps of riflemen which did so much in bringing Burgoyne to terms. The only regimental order to the Eleventh Virginia which can be distinguished as his own runs as follows:
REG'TL ORDERS.  

May 15th 1777.

That the Captains make out their several muster Rolls from the first of January last and that a copy of each be sent to Colo Morgan's Quarters at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning—All their Muster Rolls to be made out by Saturday 10 o'clock in order that their companies may be mustered. The Captns are to see that their diff comps keep their Tents and the streets before their tents clean, the dirt and trash to be swept in one place & the Quarter Master Sergt order their Camp Couler men to take it out and burn it. The officers and non commiss offrs are desird to order all stinking meat and bones to be celd from about Camp. The officers to pay the strictest attention to prevent the soldiers from taking their gunlocks to pieces to clean them as a number of good locks have been spoil'd by that infamous practice. That no Soldier leaves the Camp without leave from a field officer. That no officer absents himself from Camp without leave from the Commander of the Regt. The Regt. to parade at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Daniel Morgan.

In the arrangement of the army for the campaign, the regiment, now again under Febiger's command, was assigned to General Woodford's Brigade in General Stephen's Division, composed entirely of Virginia troops. It was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, shared in the experiences at Valley Forge, and was present in the following year, at the victory of Monmouth. It is to be regretted that but little is to be found respecting Febiger's individual services at this period, but we may assume that he participated honorably, if not with distinction, upon each occasion, proving himself the thorough soldier in action. That he was in the thick of the fight at Brandywine, and kept his men under good discipline throughout the trying campaign, appears from the following order entered by himself in the Regimental Order Book:

REG'TL ORDERS.  

2d Octbr 1777

The Commanding officer takes this opportunity of returning his publick Thanks to the Officers and Soldiers in the Regiment for their spirited and gallant behaviour on the 11th of Sept last and can without Flattery assure them that their conduct, adherence to Order and Discipline by far exceeded his most Sanguine Expectations and makes no Doubt but if again call'd to Action, he will have it in his power to say, that their Conduct would do honor to veterans Lt. John Marshall to take Care and Command of the late Wm. Smith's Company till further Orders—

The Commanding officers of Companies will daily examine the Men's Arms and Accoutrements and see that they are all ways prepar'd for Action according to repeated general orders. No Officer or Soldier, when on a March is to leave his platoon or Division without Leave from the Commanding Officer. Water as usual to be fetch'd by the Sergts—Roli Call to be more strictly adher'd to than has lately been observ'd.

A proportionable Distribution of Tents to be made this Night by Major Sneed—if any soldier is found straggling out of Camp, the Commanding Officer will be oblig'd to take the Officer for the man, as the present Strength enables them to keep a strict eye over the whole.

Two weeks after Brandywine, or September 26th, 1777, Lieutenant Colonel Febiger was honored with promotion to the Colonelscy of the Second Virginia Regiment of the line, at the head of which he remained until the close of the war. His new command, however, he appears not
to have assumed until after the battle of Germantown, which occurred October 4. At this battle his brigade was on the right of Greene’s wing and assisted in the attempted reduction of the Chew House, which proved a fatal obstruction to American success. The marching orders received by Stephen's Division the day before the action, and the congratulatory order issued to the army the day after are interesting reminiscences of that field. The former runs briefly as follows:

The men of Genl. Stephens Division to be paraded Under Arms at 6 o'clock this afternoon—to be stript of their Baggage & Blankets—to have their provisions in their Haversacks—Such as have not Haversacks to put their provision in their pockets. Out of each Brigade a Careful Subten & Twenty men least fit for duty to be left with the Baggage as a Guard.

The second order is in part to this effect:

HEAD QRS, Octr 5th 1777. Officers of the day to morrow, Major Genl Stephens, Brigadier Muchlinburg, Col Clark & Lt Col Conner, B. M. Peers. Officer for Piguet Majr Miller.

** * * * * * The Commander in Chief returns his thanks to ye Genl Officers and Other Officers & men concern’d in ye attack yesterday on ye Enemy’s left wing for the spirit & Bravery they manifested in driving ye enemy from field to field. Tho an unfortunate fog joined with the smoak prevented the different Brig’s from seeing & supporting Each other & from some other not yet known Causes they finally Retreated, we nevertheless see that the Enemy are not proof against a vigorous attack and may be put to flight when Boldly pushed. This they will remember and assure themselves on the next occasion by proper Exertion of the powers which God has given them, and Inspired by the cause of freedom in which they are Engaged they will be Victorious.

The Commander-in-Chief not seeing the engagement on the Enemy’s Right Wing desires the Genl Officers who Commanded there to thank those officers who behaved with Becoming Bravery & such in either wing as behaved otherwise are to be Reported.

At the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, Febiger may have had temporary command of the Virginia line, as he speaks of having been at the head of “four thousand men and two pieces of artillery.” These troops, however, being drawn up with the main army under Washington, after Lee’s retreat and disgrace, were not brought into close action. In August following, the Colonel was ordered to Philadelphia to superintend the making up of clothing for the Virginia regiments, and the next we hear of him is in connection with the assault on Stony Point on the night of July 15, 1779.

The part Colonel Febiger took in this famous affair is well known. He commanded the First of the four Light Infantry regiments organized for the campaign, and led the right column in the attack under Wayne. Six of the eight companies of his regiment were selected from the Virginia line, and two were Pennsylvanians. The other two field officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Thomas Posey. The selection of Febiger and all the officers of the corps was the highest possible compliment to their military qualities, as none but
superior and experienced men were accepted for the special service in view. All proved their worth at Stony Point. Butler, Febiger, Meigs, Fleury, Sherman, Hay, Hull, Murphree, Stewart and Posey, the field officers engaged on the occasion, and representing the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland and North Carolina, were noticed in Wayne’s orders as having done all that soldiers could do. Colonel Febiger leaves two letters in regard to the affair, both written to his wife, which are highly interesting—the one, dated from Stony Point just after the assault, being a laconic expression of the evident enthusiasm he felt over the achievement:

My Dear Girl: I have just borrowed pen, ink and paper to inform you that yesterday we march’d from Fort Montgomery, and at 12 o’clock last night we stormed this confounded place, and, with the loss of about fourteen killed and forty or fifty wounded, we carried it. I can give you no particulars as yet. A musket ball scraped my nose. No other damage to “Old Denmark.” God bless you.

Farewell—

FEBIGER.

“Old Denmark,” as he seems to have been called, was made field officer of the day for the 16th, and on the 21st, true to his promise, enters into details as follows:

Fort Montgomery, July 21, 1779.

My Dear Girl—

I’ll now give you the particulars of our enterprise. After having reconnoitred Stony Point well, we saw that by a secret and bold stroke it might perhaps be carried—and our affairs being in a critical situation induced his Excellency to risk it—and on Thursday the 15th instant we marched very secretly, securing all passes and preventing Country people from going in—and at dark were within one mile of the Fort, where we lay till 12 o’clock at night, when my regiment at the head of the right column, and Colonel Butler’s at the head of the left, with proper “forlorn hope” and advanced guards, marched and attacked the works, who received us pretty warmly. But the bravery of our men soon overcame all dangers, and about 1 o’clock we were in full possession of the Fort, where I had the pleasure of taking Colonel Johnson, who Commanded, myself, and ordered him to his tent. At daybreak we found we had taken 1 Lieut-Colonel, 25 Captains & Lieutenants and 544 non-commissioned officers and privates, exclusive of the killed and some that drowned in endeavoring to get to their shipping— We took 16 pieces of Artillery with fixed Ammunition for a three months siege—2 standards & 1 flag—10 Marquees—and a large quantity of tents, Quartermaster’s stores, baggage, &c., &c.

His Excellency joined us in the afternoon—when an attack was to be made on the other side—but through some difficulties it was delayed. We remained there three days, which were employed in Cannonading the Enemy and removing the stores—and on the evening of the 18th we evacuated and destroyed the works, and set fire to the remains.

This obliged General Clinton to come up with his whole army to King’s Ferry, where he now is. What may be his next move we cannot as yet ascertain. If he intends for our Fort, I think he will be dammably drubbed, as this most glorious affair has given double vigor and spirit to our men.

Farewell

FEBIGER.

The opportunity for further distinguishing itself was not again
offered to the Corps of Light Infantry during the campaign, and in December it was disbanded—Febiger returning with increased reputation to his old regiment in the line.

In 1780 the Colonel entered a field of new experiences. While yielding few of the honors which a soldier usually covets, they still discovered him to be one of the truly valuable men in the service. During the early part of the year the entire Virginia line was ordered to the southward to report to General Lincoln at Charleston. By the surrender of that place to the British in May, the Americans suffered the loss of two thousand Continentals, some seven hundred of whom were Virginians. Another detachment of Virginians from the northern army, under Colonel Buford, escaped capture at that time only to fall a prey to Tarleton and his legion. These accidents of war cut off the Virginia Continentals. The line as such was in effect destroyed, and the State was compelled to proceed to the organization of a new force to represent her. Among the many officers who happened not to have been at the Charleston surrender were General Muhlenberg, Colonels Febiger, Davies, Greene, Porterfield, Major Posey, and others, which proved to be a most fortunate circumstance for the State, as their services were now greatly needed in recruiting the new regiments. It was in this service that Febiger was destined to continue much of the time until the close of the war. During the winter and spring of 1780–81, however, he was engaged in other special and important duties, to which some reference must be made.

General Muhlenberg, having been placed in charge of the recruiting in Virginia, despatched Colonel Febiger to Philadelphia to forward arms and clothing to the State, which seemed to be destitute of everything. The Colonel's orders for this duty were dated September 1, 1780. Meanwhile, before he was able to do much for Virginia, General Greene had assumed command of the Department of the South, succeeding Gates, and finding Febiger at Philadelphia, directed him, November 2, to turn his energies to the matter of sending needed stores, not only to Virginia, but beyond to the now distressed and disorganized Southern army in North Carolina.

In this new position of forwarder of supplies for the troops who were soon to become a new force under Greene, Febiger developed the requisite executive capacity. He seems to have been as good a business man or man of affairs as he was a soldier and fighter, appearing especially to have adapted himself with remarkable readiness and tact to American ways and methods. It was no slight compliment to him,
for instance, that he, a foreigner, should have been entrusted, as was the case, by General Greene with the delicate duty of seeing that leading men, both in and out of Congress, kept their promises in regard to supplying his army; for Congress at that time was put to its wits’ end to keep any army, north or south, on a living footing; and Quartermasters, Commissaries or Paymasters, who obtained half they applied for, were fortunate indeed.

Although details of military stores—wagons, horses, tents, clothing, arms, accoutrements, ammunition and what not—usually furnish the dullest of all chapters in the study of a campaign, we cannot but take a special interest in this department as Colonel Febiger conducted it, for, first of everything, Greene depended upon supplies to repair Southern disasters, and enable him to undertake the operations which saved the South. Febiger fully appreciated the situation, and began sending forward stores shortly after Greene left him. The distance was great and time precious. From twenty-five to thirty days were required for a loaded train to go from Philadelphia to the shifting army in North Carolina. If trains could have followed each other at brief intervals, the troops would have suffered little discomfort; but there were vexing and hazardous delays in starting them off. Wagons seem to have been as hard to get as stores to the northward, and in Virginia they were even a greater scarcity. Nor could the most direct routes always be taken. From Philadelphia to Richmond the shortest road ran in nearly a straight line, via Head of Elk, Alexandria and Fredericksburg, but when the ferries were obstructed, trains were obliged to go by way of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania, Fredericktown, Maryland, “Harper’s Ferriage” and down to the east of the Blue Ridge. We find Febiger writing to the Deputy Quartermasters at nearly all the places on this route to lay in forage for the teams, and especially was this article to be collected at Red House in Virginia, not far from Ashby’s Gap, “on account of the bad roads and great distance from Leesburgh to Fredericksburgh.” Supplies of forage also were to be ready at Bowling Green or Lynch’s Tavern, between Fredericksburgh and Richmond. A specimen of the Colonel’s directions on this point appears in the following, addressed to Mr. Marsteller, Deputy Quartermaster at Lancaster, December 11th, 1780:

"As I shall be obliged to Send a Number of Waggons with Stores for the Southward through your Post during the course of the winter, I thought it necessary to give you this early Information, that a Supply of Forage & provision might be laid in at your post, which you are hereby directed to do, as also to give the Commissary of provision proper Notice of the contents of this Letter, For-
rare is an article of the utmost Importance and particular attention must be paid to it—you will also see that the Ferry Boats on Susquehannah are kept in proper Order and Readiness for Trans- porting the Waggons across."

From ColonelFebiger's note book it would appear that the first instalment of stores for Greene's army went off about November 30. He describes it as an Invoice "loaded on Board Nineteen Private Teams under the Care and Conduct of Mr. John Walker." It included a miscellaneous assortment of tents, camp kettles, spades, picks, knapsacks, haversacks, harness, etc. Wagon No. 1, John McCommon's, contained horse collars, back and belly bands, blind bridles and a box with "30 Faschine Hatchets." In Glasgow Bensteel's wagon, No. 3, there were horsemen's caps, saddles, and canteens. In wagon No. 7 there was a box containing 104 swords, and another with 251 pairs of horseshoes, 3 collars and 2 hay screws. The ninth wagon, James Willson's, carried 200 camp kettles; the eighth, Hugh Dougherty's, 157 spades and as many shovels; the twelfth, John Buntin's, 33 common tents and 300 canteens; the eighteenth, Andrew Brackenridge's, 200 dozen haversacks. This entire train the conductor, Walker, promised and obliged himself, unforeseen and unavoidable accidents excepted, to deliver to General Greene or other commanding officer in the Southern army, or to their order. To doubly assure himself, however, of the safety and dispatch of the invoice, Febiger concluded to put the whole, wagons and wagoners, under the charge of a Lieutenant Newberry. The Colonel's instructions to him were sufficiently explicit, running as follows:

Philadelphia, December 3rd 1780

Sir,

A considerable Quantity of very valuable Stores and of the greatest consequence to the Southern Army have been forwarded in 5 brigades of Waggons and being rather apprehensive of Neglect in the Wagon Conductors, I have thought it necessary to send an Officer to take charge of, super- intend and direct the whole, for which purpose you are to proceed immediately on the Route pointed out to you, see that the Rear Brigades are in proper order, make the best speed and follow their direct route . . . . You are to see that the Conductors keep up the Greatest Order and Regularity on their March, that they always have their Waggons in a Compact Line and prevent either the waggoners or horses from doing any Injury to the Inhabitants on their Route. In Case, Contrary to my Expectations, the Enemy should still be in Chesapeake Bay and you should find it dangerous to follow the Route and cross the Ferrys pointed out to you, you are at liberty to alter it, but in this Case only. I shall in particular depend on your taking the greatest care that none of the Stores are lost plundered or pillag'd, as also on your taking every necessary precaution to prevent their Falling into the hands of the Enemy.

In case there should be any Post on the Route where Forrage or Provisions cannot be drawn or you should at any rate fall short, you will endeavour to procure it from the Inhabitants giving them Receipts for the same payable by the nearest Qr Mr or purchasing Commissary—and in case the Inhabitants should be unwilling to furnish you with Necessaries on these Terms when the Public
Stores fall short, you'll make application to the nearest magistrate or magistrates who are hereby requested to lend you every assistance in his or their power, agreeable to Law for that purpose provided, to forward the good of the Service.

After you reach Frederickburg you'll endeavour to get into Richmond a Day before Stewart's Brigade and there make Enquiry, whether General Greene or any other continental General or other Officer acting by his Order is there for the purpose of forwarding or directing the Route of Troops and Stores going to the Southern Army and receive his Instructions. If you can receive no Information there, proceed to Chesterfield Court house or Petersburgh, and if no Directions shall be received in that Quarter, proceed by the nearest and most approv'd Route to General Greene's head Quarters where you'll deliver your Instructions and Invoice etc, and receive his further Orders for the Delivery of the Stores— All Q. Ms. Commissarys of provision or Forrage on your Route are directed to furnish you with every necessary assistance— Reposing the greatest Confidence in your faithfully discharging the important Trust committed to your Care I wish you a Safe and pleasant Tour.

Lt. Newberry.

Given as above,

Febiger.

On January 2, 1781, another large "invoice" of military stores was sent in twenty-three close covered wagons, under conduct of Thomas Scott and command of Captain Brown of Harrison's artillery regiment, who, with his company, was on his way to report to General Greene. The load contained 573 stand of muskets with bayonets, 436 best new cartouch boxes, 300 do. for the Light Horse, 101 Sergeant's swords and belts, besides ammunition, etc. About 400 much needed blankets were also included, some described as "small brown blankets," and others as "small and large white do." Although Captain Brown was directed to make "as much expedition as possible," the train was delayed on the route, for one cause and another, more than two weeks longer than the ordinary time. At the Head of Elk six wagoners deserted with four horses and some stores. High prices and depreciation of the currency made it necessary to provide the Captain in charge with thirty-five thousand dollars to defray the expenses of the train; those were times when moderate living in Philadelphia cost Febiger two hundred and twenty-five dollars per day.

Through January and February few supplies seem to have been obtainable. In any event the Colonel had a thankless task, as his correspondence shows. For instance, to Greene he writes, December 6, 1780:

I have endeavored to comply with your orders as far as in my power. All the Arms and Cartouch Boxes fit for use are gone on and almost every public store is Exhausted, especially the Q. M. Genl who has not another article demanded of him . . . . A Brig has arrived from France which left it in Company with the Ariel and another ship with Cloathing for this port— When they arrive I shall endeavour to Complete your order. After this I shall be obliged to send the Waggon by Lancaster as the Lower Ferry is impassable—if I have more Stores than Waggon, I will take a chance when the Bay is clear to send them around by water.
To Colonel Davies, chief recruiting officer at Chesterfield Court House, Virginia, he writes, January 1, 1781:

I am sorry that the miserable state of Our Finances renders me of less service to our Line or the Southern Army than I could wish. But I shall attack all Quarters and get what I can. I have sent on a Considerable Quantity of various usefull Stores and assorted them as well as I could & I am extremely anxious to know in what manner they have arrived fearing Loss from want of Guards. Blanketts I never had the least prospect of untill this Day, when Congress have voted a sum to purchase a small number which I hope to forward immediately as also a few Coats Shirts & Shoes. I shall also send on some other Stores, of which Capt. Brown of the Artillery to whose Charge they are entrusted, will, on his arrival, deliver the Invoice.— I am sensible of all the Distresses of our Line and it Distracts me not to see the least flattering hope of Relief, and I fear nothing less than a Dissolution of our whole army, unless Resources, which we already have in the Country, are called forth. I grant we have not clothing, but we have money Tobacco and other produce to purchase it with.

The Pennsylvania Line mutinied on the 1st instant—in the Foray two Officers and some men were killed—they took up their line of march, would suffer no officer except Wayne, Dick Butler & Walt Stewart to come near them. They have halted at Princeton, and the Governor has gone up to treat with them—the result is not yet known. Their Demands are extravagant & inadmissible, and their position if they design to join the Enemy is well chosen—however, from what I can learn I believe there is not much danger on that score.

To General Greene, January 18, 1781:

All our Dependance seems at present to be on Paul Jones who has been obliged to put back to France dismayed, but is now hourly expected. Some Cloathing of which the Blanketts is part has been purchas’d. I shall keep a constant Eye on them and gett them as soon as finishd. I don’t know whether I wrote in my last that I sent you a Morgan from Colo Cox by Sergt Jones. The publick stores are so Exhausted that unless Paul Jones arrives soon I fear my Continuance here will be but of very little service, for when the few Cloathes, a few arms & accoutrements, some fix’d ammunition & about 20 compleat sett of Waggon Gear is gone, my prospects, unless a new Scene opens, are gone. But at all Events I’ll do my best.

Again to the same, a month later:

Philadelphia Feb 18th 1781

Dr General

On the 18th of last month I had the honor to answer yours from the Cheraws of the 30th of December, since which your Dispatches announcing the Successes of part of your army detachd under Genl Morgan & Colo Washington has arrived & you’ll permitt me to Congratulate you on the same and assure you that no man felt more real pleasure on the Occasion than myself especially as the Execution of your Orders was Committed to a man with whom I am Connected by the nearest Ties of Friendship & real Esteem. The manifesto publish’d by him in the District of 96 is much admired and astonishes many who do not judge rightly where it originated. The intended and probably by this Time executed Operations on your left were too soon known here—we wait with Impatience for an account of the Event.

The Congress joined—Paul Jones is at last arrived, but I need not mention the other Intelligence to you as the Comitee of Congress who correspond with you must do it.— I have with the assistance of Doctor Skinner gott cloathing for Lees Corps compleat as also Sades and other accoutrements—the whole will be ready for transportation by the eighth of March next, when I shall send Doctor Skinner on with them, and an Invoice shall be sent you previous to their arrival.
— I am now packing up about 2000 Coats 2000 shirts some Woollen & some Linnen Overalls and every moment expect a quantity of hunting shirts and Overalls from New Windsor—when the whole are collected they shall be forwarded on. We are much distressed for want of cash. I am obliged almost to attend the greasing of a Waggon and lend my servant to assist in packing & other Business for want of money in the Department to pay a Labourer. I am &c.

Genl Greene.

FEBIGER.

In March there was more activity, and several trains were started southward, the Board of War procuring wagons upon the following report made by FEBIGER:

March 7, 1781

Gentlemen

In Obedience to your Orders of yesterday I have particularly Examined the Stores of the different Departments exactly to determine the Number of Waggons wanting for the Transportation of the Supplies now on hand for the Southern army, as also Confer’d with Colo Miles to determine the Sum absolutely wanted to enable him to procure ye Waggons immediately, a Report of which I inclose.

The Board will permit me to observe that several of the stores have been ready for some time and I have made timely application for Waggons. But the want of money and the Demands of the Marquis has rendered it impossible to procure them as yet—last Monday I attempted to load four wagons. But the Owners finding that they could get no money immediately refus’d going. I find great Difficulty in the Clothier General’s Department to get the Goods properly Pack’d for transportation—upwards of 20 packages are now unfit to move and M. [Miles?] complains it is for want of money or means to procure Workmen to do it. Would therefore beg leave to suggest the Necessity of something being done to remove the Difficulty, and have the honor to be, etc.—

The honble Board of War.

FEBIGER.

Fifty wagons, the Colonel reports, were needed and £1,552 in hard money. Part of these were soon forthcoming, and on the 20th a brigade of twelve wagons, with Bernard Hart as conductor, set out for the Southern Army. The names of all the drivers are again entered in FEBIGER’s note book, with the number of packages and what they contained. There were carabines, pouches, swords, pistols, belts, shoes, haversacks, etc., for the Georgia militia, and flints, shot pouches, overalls, hunting shirts and shoes for Greene’s men. The slings for the 26 drums in this invoice were “old bayonet belts, as no others could be had.” On the next day another detachment of twelve wagons followed, under charge of Lieut. Skinner of Lee’s Partisan Legion, with supplies for that corps and the main army, including saddles, boots, forage bags, “correy combs” and clothing; wagon conductor, John Mulhallon. Lieut. Skinner also took with him a dozen order books, paper, ink powder and wafers. March 23d went another brigade of fourteen wagons, conducted by John McLinn, with supplies for Greene, and fifty single barrels of powder for Virginia, deliverable to the order of Governor Jefferson; and again, March 27th, ten more wagons with pistols and
cartridges and round, case and grapeshot. John Compty was conductor of the latter train, in regard to whom Colonel Febiger makes this novel memorandum: “I gave him a pointed route and very particular Directions with respect to his Conduct in every place and Situation, and not Conceiving him capable, I did not even leave him Room to abide by his own Judgment.” This wagoner, it appears, was not one of his own selection. On March 28 we find the Colonel going down to Chester, Pennsylvania, to obtain goods for Virginia “from on board the French Frigate Hermione,” and this is the last service of the kind that he mentions. On May 10, 1781, he left Philadelphia and proceeded to General Morgan’s at Winchester, having been engaged for eight months in dispatching the sinews of war to the South. No one probably knew how much he had done or appreciated his services more than General Greene—a General whom he devotedly admired.

Febiger’s subsequent career requires no very extended mention in the present sketch. The greater part of the time he was acting as recruiting officer in Virginia. Once or twice he was in the field again for brief periods. Among other experiences he seems to have assisted Morgan in suppressing the Tory insurrection in Hampshire county early in June, 1781. Then in July he acted with the Virginia militia, and for a short time commanded a body of newly raised Virginia Continentals in La Fayette’s little army. It was his good fortune also to be present at the siege of Yorktown and witness the surrender of Cornwallis—a fitting and happy close for a career which began with Bunker Hill. At Yorktown, however, the Colonel was not actively in command of any troops, the single detachment of Virginia Continentals, some four hundred strong, being led by Lieutenant-Colonel Gaskins. In a letter to Washington at the close of the siege, Febiger describes himself as “Superintending officer of the Virginia line.” Repairing to Cumberland Old Court House, the recruiting headquarters west of Richmond and south of the James, the Colonel was next engaged in organizing companies for a battalion to reinforce Greene in South Carolina. It proved a vexatious task, recruits coming in slowly, and no clothing or arms to equip them with. His varied duties and perplexities at this camp would alone form a curious and instructive chapter.

Finally, on January 1st, 1783, after nearly eight years of uninterrupted service, Colonel Febiger retired from active military duty, and on November 15th of the same year was discharged from the now disbanding Continental army. In the interval, September 30,
1783, Congress conferred upon him the rank of Brigadier-General by brevet. The title of General, however, he never assumed, as he tells a Danish correspondent at a later date that it is more to one's advantage in business matters in America to be known as "Colonel." Making Philadelphia his permanent home after the war, he engaged in trade, and carried on an extensive correspondence both throughout the States and abroad. Many of his business letters still preserved show a remarkable familiarity on his part with the needs and resources of the country. His correspondence with a merchant at Copenhagen, by the name of John Sobotker, is so full of information respecting the mercantile situation in our Northern States in 1785-6 that it may be regarded as of historical value. His knowledge was based largely on personal observation, as besides lesser trips he speaks of making journeys through New England to the coast of Maine, and up the Hudson to Lake Champlain, prospecting in lumber. It appears that Mr. Sobotker once suggested the appointment of Colonel Febiger as Danish Consul in the United States, but nothing came of this.

At the close of the war the Colonel became a member of the Virginia State Society of Cincinnati, but on removing to Philadelphia joined the Pennsylvania State Society. He never took any active part in its proceedings however. One of the annual gatherings is thus referred to in a letter to his old friend, Colonel Heth, of Virginia, August 17, 1786:

I have follow'd the Example of a great General at the Battle of Monmouth & performed a grand manoeuvre Retrograde— I am become from a nominal B: G: a private City Dragoon (N: B: in a Troop consisting of some of our best citizens) and as such I spent the last fourth of July with the Troop at the Cool Springs over Scuyllkill. The C. Cti. [Cincinnati Society] on the same day to the number of about 30 walked in Procession from the City Tavern to the Dutch Church in— Street, where Major Jackson (late aid to General Lincoln) deliver'd a very clever Oration. A number of honorary members and others were invited to a Feast in the City Tavern at the expense of the real or contingent Fund of the Society (N: B: I believe the former for I have heard of no contingent fund here). They broke up about 3 o'clock in the morning. The Bill was moderate for the very expensive Article of Segars amounted only to £3—10—0.

Colonel Febiger was at various times a candidate for important civil offices. For a short time he held the position of Auctioneer of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, and upon Washington's election to the Presidency he was brought forward for the post of Naval Officer of the same place. This appointment he failed to receive, but soon after, on the 13th of November, 1789, he was elected Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania, and held the office until his death in 1796. He leaves quite an amusing account of the electioneering and balloting upon the
occasion, this being his first experience in political strategy. His old General, Peter Muhlenberg, managed the canvas for him in the Legislature, and after four ballots, or "heats," as he describes them, he was chosen by one majority. The duties of his responsible office, however, he administered with so much ability, application and integrity, that he was thereafter unanimously re-elected his own successor every year as long as he lived.

As a proper close to these biographical memoranda, we may add here the tribute of affection and respect inscribed over the Colonel's grave by one of his old companions in the war:

"In memory of Christian Febiger, Esq., who departed this life on the 20th day of September, 1796, in the 50th year of his age.

He was a native of Denmark, and served as an officer in the American army during the war with Great Britain; and at its conclusion commanded the Second Virginia Regiment. In the year 1789, he was appointed treasurer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which office he filled until the close of life. As an officer, he was beloved; as a citizen, he was esteemed and respected; as a friend, he was warm and sincere; and as a husband, tender and affectionate. In fine, his views were upright and his actions just. A brother soldier, who knew him well, offers this small tribute to his memory."

HENRY P. JOHNSTON

Note.—Colonel Febiger married Miss Elizabeth Carson, the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Philadelphia. She was occasionally with him in camp, as at Cumberland Old Court House, Virginia. The materials used in the preparation of this sketch are manuscripts in possession of Christian Febiger, Esq., of Wilmington, Delaware, and Colonel George L. Febiger, Assistant Paymaster General, U. S. A. Scattering letters from or to the Colonel are also to be found in the collections of the New York and other Historical Societies, and among General Greene's papers.
SIR JOHN JOHNSON’S ORDERLY BOOK

DURING HIS CAMPAIGN FROM LA PRAIRIE TO FORT STANWIX

1776—1777

Conversing recently with the Rev. Marinus Willett of Port Chester, N. Y., a grandson of Colonel Marinus Willett, of Fort Stanwix fame, he mentioned that he was the possessor of the original manuscript Orderly Book kept by an officer of Sir John Johnson during his campaign against Fort Stanwix in 1777—one of the Orderly Books captured by his grandfather in his memorable sortie from Fort Stanwix against the camp of Sir John Johnson. The facts of this sortie (which, it will be remembered, took place while the battle of Oriskany was in progress), are told by Col. Willett in his Narrative in these words—which, as the book has now become exceedingly rare, we quote:

“Col. Willett lost not a moment in sallying forth from the gate of the fort. As the enemy’s sentries were directly in sight of the fort, his movements were necessarily very rapid. The enemy’s sentries were driven in, and their advanced guard attacked, before they had time to form the troops. Sir John Johnson, whose regiment was not two hundred yards distant from the advanced guard, and who, himself, it being very warm, was in his tent with his coat off, had not time to put it on before his camp was forced. So sudden and rapid was the attack, that the enemy had not time to form so as to make any opposition to the torrent that poured in upon them. Flight, therefore, was their only resource. Adjoining the camp of Sir John Johnson was that of the Indians. This, also, was soon taken; so that a very few minutes put Col. Willett in possession of both these encampments. Sir John with his troops took to the river, and the Indians fled into the woods. The troops under Col. Willett had fair firing at the enemy while they were crossing the river. The quantity of camp equipage, clothing, blankets, and stores, which Col. Willett found in the two camps, rendered it necessary to hasten a messenger to the fort and have the waggon sent, seven of which were stored in the fort with horses. These waggon were each three times loaded, while Col. Willett and his men remained in the camps of the enemy. Among other articles, they found five British flags; the baggage of Sir John Johnson, with all his papers;
the baggage of a number of other officers, with memoranda, journals, and orderly books, containing all the information which could be desired."

This Orderly Book is of great value in several particulars. It shows, for instance, the intimate relation which existed between the campaign of Gen. Burgoyne and the expedition of Col. Barry St. Leger—as, for example, the order given at Lachine on the 20th of June, that the officers under St. Leger and Johnson should send their baggage to Albany in the train of Burgoyne; it establishes the exact number of men engaged in the expedition by the quantity of rations issued and the boats required; it states the names of the different regiments which formed the expedition, by which we learn, among other items, that Sir John Johnson's regiment never, in a single instance, is called "The Royal Greens;" it affords the means of knowing the true rank held by different officers—as, for example, "Major" Watts is never spoken of save as "Captain;" it elucidates a mooted question as to the rank of Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger, who was made an acting Brig. Gen. on this occasion; and it develops the fact that a part, at least, of St. Leger's troops joined the army of General Burgoyne, after that officer and Sir John had retreated into Canada, the laughing-stock of their Indian allies. These, as well as many other instances, will make apparent the value of the Orderly Book to the student of our Revolutionary annals.

It will be noticed that the last order is dated at Oswego Falls, the 31st of July, 1777, exactly two days and five hours previous to St. Leger's army appearing before the walls of Fort Stanwix, and six days before the battle of Oriskany.

No attempt has been made to annotate the book in detail, as space will not permit; and I may here state that for all the facts in relation to the officers mentioned in my notes, I am almost solely indebted to my friend, General Horatio Rogers of Providence, R. I.,' who is now engaged in annotating the MS. journal of Lieutenant Hadden (an artillery officer under Burgoyne), of the Royal Artillery in Canada, and upon Burgoyne's Campaign, concerning which he has valuable British Orders by Gens. Phillips, Carleton, and Burgoyne. Gen. Rogers brings to his task a comprehensive knowledge of his subject, great conscientiousness, and powers of thorough research—traits which cannot fail to make his work, when published, an invaluable contribution to our Revolutionary history.

WILLIAM L. STONE
ORDERLY BOOK
FOR
LIEUT. COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMPANY
1776 – 1777
From the original in the possession of the Rev. Marinos Wiltz
COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMMAND


LA PRAIRIE
1776 4th Novemr. Parole, London. Countersign, Cork. For Guard tomorrow Lt. Walker, 2 Sergts, 2 Corporals, 1 Drumr & 15 Privates. The King's Royal Regt of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to leave this Quarter Immediately.

1776 7th Nov. P. Lachine. C. Point Clair. Major Gray. Capts Brown & Delly, with their Compns to march off Immediately to Point Clair & to be Quartered as follows: The Major & Capt Delly, with their Companies at Point Clair & Capt Brown With a Detachment of a Sergt and ten from the Cols Compy, a Corporal & 4 Men from Capt. Watts and Capt McDonald's Comps to be at St. Anns, the Cols Comps and Capt Watts, together with the Staff to be Quartered in the Parish of Lachine in the following manner. The (lower) Capt Watt's in the Upper parts of the Parish of Lachine. For Guard tomorrow 1 S. 1 C. & 9 men. Compns duty 1 S. 1 C. 5 P.

LACHINE
1776 8th November. P. McLou. C. Philips. For Guard tomorrow, 1 Serg. 1 Corporal and 9 Privates.
1776 10th Novmr. P. Gray. C. Week. For Guard to Morrow 1 Corp, & 4 Privt. It is the Commanding officer's ords, that Capt. Watts' Comps hold themselves in readiness to March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 9 o'clock where they shall receive provisions—Capt Daly's Comp. are to Receive Provisions at Lachine.
1776 12th November, P. Drogheda. C. Clonmell. For Guard to Morrow 1 Corpl. & 4 men. The Commanding officer desires that the men assist the Inhabitants in whose houses they are Quartered, in cutting fire-wood for their own use this winter.
1776 31st December. P. Howe. C. Carleton. For guard tomorrow, 1 Serg, and 6 men. Ens. Crawford officer of the day. The two Companys that are Cantoned here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march towards Point Clair Thursday next if the weather permit.

NOTE.—Here follows a new title.

ORDERLY PROVOST M.
The Camp Equipage to be examined & kept in good condition — The troops, likewise, will hold themselves in readi-
ness to march on the Shortest Notice; they are frequently to be assembled on their Regimental Alarm-Posts, & March to the Alarm-Post of the Brigade when the Weather will permit—they will practice Marching on Snow-Shoes, as soon as they receive them. Reports are to be made by all the British to Major General Philips, and by all the Germans to Major General Riedesel where the alarm Posts are, both of the Regiments and the Brigades in order to be forwarded to the Commander in Chief—A State likewise to be given in of the Camp Equipage—Reports are also to be made to the Quarter Master Genl at Montreal from each Corps of the Number of Boats they have in Charge, specifying their condition and how furnished with Oars, Sittin-Poles, &c.

_Signed_ E. Fov¹ Depy Adjt General

**GENERAL ORDERS by MAJOR GENERAL PHILIPS**

MONTREAL 5th December 1776

Officers coming to Montreal upon Leave for a longer Time than two days, are to give in their Names to the Adjt of the week, Marking to what time their leave of absence extends, & by whom given.

_Sign'd_ Arr Jas Pomeroy²

MONTREAL 12th December 1776

Orders received from his Excellency the Commander in Chief, dated Quebec, 9th December, 1776.

The Commander in Chief has been Pleased to appoint Ensign William Doyle¹ of the 24th Regt, To be Lieut. in the room of Lieut. Robert Pennington deceased. No Adjutant, Quarter Master, or Surgeons Mate doing duty as such in any Regt is to be returned a Volunteer. A bounty having been granted by the London Merchts to such Soldiers, or Sailors as may have been wounded, and to the Widows of such of either as have been kill'd in the Service in America, the Pay Master of Regiments, & Captain Shanks³ are desired to transmit to Mr. Dunn Receiver General of the Province a list of the Soldiers and Sailors who have been kill'd or wounded in the course of the Campaign. Ten Dollars will be paid to the latter, not having already received it, & Five Pounds to the Widows of the former, Producing Certificates from the Officer Under whose Command their Husbands Respectively Served.

_Sign'd_ E. Fov
Dept Adjt General

By order of Major Genl Philips

_Sign'd_ Arr Jams Pomeroy,
Aid de Camp.

**LACHINE**

1777 Jan 1st. P. Ireland. C. Scotland. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Pvt. The two Companies of the Kings Royal Regt of New York Cantoon'd at Lachine to parade tomorrow morning opposite to Mr. Hennis at Seven o'Clock, fully accouter'd— The Guard to Mount at 7 o'Clock.

—5th. P. Patrick. C. Daly. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, 6 Privts. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.


—7th. P. Gray. C. Evalick. For
Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 Privts. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.
   —24th. P. Fraser. C. Gordon. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders, That the Comps Lying at Upper Lachine Do Duty in Conjunction with the Two Comps of the Kings Royal Regt of New York of Lower Lachine.
   —30th. P. Dunkeld. C. Perth. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 men. Ens Byrne, officer of the day.

LACHINE

1777 FEBRUARY 1ST. P. New York. C. Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S


—5th. P. Invershire. C. Inveraw. Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. For Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—6th. P. Tryon. C. Dunmore. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day. It is Majr Grays ord's that Patr McDonell of Capt Dalys Comy & Dan’l Campbell of the Colls Compy be appointed Corp’is in his Compy.


—8th. P. Bristol. C. Barth. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—9th. P. York. C. Albany. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corp & 7 Men.

—10th. P. Schanaactdy. C. Trypps hill. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corp & 7 Men. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.


—12th. P. Mayfield. C. Sanchanwaga. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corp. & 7 Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.


—14th. P. Niagara. C. Fort Dimbar. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corp, & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day.

—15th. P. Fort Erie. C. Detroit. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corp, and 7 Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.

—16th. P. St Anns. C. Point Clair. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corp, & 9 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.


—18th. P. La Prairie. C. Long Ile. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corp. & 9 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of The Day.

—19th. [Sic] P. Eden. C. Adam. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & Eight men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Guard Shall Consist of one Sergt, & Eight private Men for the future, & be Removed from here to Lower La chine Where the Kings Stores Are, they will keep two Sentries by Day & two by Night, the One over the Prisoners, & the Other at the Kings Stores.

—18th. [Sic] P. Howe. C. Fraser. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & Eight Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Officer of the Day Visit the Guard twice Every Day & Make a Report to him of What Ever happens Relative to the Service.
—19th. P. Johnson. C. Gray. For Guard To Morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day.

It is The Commanding officers Orders that the two Comp'y's Quartered here March to Point Clair To Morrow Morning at 7 O'Clock. The Non Commissiend Officers will be Very Carefull That The Men Are Clean & their Armes in Good Order.


—27th. P. Walker. C. Crothers. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 men. Ens Byrns officer of the day.
—29th. Lachine
1777 March 1st. P. India. C. Britain. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.
—12th. P. County Tryon. C. Albany.
For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—13th. P. Newcastle. C. Tweed. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Sergts, Corps, Drummers, & Private Men of the Kings Roy'l New York attend Exercise to Morrow Morning At Eleven O'Clock—they are to Meet at the post above Capt Chenes.


—16th. P. Philadelphia. C. New York. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that an Exact Account be taken of the Clothing, Shirts, Shoes & Stockings &c of the Men of Every Comp, & the Quantity of them—an officer of each Comp to Attend at the time—& that the Account be given in to the Commanding Officer At Point Clair. That all the Officers for the future Attend Exercise of the Men from the hour of Eleven till One in the Afternoon if the Weather Permit. A Court Martial to Sit on Wednesday Next to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.


—18th. P. Lochaber. C. Kintail. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Men. Lieut Singleton Officer of the Day. A Regimental Court Martial to Sit to Morrow at 12 o'Clock. Lieut Singleton, President. Members, Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford. To try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.


—24th. P. Quebec. C. Orleans. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day. A Regt! Court Martial to Sit to Morrow Morning At 10 O'Clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters. Lieut. Walker, President. Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford Members, to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.


—27th. P. Philadelphia. C. Anapolis For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt.
Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.
It is Major Gray's Orders that Officers Commanding Comp'nys Give in a Regular Return of different Comp'nys Weekly to the Quarter Master in order to draw their Provisions According to said Return; & When a Man is Absent or does not chuse to draw his Rations, the Officer of th. Comp'y to wich he belongs is to Give in his name, at the foot of Said Return, Mentioning, if Absent, at what Place. the Qr. Master is to Make a Monthly Return to the Paymaster of the number of Rations for Said Month, & in that Return Give in a List of the Officers & Men who may be, or does not chuse to Draw Provisions. It is Major Grays Orders that the Officers Commanding Companies will Examine the Accounts Given in to them by the Quarter Master, for making the Mens Clothing & other Necessaries furnished them, & if there are any Errors in Said Account, to furnish the Quarter Master with an Account of them in Writing Immediately.


LACHINE
—8th. P. Wells. C. Lynn. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Pt. Men, Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the two Companies Cantoon'd at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to Morrow Morning At eleven o'clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters.
—9th. P. Norfolk. C. Suffolk. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. Men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day. A Review of Arms Accoutrements and Necessaries on friday at Eleven O'Clock as the Major desires that the men from St. Anns Under the Command of Capt. Brown be sent to their Companies that they may be Provided in time with Necessaries to take the field when ordered
& Capt. Brown to take the Light Infantry Compy, which he is to Complete Immediately from the Battalion: the old men from Capt. Watts Compy change their coats with those from other Companies who shall come in their places; if their Coats do not Answer let the wings be taken off & given to those that come in; Capt. Brown to fix that as he thinks fit. Lieut. Morrison to change off the Colonels Compy; Lt. Singleton off the Majors & Lt. Mc-Donald off Capt. McDonalds Compy, that they may be no farther Disputes in Regard to the Officers Ranks; & Left by Sir John a list of them to be seen, According to their Ranks from the Adjutant in the Regimental Book.


—13th. P. Dornoch. C. Dunrobin. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P Ens. Crawford Officer of the Day. The Commiss'nd, Non Commiss'nd officers & Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to be under Arms to Morrow Morning at 7 o'Clock.


—15th. P. Johnson. C. Tryon. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt and 10 Privates Men. Ens Burn Officer of the Day. Its the Commanding Officers Orders that the two Compy's Cantoon'd at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to Morrow Morning at Nine O'Clock; the Non Commission'd Officers to See that the Men Are Clean, and their Arms in Good Order; they are to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters.


—20th. P. Bristol. C. Barth. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt and 10 P Men. Ens Burn Officer of the Day.


—23d. P. Derby. C. Clonmell. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. the Commiss'nd Non Commiss'nd officers, Drums & Privetes, men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York, to Hold themselves In Readiness to March to Point Clair on Saturday Morning, 26th
of April. They are to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters at 7 o'clock.


1777 May, 1st. P. Quebec. C. Orleans. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sgt & 10 Priv. Men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day. the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drummers, & private men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 7 o'clock; they are to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters at Lachine.


—3d. P. Belfast. C. Dublin. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders that all the officers for the future to Exercise their own Companies.


It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company be ordered to attend the ammunition tomorrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, & also that the old men who are incapable to exercise attend for the same purpose.


—6th. P. Montreal. C. Lachine. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Priv. Men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company attend constantly every fair day at 8 o'Clock in the morning in order to air the ammunition; also that the old men, who are incapable of learning the exercise, attend for the same purpose with a Non Commissioned officer.


It is the commanding officers orders that the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers Drumers & Privets March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 8 o'clock, if the Weather Permits; they are to Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.


The Commission'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drum'trs, & Private Men of the Kings Royal Reg't. of New York to March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 7 o'clock. They will Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.


It being Reported to the Commanding Officer that Several of the Soldiers make a practice of Gunning with their Regimental Fire Locks, he Desires for the future to say any Soldier who shall be guilty of Using their Arms to that purpose, if they shall, they may Depend they will be punished as the Martial Law Directs.


The Regt. are to keep themselves in Readiness to March at a Days Warning; the Trowsers & Every thing else to be Ready on Saturday Next: the whole of the Taylors of the Regt. to be kept at Work & free from Duty till then for that purpose—Jesups Corps to see that they are Ready in Case of Orders for their Marching, & to have their Clothing Ready according to the Above Orders for the Regt.—Corp. Edward Eggne of Capt. Brown's Compy having Recei'd his Sentence of the General Court Martial is now Reduced to Serve in the Ranks as a Private Soldier.

The Regt. & other Parties, Under the Command of Major Gray, are to be Under Arms Saturday Next at the Usual Place of Exercise at the Bay if the Weather Permits.


It is the Commanding officers orders that the Volunteers who have joined the Companies to which they belonge are to Mount Guard In their Proper Turn.


It is the Commanding officers orders that the Commiss’d Non Commiss’d officers & Soldiers of the King’s Royal Regt. of New York to be Under arms this Evening at the Usual Place of Exercise at four o’clock; the Non Commiss’d officers are to see that the mens arms are in Duty order; their Regtl’s Clean; their Regtl hats well Cocked, & their hair Properly Dressed, So as to appear Decent Saturday Next at the Review.


It is the Commanding officers orders the Commiss’d Non Commiss’d officers, Drummers & Privts of the King’s Royal Regt of New York to be Under arms for Exercise to Morrow Morning at 7 o’clock.


It is the Commanding officers orders that the two Companys Cantoon’d at Lachine hold themselves in Readiness to March to Point Clair on monday Next at 6 o’Clock in the morning; the officers to be Careful that the mens arms, ammunition, accoutrements and necessaries are in good order on Tuesday Morning next at the genl Review. The Commissioned Non Commissioned officers, Drums, and private men to [meet at] roll calling to-morrow morning at Nine o’Clock at the Commanding officers Quarters & to Receive the Deficiency of the Cartridges.


The Commissioned, Non Commiss’ed officers, Drummers & Private Men to appear at 6 o’clock to Morrow Morning at the Commanding officers Quarters in Uniforms with their Arms [and] accoutrements necessary.

1 Edward Foy, at this time a captain in the Royal Artillery and Carlton’s Department; Adj. Gen. at Minden in 1759, where he won laurels.

2 Arthur James Pomeroy, at this time captain in the 1st Dragoons; commissioned captain Oct. 5th, 1776.

3 William Doyle, afterwards a lieutenant; captured with Burgoyne. His name is signed to the Cambridge Parole.

4 This is undoubtedly Lieut. John Schank, R. N., then in command of the Canceau—an armed schooner of 10 guns on the St. Lawrence. This command gave him the title of Captain. He became Admiral of the Blue, July 19th, 1821. Born about 1740; died March 6th, 1823, in the 83d year of his age. He was an extremely meritorious officer, and was very distinguished in mechanics.

5 This officer was wounded and taken prisoner by Col. Willett in his sortie from Fort Stanwix, and Captain-Lieutenant John McDonald (mentioned further on) was killed the same day in the action of Oriskany. Letter from Col. Claus to Secretary Knox. N. Y. Col. Doc. vol. 8th, p. 718.

Note.—On the inside of the cover of the Orderly Book is the following entry: “Nicholas Hillyer Sergt enters the Col Company roth of April 1777, then Canteened at Lachine.”

The Book is written in many different handwritings, some so bad as to be almost indiscernible—not from the lapse of time, for the book is exceedingly well preserved in its parchment cover—but from the fact that some of the writers evidently spelled by sound amid the fatigue of camp life, and were obliged to take down hurrily the words of the commanding officer. Indeed, the wonder is that, under such circumstances, anything was written that could be made out at all. The spelling has been corrected.

W. L. STONE.
NOTES

PANAMA SHIP-RAILROAD—The proposition of Captain Eads to build a railway for the carriage of ships across the Isthmus by land in lieu of the Historic Canal has of late attracted attention from its supposed novelty. But it is by no means as new as might be supposed. In the American Railroad Journal for August 4, 1832, there is an account of a project of a railroad for ships started in England and urged in the United Service Journal. The scheme proposed the creation of a joint stock company of the English holders of Colombian bonds to enter into an agreement with the Colombian government for the necessary powers. The Colombian bonds were then very much depressed in England, and the plan was to bring them to par in the negotiation with Colombia for the purchase of the necessary land. But the insignificant part of the plan is the right of sovereignty which it was proposed that Great Britain should set up on the Isthmus. It has a peculiar significance now.

"A most important part of the plan is, however, that which looks to the creation of a British Colony there. In order to anticipate any opposition from the United States, it is suggested that a tract of land, either the whole isthmus, or such part lying between good natural boundaries, as the lake of Nicaragua on the north and the river Darien on the south, should be obtained by treaty, and erected into an English Colony, independent of the State of Colombia, and dependent on the crown of England. The scheme is ambitious, and, from the pecuniary situation of the Colombian government, anxious to build up a future credit with England by paying off satisfactorily the existing loans, of not improbable success."—Baltimore American.

The day for such schemes on the part of Great Britain has gone by and there is no danger of her quarreling with her bread and butter. France has tried her hand in Mexico and burned her fingers as badly as the cat in the fable. The Monroe doctrine is a part of the unwritten law of the American people and about the only sentimental question on which they would take up the musket as one man. The other continent may as well take notice that while they will be willingly received and welcomed individually and given work and food to their hearts content, they are not wanted collectively and cannot come.

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PRESIDENT MONROE'S CABINET—The writer of the following letter, addressed to his former legal instructor, was, at its date, a representative in the lower House of Congress from Columbia County in this State:

WASHINGTON, January 19th, 1822

My Dear Sir: Your favor of the 9th, arrived in due course, and I feel grateful for your friendly attention in remembering me at this distance, for notwithstanding the friendly mode in which I have been received here, I cannot avoid feeling that I am not at home; but everything tends to convince me that I am in a strange land, and among a people still more strange, for I find that northern ideas of morality and religion are either exploded, or have never existed on this side of the Susquehanna—that those who appear at a distance to be great men, upon nearer approach dwindle into mere pigmies. The President is not, and I think never could have been, a great man. There is no single indication of such a character either in
his countenance, his manners, or his conversation. If we did not know otherwise from some of his former conduct, we should set him down as a negative character. Mr. Adams possesses qualifications for a school-master; he is undoubtedly a man of erudition, but not of genius. His appearance and manners are the reverse of prepossessing. Mr. Crawford is a fine looking man with more talents than suavity, a better lawyer than financier, possessing a bold and daring countenance better adapted to fighting than intrigue. He is famous as a duellist; and I suppose you are aware that he shot your nephew, Mr. Van Alen, Solicitor of Georgia. The Secretary of the Navy you know better than I do; and you will probably be surprised when I assure you that he is a man of the most intellectual vigor among the Secretaries with the exception of Mr. Calhoun, who is undoubtedly the first man in administration; modest, frank and intelligent, but decided in his measures. He is a man adapted to a political course. His whole study has been the policy of his country, and he possesses a rare assiduity in his pursuits. I am perhaps a little partial to him as a man of my own age, and one who has distinguished me by marks of attention. His conduct also in the appointment of Solomon Van Rensselaer ought to gain the hearts of Federalists, for he was our most strenuous advocate with the P. M. G.

I have spoken of Federalists, for such I profess yet to be, and have had the temerity even here to proclaim, that my flag is nailed to the mast, and with it either to sink or swim; and such doc-

trines are appreciated here. Even Randolph, who says the Federalists of former days would eat Democrats, declares the old-fashioned Federalists were better than the Democrats of the present day. By the by, I wish you could be acquainted with this gentleman. He is the most fascinating man I ever met with. You would enjoy his conversation, for it is the most classically elegant I ever heard—his quotations apt and always correct. He too has been very kind and attentive to me, and did me the favor to dine with me yesterday, when he gave a zest to the whole party. He is a radical to the general government, but the veriest aristocrat in all that relates to the government of Virginia.

Mr. Van Buren & Mr. King live together, & will probably act together. The former has not yet determined on his political course, but, between ourselves, I think he will advocate Crawford, & perhaps be a radical. I have such a superabundance of letters to write that I must here conclude, and beg you to receive these crude and hasty lines for what they are worth; & at any rate allow me the credit of feeling undiminished for you my old regard & affection. I should be very grateful if you would sometimes give me your ideas of important matters which the papers inform you are pending. Any light from you would be of use to me. Remember me kindly to the family. Sincerely yours, &c.,

W. Patterson

Peter Van Schaack, Esq.
Kinderhook
H. C. Van S.

William Graham—In Barham's di-
ary, prefixed to one of the early editions of the Ingoldsby Legends, there is the following:

"Dec. 2, 1827—Dined with Price, the manager of Drury Lane Theater. * * * Had some conversation with him respecting W. G——, late editor of The Literary Museum, whom I knew well. * * * He was, I found on comparing notes with Price, an American by birth, and at the age of seventeen had committed a forgery on a person of high respectability at Philadelphia. He was detected but pardoned by the gentleman whom he had attempted to defraud on account of his youth and out of regard to his family, but on the express condition that he should leave the country. G—— went, at first, no further than New York, where Mr. Price was then practising at the American Bar. The latter received a letter from the gentleman alluded to, requesting him to call on the young man, and either compel him to quit America forthwith or send him back in custody to Philadelphia. This commission Price executed to the letter, allowing him four days for departure, and G—— sailing for England landed at Plymouth."

Barham then goes on to trace further his wild and checkered career up to his return to America and death in a duel; but this is enough for our purpose.

The person here alluded to was William Graham, who was shot in a duel with Mr. Barton, of New York, sometime about the fall of 1827. The cause of the affair is alleged to have been certain statements made by Graham concerning the family of Edward Livingston. Barton fell in with Graham in Niblo's Coffee-house, corner of Pine and William streets. High words ensued. Graham struck Barton in the face, and was immediately challenged by him. They met at Weehawken and Graham was killed. Some personal recollections of this duel were given in the New York Times for Nov. 29th and 30th, 1880.

___ C. A. C.

A PIous YAnKEE—Lately deserted from His Majesty's Service, in the Company of Foot commanded by Capt. Richard Langdon, designed for the expedition against Canada, Samuel Castyne, late of Horseneck, in the Colony of Connecticut, about 5 Foot and a half high, wears his own light Hair; he's of a sandy Complexion, and a Tinker by Trade, makes Pewter Buttons and Spoons: This Fellow has high Pretensions to Sanctity, and is happily bless'd with a Grace-pouring down Countenance; he often reads and cants, and pretends to be a New-Light.

For his safe return to New York city, Three Pounds N. Y. Currency will be paid by Richard Langdon.—N. Y. Weekly Post Boy, July 14, 1746.

___ PETERSFIELD

THE BOSTON LIBERTY TREE—Hamilton, in his Flag of the United States, page 52, says: "Frothingham gives us to understand that they (Union flags) were displayed on liberty poles and on the famous Liberty Tree on Boston Common." This is an error. The Boston Liberty Tree was not on Boston Common but at the junction of the present Essex and Washington streets, and Mr. Sears has placed there, in the building erected by him, a commemorative tablet.

__ EDITOR
QUERIES

Rufus Putnam's Diary—In the winter of 1772-3, Gen'l Phineas Lyman, Colonel Israel Putnam, Rufus Putnam, and others, made a voyage to the Mississippi Valley by way of the Balize, Jamaica and Pensacola. It is said that Putnam (Israel) kept a diary of his voyage—which diary is still in existence. Can any one inform the writer where that diary can be found? H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Thomas Plunket—Who was Thomas Plunket, an American resident of Havana, Cuba in 1783? H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Havana Campaign of 1762-3—Is there in existence any detailed account of the part the New England troops took in this campaign, so disastrous to the troops engaged and yet so successful as a military campaign? H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

Poe's Bells—In The N. Y. Mirror (edited by Morris, Fay and Willis), for March 19, 1836, p. 300, are some verses, "Bells," signed A. J. D. The lines themselves are of little merit, but it is noticeable that they embody the same idea as in Poe's poem—namely, the representation of the different stages of human life by the sound of the different kinds of bells. Might not Poe have taken the idea from these lines? Who was A. J. D.? C. A. C.

Bampfylde Moore Carew—What is known of the adventures of this person (who was called King of the Beggars) in America? He is said to have been in this country, vide Apology for the Life of Carew, 12mo, London, 1768. Miss Edgeworth, in her Popular Tales, makes incidental mention of this once notorious but now all but forgotten rascal.

C. A. C.

Castleman's Description of Pennsylvania—I desire to ascertain if "The Voyage, Shipwreck, and Miraculous Escape of Richard Castleman, Gent. With a Description of Pennsylvania and the City of Philadelphia, &c.," printed at London in 1726, is a genuine narrative or a work of fiction? Delaware

Evertson Family—Was Ian Evertson referred to [IV., 468] one of the South Amboy, N. J., family, whose representative, Nicolas Evertson, died there in 1783. Can any information be had about the Stone House that Admiral Cornelis Evertson is said to have built at South Amboy, N. J., in 1675? M. N. P.

A Lost Relic of Antiquity—The Vermont Patriot for September, 1826, contained the following interesting item: "We learn that a gentleman in Irasburgh, Orleans County in this State, while ploughing in his field, found a few days since what is termed by some an iron shirt, the body part is wholly made of rings linked into each other about one-eighth of an inch in diameter. The collar is made of brass rings so closely interwoven as to be perfectly stiff. It was found, as our informant states, under the stump of a tree about two feet over, which had become rotten. We are told
that the United States engineers who are surveying in that region, have procured it, and intend to carry it to New York."

Does this interesting relic exist, or the record of any investigation as to its antiquity?

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**MINTO**

**LIFE OF WASHINGTON IN JAPANESE**—The following item is now going the rounds of the press: "A few years ago a Japanese publisher brought out a life of Washington in forty-five volumes, with illustrations in which the father of his country is represented in modern dress, wearing a heavy mustache, carrying a cane, and accompanied by a skye terrier." Can any of your readers give a more definite description of the book and date? I wish to add it to my collection of Washingtoniana.

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**COLLECTOR**

F. F. V.—The Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Smith, once a Missionary in Virginia, and who died President of Princeton College, in his Strictures on Lord Kaim's Discourse on the Diversity of Mankind, printed in 1787, alludes to the *First Families of Virginia*. I give herewith the paragraph and desire to know if this is not one of the earliest uses of this well-known expression? It would be interesting also to identify the individuals referred to.

"There is, at present, in the college of New Jersey, a striking example of a similar nature, in two young gentlemen of one of the first families in the State of Virginia, who are descended, in the female line, from the Indian emperor Powhatan. They are in the fourth descent from the princess Pocahuntis, a high spirited and generous woman. And though all their ancestors in Virginia have retained some characters, more or less obvious of their maternal race, yet, in these young gentlemen, they seem to be entirely effaced. The hair and complexion, of one of them in particular, is very fair, and the countenance and figure of the face is perfectly Anglo-American. He retains only the dark and vivid eye that has distinguished the whole family, and rendered some of them remarkably beautiful."

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**MARKET STREET**

**ORIGINAL BADGES OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI**—We have lately been shown one of the three gold-eagle badges of this society, from which all the rest are said to have been patterned. It is the hereditary possession of a grandson of Joshua Howell—the first Secretary of the parent society at Philadelphia—a present New York merchant of this name. We are told that the three were made in France by order of General de la Fayette, one of which for himself, one for General Washington, and the other for Mr. Howell. This rare relic and heirloom is in fine condition, although its blue ribbon attachment is a little faded. Are the other two still in existence?

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**W. H.**

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**REVOLUTIONARY REMAINS AT COLD SPRING, N. Y.**—In the upper part of the village of Cold Spring, in Putnam County, in a lot through which flows a rivulet, known in the neighborhood as "Margaret's Brook," are a number of graves, once plainly marked by fragments of stone, but now scarcely discernible.
The spot is known in the region as the "Revolutionary burying ground." Near these graves are still to be seen traces of huts.

Can any reader tell me at what time there was an encampment here and any particulars concerning it? C.

The old stone dam in Ulster County, N. Y.—Many years ago there were two papers with this title read before the Newburgh Historical Society; one of them by Dr. A. J. Prime, and the other by the late S. W. Eager, the historian of Orange County.

What is the history of this dam and where is it located? C.

A renowned American—A late English novel in speaking of the religious belief of one of the characters says: "He at least was not quite so bad as that renowned American who enunciated the sentiment, 'There's nothing new and there's nothing true—so it does not signify.'"

To what distinguished ornament of our country does the authoress allude? C.

Statue to William Pitt—In 1788 the Legislature of New York passed an act authorizing the corporation of the City of New York to remove the statue of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt, from Wall street, New York City. Can any one tell what became of this statue and where it stood? Whig

Are there descendants of Bishop Burnet in this country?—In a memorial notice of the late Hon. William B. Kinney, of Newark, N. J., the following sentence occurs relative to his pedigree: "On his mother's side, W. B. Kinney descended from the celebrated Bishop Burnet." That this is a palpable genealogical error, I think can be easily shown. For Mr. Kinney's grandfather, Dr. William Burnet, Surgeon General of the American army during the Revolution, was confessedly a son of Dr. Ichabod Burnet, of Elizabethtown, N. J., who, according to the "History of Elizabeth" by the learned and accurate Rev. Dr. Edwin F. Hatfield, of this city, and a native of the ancient town, was "one of its most distinguished and venerable citizens," and died there in 1774, aged 90 years. And his father is by the same author, stated to have been Dan Burnet, of Southampton, L. I., who was the son of Thomas, originally from Lynn, Mass. Now if this account of the family be correct, the late Mr. Kinney could not possibly have been in the line of descent from Bishop Gilbert Burnet, of Scotland. We find the same Burnet record, also, in Dr. Wickes' elaborate "History of the Medical Men of New Jersey." The only son of the good Bishop of Sarum ever in this country, as a resident, was, doubtless, Governor William, who died in Boston Sept. 7, 1729, and was a contemporary of Dr. Ichabod Burnet. The admirable biographical sketch of him by Wm. A. Whitehead, Esq., in his "Contributions to Early Jersey History," mentions but two brothers of the Governor, viz.: Thomas and Gilbert. As to any other son or any grandson of their illustrious father having lived in America, both our local and State histories are entirely silent. W. H.

Elizabeth, N. J., Jan. 1, 1881.
REPLIES

COLONEL SARGENT'S JOURNAL—Colonel Sargent kept a journal, part of which (that relating to the campaign of 1791) was privately printed by Geo. Wymberley Jones at Wormsloe, Georgia, 4to, 1851, 46 copies printed. The journal was used by Irving in writing his Life of Washington and also by Dr. Lossing in the Field Book of 1812.

The original MS. of this journal of Governor Winthrop Sargent was in the possession of his accomplished grandson of the same name, who died in Paris, May 18th, 1870.

Can any one tell me where this manuscript is now, and what period of time it covers?

H.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF TEXAS—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me of the origin of the name of Texas?

C.

REPLIES

LADY WASHINGTON's LAMENT [V. 454]

—As an answer to C. W. B., I enclose the following verses found in a pamphlet published in New York, 1828, by Joseph McCleland and called "The Wood Robin, A Collection of Songs." The author's name is not given.

J. T. IRELAND

Bridgeport, Conn.

LADY WASHINGTON'S LAMENTATION

When Columbia's brave sons call'd my hero to lead 'em
To vanquish their foes and establish their freedom,
I rejoic'd at his honors, my fears I dissembled,
At the thought of his danger, my heart how it trembled!
O my Washington! Oh my Washington!
O my Washington! all was hazardous.

The contest decided with peace to the nation,
My hero retired, mid the loud acclamation
Of men without number, and praise without measure,
And my own heart exulted in transports of pleasure.
O my happiness! O my happiness!
O my happiness! how precarious!

Our freedom with order by faction rejected,
A new constitution our country erected,
My hero was raised to preside o'er the Union,
And his cares intercepted our blissful communion,
O my happiness! O my happiness!
O my happiness! how precarious!

Declining the trust of his dignified station,
With joy to the seat of his dear estimation,
Surrounded with honors, he humbly retreated,
Sweet hope softly whispered my bliss was completed!
O my happiness! O my happiness!
O my happiness! how precarious!

When the pangs of disease had faintly seized him,
My heart would have yielded its life to have eased him;
And I pray'd the Most High if for death he design'd him,
That he would not permit me to loiter behind him.
O my Washington! O my Washington!
O my Washington! all was dubious!

When hope was all fled, and I saw him resigning
His soul to his God, without dread or repining,
What, my heart, were thy feelings, lamenting, admiring,
To see him so nobly, so calmly expiring?
O my Washington! O my Washington!
O my Washington! has forsaken us!

When I follow'd his corpse with grief unconfined,
And saw to the tomb his dear relics consign'd,
When I left him with silence and darkness surrounded,
With what pangs of fresh anguish my bosom was wounded,
O my Washington! O my Washington!
O my Washington! has forsaken us!

His aspect so noble, pale grave-clothes disfigure,
And his conquering arm in despoil'd of its vigour:
On those lips, which drip wisdom, is silence imposed,
And those kind beaming eyes forever are clos'd,
O my Washington! O my Washington!
O my Washington! has forsaken us!

When with tears of sweet nursing I ponder the story
Of his wars and his labors, his virtue and glory,
I breathe out a prayer of sweet ardor of spirit,
Soon to join him in bliss! and united inherit
Endless blessedness! Endless blessedness!
Endless blessedness! O how glorious!

But why with my own single grief so confounded?
When my country's sad millions in sorrow are wounded!
Let me mingle the current which flows from my bosom,
With my country's vast ocean of tears and there lose 'em!
Tho' my Washington! Tho' my Washington!
Tho' my Washington has forsaken us

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN [IV. 460, V. 142, VI. 64]—The Blue Bell tavern was never called the Blue Ball except by the blunder of a Philadelphia typo who probably confused it with the Elbow Lane house mentioned by "Market St."
Your correspondent W. H. locates it on the wrong side of the road. It was west, not east of the highway. The grandmother story is entirely inconsistent with the facts of history.

FORT GEORGE

DESCENDANTS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON [V. 373]—"Utica" is in error in his statement that Joseph Brant was supposed by Col. Wm. L. Stone (senior) to have been the son of Sir Wm. Johnson, or that he so said in his life of Thayendanega. Here is what he does say. See the edition of 1838. "Some historians have spoken of him as a son of Sir Wm. Johnson." In a note to the same passage he says: "Several authors have suggested that Brant was the son of the Baronet. Drake in his useful compilation, The Book of the Indians, states that he had been so informed by no less an authority than Jared Sparks."

Mr. Stone quotes a Memoir of Brant published in the Christian Recorder at Kingston, Upper Canada, about 1818, in which are these words, "Nothing was known of Brant's father among the Mohawks." Mr. Stone says "that Thayendanega was born in the year 1742 on the banks of the Ohio. The home of his family was at the Canajoharie Castle—the central of the three castles of the Mohawks, in their native valley. His father's name was Tehowaghwenaraghkwin, a full-blooded Mohawk of the Wolf Tribe."

EDITOR

BUSSEY OR BUSSIE—[V. 140, VI. 62] A roll of Pennsylvanians in Hazen's regiment, with other information relating to it, will be found in Vols. X. and XI., Pennsylvania Archives, new series. These volumes contain all the rolls and records of the Pennsylvania battalions and regiments of the Pennsylvania line that could be secured by the editors, with historical sketches of each battalion and regiment, and are illustrated by superb engravings of nearly all their respective commanders. These volumes are printed, and will be ready for distribution and sale very soon.

Bellefonte, Pa. JOHN B. LINN

KISSAM BOOK PLATE—[V. 376] Henry Dawkins, a silversmith and seal-cutter, was working in New York city as early as 1774. Dr. Alexander Anderson remembered seeing ornamented shop bills and coats of arms for books engraved by Dawkins previous to the war of the Revolution. He cut the plates for the bills issued by order of the New York Provincial Congress in March, 1776. After their completion he was induced by Israel Young, a resident of Cold Spring, Huntington, L. I., to engage in counterfeiting. In company with his only son, a mere boy, he passed over to Long Island, and engraved four copper-plates, imitating the currency of Connecticut, Massachusetts and the Continental bills of credit. Suspicion being aroused among the neighbors, a report was made to the authorities, and he was arrested with his confederates in May, 1776, when he made a full confession under oath of his transactions in the felonious scheme. The prisoners were placed in close confinement; soon after the Youngs were removed to Litchfield, Conn., where they subsequently made their escape. Dawkins was trans-
ferred in July, 1776, to the jail at White Plains, from whence he petitioned the New York Convention, October 19th, to relieve the miseries of confinement by inflicting the death penalty upon him. His petition was laid on the table. In 1778, probably at Poughkeepsie, he engraved a copper-plate for the military commissions issued by Governor Clinton. Of his subsequent career I find no trace. Some record may probably be found at Albany of his pardon or punishment. Several neat specimens of his book-plates are among the collections of the New York Historical Society.

W. K.

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN — [VI. 360] Part of certificate of Gen. Winchester in relation to this affair was printed in No. 23 of the appendix of the Shelby Tract. I have in my possession a certificate, which I have always supposed, with its signature and endorsement, to be in the autograph of Gen. Winchester.

Utica

M. M. J.

"West Tennessee, Cairo
11th Jany, 1823

This is to certify that in the year 1785 or 1786, and soon after I came to this country to reside, I became acquainted with Col. Anthony Bledsoe, and also with his brother, Major Isaac Bledsoe, who appeared to me to be well acquainted with the circumstances relative to the Battle at King's Mountain, and that I have frequently heard them say Col. Campbell was not present at that battle, owing to the error of his guides or some other cause unknown to them, he did not arrive until the conflict was over. ThatCols. Shelby and Sevier were entitled to the honors of that victory, and not Col. Campbell. If they did not use these words, they did others to the same effect and meaning. The Bledsoes here named were gentlemen of high respectability and fair standing in society.

J. Winchester."

Endorsed, "Certificate for Governor Shelby, No. 32." All in one hand, excepting the No.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS —

LIEUT. KING — [VI. 160] H. M. will find ample notice of General Joshua King (Lieut. King of Sheldon's Dragoons) in S. C. Goodrich's (Peter Parley) Recollections, Vol. I., N. Y., 1856. Characteristics, personal appearance, anecdotes of General King, pages 120, 243, etc. In the appendix, same volume, page 517, he will find a succinct biographical notice, together with Lieut. King's letter relative to the capture of André.

Bellefonte, Pa.

JOHN B. LINN

THE KING'S FERRY — [V. 5, 26] "The dock at which André and Smith landed on the evening of the 22d of Sept., 1780, is in front of the residence of the Hon. Frederick W. Seward; and the King's Ferry Road is the road that extends from Green Cove to Munger's store. The dock is almost obliterated by the ravages of time."—Peekskill Blade, Sept. 1880.

D.

MATCHCOAT — [VI. 60] This word has no connection with "watchcoat." It is simply the common way among people of employing English words
to approximate Indian sounds. The Algonquin nations call a petticoat "Matchigode," Baraga’s Chippewa Dictionary, pp. 223, 570.

As the words "match" and "coat" nearly expressed the sound it is usual to find them used. Duffels and other goods sold in colonial times for petticoats and breech cloths also were called match coats.

J. G. S.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—[V. 454]

Having had to answer a similar query to that of "Student" several times lately, I have carefully examined my file of the Historical Magazine with this result. This very valuable publication consists of three series of twenty-three [23] volumes. The first series, from 1857 to 1866, inclusive, contains ten volumes of twelve numbers each. The second series, from 1867 to 1871, inclusive, contains ten volumes of six numbers each; excepting Vol. II., which has seven numbers, two for November, 1867, of which one [No. VI.] is an extra of book notices; and Vol. X. of which only two numbers, those for July and August, 1871, were published. The third series comprises three volumes intended to contain six numbers each. Vols. I. and II., covering the years 1872 and 1873, have each six numbers. Vol. III. contains the following, being all that were issued—January, 1874; February, 1874; March, 1874; Extra for March, 1874; Extra for December, 1874; Extra for January, 1875; Extra for March, 1875, and number for April, 1875. These extras contain book notices. The work really ceased April, 1875. The volume for 1866 is not scarce and can easily be bought in Nassau street, New York. It is a great misfortune that this valuable periodical was allowed to cease for want of proper support among lovers of American history. The above list of numbers and volumes I am quite satisfied is corroborated by letters from Mr. Dawson not at this moment within the reach of the present writer.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

DEATH OF BRaddock [V. 374]—The querist should consult the History of Braddock's Expedition in Mem. of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., and also a paragraph in the Am. Hist. Record for January, 1872, p. 44.

C.

— Thomas Faussett or Fossitt, a Virginia soldier under Braddock who subsequently settled in Fayette Co., Pa., always claimed to have shot Braddock. But his statement has been disproved by Mr. Sargent in his History of Braddock’s expedition, Penna. His. Soc. Coll.: p. 244, et seq.; and also by Freeman Lewis, Esq., in an unpublished work called "The Monongahela of Old; or the History of Fayette County, Penna.,” p. 70–72, which Lewis and Hon. James Veitch, of Emsworth, Pa., wrote in partnership. In that volume, which was only partially printed and never issued, Lewis gives an account of Fossitt which is not in Sargent. That F. shot Braddock is among the possibilities, but not among the probabilities. He was the only Virginian who ever claimed to have killed Braddock.

H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

We begin the chronicle this month with a list of the Historical Societies and Institutes in the United States and Canada, with the request that communication be made of errors and omissions noticed. Some of the societies whose names are given, are supposed to be dormant, but it is hoped not extinct. A circular letter has been addressed to each, with a request that the name of the local newspaper, in which its proceedings are reported, be sent, that an exchange may be established, and delay in the chronicle notice avoided.

# LIST OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTES

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NAME OF SOCIETY                  NEWSPAPER REPORTED IN

New York                      Utica    Morning Herald
    Oneida Historical Society 
    Waterloo Library and Historical Society 
    White Plains Historical Society 
    Westchester Historical Society 
    White Plains Historical Society 
    Rockland Historical Society 
    Rockland Co. Jour'l

Ohio                           Cleveland
    Western Reserve and Northern Hist. Soc.
    Sandusky Historical Society
    Licking County Pioneer Society
    Newark American
    Cincinnati Soc. of Ex-Army & Navy Off's

Pennsylvania                   Philadelphia
    Pennsylvania Historical Society
    American Philosophical Society
    American Numismatic and Antiq'n Soc

Rhode Island                   Providence
    Rhode Island Historical Society
    Providence Press
    Newport Historical Society
    Newport American

South Carolina                 Charleston
    South Carolina Historical Society

Tennessee                      Nashville
    Tennessee Historical Society

Texas                         Galveston
    Galveston Historical Society

Vermont                       Montpelier
    Vermont Historical Society

Virginia                      Richmond
    Virginia Historical Society
    Dispatch
    Southern Historical Society

Wisconsin                      Madison
    Wisconsin Historical Society
    Standard

Wiscosin                      Racine
    Old Settlers' Historical Society

Canada                        Quebec
    Quebec Literary and Historical Society

New Brunswick                  St. John
    New Brunswick Historical Society

Nova Scotia                    Halifax
    Halifax Historical Society

We shall be happy to exchange the Magazine for any newspaper, in the cities or towns upon the above list where no one is designated, which will publish reports of the proceedings of the Societies therein.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting in the Dowse Library, Thursday, the 13th January. The President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in the chair. Numerous contributions to the Museum, of local interest, were reported. The President informed the Society that Americans residing in London had subscribed 100 to the erection of a memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, being one-third of the sum needed, which is now completed.

The Reverend Dr. Ellis called attention to the syllabus of a projected Critical History of the United States on a similar plan to that pursued in the Memorial History of Boston, and to be under the editorship of Mr. Winson.

Some early letters of Washington were communicated by Mr. Parkman and placed at the disposal of the Society, and Mr. Chase gave information of still other unpublished Washington letters. It is understood that the Society propose to publish a volume of its Washington letters which are over two hundred in number, at an early day. The publication of a new number of the reports of proceedings Sept. to Dec., 1880, is announced.

A meeting of the New England His-
Editor's Chronicle

The Geographic Genealogical Society was held at the Society's house in Somerset Street, Boston, Wednesday, January 5th. The library was reported at 16,591 volumes, and 51,745 pamphlets. The manuscripts of General Henry Knox, presented some years since by his grandson, the late Rear-Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, have been arranged and bound in fifty-five volumes.

A first volume of biographic memorials of deceased members provided for by the fund of the late William B. Towne, containing forty-three sketches, is printed and will be soon delivered.

The historiographer reported the death during the year of forty-three members, whose ages averaged over seventy-one years. The address on the occasion was delivered by the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder. Officers were elected: Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, President, Rev. Edmund H. Slafter, Corresponding Secretary, John Ward Dean, Librarian.

The Boston Memorial Society held a meeting on the 6th of January, Hon. Alexander H. Rice in the chair. The bequest of $5,000 by the late Nathaniel Cushing Nash for the erection of a statue to Theodore Parker was accepted. It is proposed to erect an out-door statue at a cost of from $10,000 to $12,000, and to appeal to the public for an additional sum needed.

The Long Island Historical Society took formal possession of its new building on Clinton and Pierrepont Streets, Brooklyn, on the evening of the 12th January. The Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs presided, and received the keys from Samuel McLean, chairman of the building committee. Addresses were delivered in the presence of a large and distinguished audience.

Its regular meeting was held on the evening of January 25th, when the gift by George I. Seney of the munificent sum of fifty thousand dollars to its library fund, was announced. Alexander H. Bullock delivered an address on Our Five Historical Periods and their Unity.

The Regents of the University of the State of New York met at Albany on the 14th January. Chancellor Pierson presented the report of the commission on the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania. The question to be decided by the commission, in concert with a like commission from Pennsylvania, is whether the boundary line shall be that of 1789 or a new line on the 47th parallel.

A report was also presented on college examinations, which proposes three distinct measures: 1st, an examination at local schools of candidates for college. 2d, a post-graduate examination of baccalaureates of all the colleges in the State, by which a recognition may be made of superior scholarship. 3d, the bestowal of higher academic degrees upon graduates after examination. The plan was adopted.

The Licking County (Ohio) Pioneer and Antiquarian Society published the closing report of their transactions for the year 1880 in the Newark American of the 14th December. The society is prosperous, and numerous additions have been made to its library and cabinet of Archaeology.
The Military Service Institution of the United States held a biennial meeting at its rooms on Governor's Island, Thursday, January 13th. Officers were elected: Major General Hancock, President, Col. J. J. Rodenough, Secretary. This institution has the warm support of army officers, and is gathering a military library and museum which we commend heartily.

The Chicago Historical Society held its Annual Meeting in its hall, corner of Dearborn Avenue and Ontario Street, 16th November last. The librarian reported large accessions during the year, bringing the total of bound volumes to 5,282, and of unbound to 15,844; also 10 volumes of bound manuscript relating to early Illinois and the Northwest. Twelve papers on Historical subjects were read during the year. The society is the proprietor of funds to the amount of $60,000, not yet, however, available.

At an adjourned meeting held Dec. 14th, officers were elected: Isaac N. Arnold, President, Albert D. Hager, Secretary. The Hon. E. B. Washburne read a paper on the French Revolution from its commencement to August, 1792.

The New Jersey Historical Society held its annual meeting at Trenton on the 20th of January, in the room of the Court of Chancery, in the State House. A warm tribute of respect was paid to the memory of the late Colonel Robert S. Swords, the honored Treasurer. Samuel M. Hamill was re-elected President, and William A. Whitehead, of Newark, Corresponding Secretary. General Wm. S. Stryker read a paper on the Trenton Barracks, built about 1758, and still standing. A paper was also read by John Hegeman on Religious Liberty in New Jersey.

The American Geographical Society held its annual meeting at Chickering Hall, New York, the evening of the 11th January, President Chief Justice Daly in the chair. The officers were re-elected. Commander John R. Bartlett, U. S. N., gave an account of an expedition in the steamer Blake, to take soundings and determine the nature, volume and source of the Equatorial Current, which gives rise to the Gulf Stream. He did not introduce any new theory, but claimed that his investigations pointed to deflections of the equatorial current by which it makes almost the entire circuit of the Caribbean Sea.

A publication has been commenced of Johns Hopkins University Circulars, which is now at its eighth number, which contains, in addition to a calendar of the lectures of the institution, a synopsis of the recent scientific journals, and the proceedings of the meetings of the Societies of the University. We invite the attention of historical students to the Lists of Baltimore newspapers contributed by John W. M. Lee, of the Maryland Historical Society; the library of which contains numerous and excellent files. It may be found in the January number of the Circular.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec held its annual meeting on the 12th January. The membership is
rapidly increasing, and the sphere of its usefulness is enlarged. Of the papers read in 1880, those of most value to historians, were the Scot in New France, by J. M. Le Moine, and the Origin of the Aborigines of Canada, by Professor J. Campbell. At the election of officers, Mr. J. M. Le Moine was chosen President, and W. Clint, Corresponding Secretary.

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia held its twenty-third annual meeting on the evening of January 8th at its hall. An address was delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton on the The Sexual Element in the American Aboriginal Religions. The election of officers was postponed Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., Curator of this Society, is getting together material for a life or biographical sketch of Gustavus Conyngham, and has manuscript matter hitherto unpublished, including his Diary in Prison. He will be thankful for genealogical or biographical memoranda relative to him.

The name of Baltimore was the subject of a paper entitled, "Celtic Baltimore, its Etymology," read by General Charles E. Phelps, at the December meeting of the Maryland Historical Society. The General claims that the word "Bal-ti-more" is Celtic; that Bal means place, and Timor, the Supreme Being; the two in idiomatic English, God Place. Other derivations, however, were suggested with force. One from Balt, meaning belt, and mor, great, that is, great belt; and still another that it is derived from Baal, and was taken from the town on the Irish coast, where the great fire altar to Baal was.

The plans for the World’s Fair have taken definite shape. Inwood, at the north end of the Island of New York, has been designated as the site, and General Grant has accepted the Presidency of the Commission contingent upon the raising of a sufficient sum to secure success.

The Tontine, a building erected upon a novel Italian plan in 1794, as the place of meeting for merchants, was sold by auction on the 13th January, and the association wound up. There were two hundred and three original holders of shares valued at two hundred dollars each. The income from the building has been divided annually. The sale realized the sum of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty dollars, which goes to the representatives of seven surviving lives.

The Marine Society for the Port of New York, which was organized 1770, held its one hundred and eleventh anniversary on the 10th January. The records of this ancient charity should be printed.

Senator Johnston, of Virginia, proposes that the government shall purchase an invaluable literary curiosity. This is a manuscript book of 122 pp., small letter paper, entitled, "James Madison, His Book of Logick." The author gives a list of twenty-nine kinds or classes of argument, nine syllogistic axioms, and a number of logical theorems for practice.
Colonel Stephenson, of the United States Geological Survey, has discovered a large village of cliff dwellers between the Jemez Mountains and the Rio Grande River, in New Mexico. The cliff rises to a height of from fifty to five hundred feet, and contains numerous lines of dwellings, tier upon tier. The houses on the top of the cliff are rectangular in form, and the caves are circular. There appear to have been pavements before the dwellings. Pictures and hieroglyphics adorn the rocks.

There is a collection of curious Peruvian earthen-ware in the possession of W. W. Evans, of New Rochelle, who spent several years in the construction of railways in Peru. They come from beneath the sand of the valley of the Santa, near Chimbote, in the Southern part of Peru. Here, in a graveyard, twenty-five miles in length and eleven to twelve feet below the surface, towers of masonry were discovered, occupied by mummies, near which were earthen vessels of quaint shapes. These relics are supposed to be of a race which preceded the reign of the Incas, and the pottery is said to be the oldest known in the world. They are composed of baked clay, usually red, are modelled to represent busts, animals, and fruit, and bear no marks of the potter's wheel.

Alexander H. Rice, late Governor of Massachusetts, has presented to the library of Roanoke College, Virginia, a Latin bible, printed in 1477. It is in a folio, black letter, with rubricated capitals on vellum. The library of Roanoke College is the second in size of the college libraries of Virginia, and numbers 16,000 volumes.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its settlement, on Tuesday, the 28th December. An historical oration was made by Colonel T. W. Higginson; An address by President Eliot, of Harvard College. Oliver Wendell Holmes read a poem, and Professor Longfellow interested the children with a few remarks.

The Rugbeian, the organ of Thomas Hughes' new colony in Tennessee, has adopted the significant motto of "Shoulder to Shoulder." The orthography of the title of the Journal is imitated from that adopted in the old country.

The anniversary of Mother Seton, the founder of the Order of the Sisters of Charity in this country, a branch of the famous institution established near Paris by St. Vincent de Paul, was commemorated by all the institutions of the Order on the 4th January.

The expedition organized by the Archæological Institute of America to investigate the ruins of the city of Assos, in Asia Minor, sailed in the Germanic on the 5th of January. It is under the charge of Joseph Thatcher Clark, of Boston.

Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, in the Library Journal, estimates that three-fourths of the 1,200,000 volumes circulated last year by the Boston Public Library were read by young people, most of whom attend the public schools.
LITERARY NOTICES

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)


With the usual amount of record which belongs to reports of this character, this excellent volume contains a variety of material of peculiar interest to the historical student. It covers the proceedings of the Society from the January meeting of 1879 to the March meeting of 1880. Besides passing notices of some of the distinguished associates and honorary members who have passed away during the last year, among which we read with peculiar pleasure the warm tribute paid to the late Dr. Leonard Woods, by his intimate personal friend, Charles Deane: the graceful allusions to George S. Hillard, by his traveling companion, Leverett Saltonstall; the personal reminiscences of Caleb Cushing, by Charles W. Tuttle; and the always appropriate remarks of the honored President, there are careful biographical memoirs; among which two of notable value, namely, of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, by George E. Ellis, and of the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, by E. E. Hale. The life of Dr. Bigelow covered a period of ninety-two years; its interest is not limited by either the practical experience of his professional career or his contributions to medical literature, both of which are carefully recorded in these pages. His public services beyond the sphere of his profession were of equal value. In two admirable and vigorous essays he advanced the now acknowledged claim that the privileges and honors of education should no longer be restricted to professors in the dead language, but he accorded with equal hand to those who excel in wisdom, in science and in spoken tongues. Another of the reforms which he instigated was the method of disposing of the dead. It was at his house that the plan of what may be called park-burial, which resulted in Mt. Auburn, originated. In 1831, seven years later, this beautiful cemetery was consecrated; Laurel Hill, in Philadelphia, followed in 1836. Greenwood, New York, in 1837. Much of the adornment of Mt. Auburn is due to the taste of Dr. Bigelow; the designs of tower, chapel, lodges, gateways and fences are his, and it also owes to his munificence, and it may be added eccentricity, the monumental statue "imitated from the Sphynx of antiquity and designed to commemorate the great war of American conservation." Truly the educated Bostonian, appreciate as he may modern tongues and modern art, cannot be other than classic and transcendental. Dr. Bigelow's remarks upon this structure afford an insight into this phase of his otherwise practical character.

Mr. Hale's admirable memoir of the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine appeals directly to the heart of the historical student of our Revolutionary period, to whom no book is more familiar than his American Loyalists. Published in 1847 it was at first received by the public with coolness, and he was charged with a want of national spirit and a desire to rehabilitate the characters of men who had been untrue to the country in its hour of trial. But he soon recovered from this hasty judgment. The students of history easily recognized the difference between Britons born or American holders of offices under the Crown—high spirited gentlemen whose fortunes and estates followed their principles—and the rascally marauders whom De Lancey and Arnold and Ferguson led on raids of indiscriminate pillage. Many of the gentlemen from Massachusetts and Rhode Island withdrew to Nova Scotia during the war, and numbers from New York took the same direction after the peace of 1783. Many were of the highest colonial families, and some of their number held offices of trust in their new home, and gave tone and character to the Canadian provinces. Mr. Sabine was well known throughout the land as the extremely able secretary of the Boston board of trade; his reports on Commerce and Industry remaining text books for the students of economy. In 1862 he was appointed to represent America in a tripartite commission on the fishery question, which however fell through from the refusal of France. He was an occasional contributor to the North American Review, and wrote the life of Commodore Preble for Sparks' Biographies. His report to the treasury of the principal fisheries of the American seas is an exhaustive examination, historical and statistical, of the entire subject. We knew him well and can bear personal testimony to the truth of Mr. Hale's statement that few men have pursued historical research as a passion so exclusive of other considerations.

There are notices of numerous original documents in this volume of the society's proceedings; Captain Parker's Manuscript Orderly Book, kept while the Continental Army was at Morristown, 1779 to 1780, said to contain nothing new but which we hope to see printed; the diary, printed in full, of a journal kept during a visit to Marietta, Ohio, and on the return journey to Philadelphia, 1790-91, by Thomas Walker admirably annotated by Mr. George Dexter; extracts from the Journal of Charles Turner, junior, a surveyor engaged in locating the grants and sales of the Eastern Lands in 1802; the text of the form of government for the Province of New Hampshire, adopted at Portsmouth, 24th January, 1690, with instructive notes by Mr. Charles
W. Tuttle, and a heliotype fac-simile; the regimental Orderly Book of Col. Israel Hutchinson, from August 16, 1775, to November 16, 1776, while his regiment was on duty about Cambridge, and later at Fort Washington and Harlem Heights, to which are added sundry rosters and muster rolls; extracts of the Journal of William Parkman, a youth of seventeen and a soldier in the French war, from May 22, 1758, to April 21, 1759; some letters from John Eliot, the Apostle, to the Treasurer of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, printed in full for the first time; extracts of eight letters of Samuel Sweat of Kingston, New Hampshire, five from the camp at Winter Hill, 1775, and three from Ti-CONDSERGA, 1777: extracts from a diary kept by Dudley Woodbridge, a graduate of Harvard, 1724, later a preacher at Groton, Conn., and a physician at Stonington, Connecticut, where he died in 1790; a notice of an old map of Boston. There is also prefixed to the volume a lithographic fac-simile of a plan of Boston and the country adjacent, showing the position of the king's troops and the rebel entrenchments, 25th July, 1775.

There are several interesting papers by members and correspondents of the Society, among which, remarks by Charles Dean on the memorial stone inscribed to preserve the memory of the reconstruction of the Fort on Castle Island by Col. Romer, engineer to King William, 1701 to 1703. The stone is now in the Historical Society; a paper by the reverend Mr. Hale on the Hessian Flags captured in America during the revolution; some extremely interesting notes by A. T. Perkins on the portraits by Blackburn and by Smibert; a communication by Charles W. Tuttle concerning the supposed massacre by Indians at Fox Point near Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1690, throwing doubt upon the sensational story given by Cotton Mather in his Magnalia; a paper on Washington's birthplace by Charles C. Perkins, relating a visit made by him in company with the Secretary of State and General Sherman to this interesting spot in October, 1879. But few vestiges of this old Westmoreland homestead remain, and the old burial place of the Washington family half a mile to the northward is in a degraded condition. The small appropriation made by Congress which the Secretary of State is authorized to expend for its further preservation and the inaccessibility of the locality, owing to the shallow water on the coast, afford little hope of any adequate protection; a pencil sketch by Mr. Perkins, and a topographical drawing by General Sherman give permanent value to this communication; a paper by Charles Hudson on the Life and Character of Major John Pitcairn, defending him from the charge of criminal shedding of blood in the affair of Concord and Lexington in which the brutality allowed, if not ordered, by Lord Percy are severely commented upon. We must not close this analysis without an allusion to the admirable eulogy by Robert C. Winthrop, the President of the Society, upon Adolphe de Circourt, a name gratefully remembered for his many kindnesses to American students abroad, for his notices and reviews of American literature and for his translation of Bancroft's volume on the alliance of France and the United States, 1778. He was a man of rare attainments. Lamartine said of him in 1845, "languages, races, geography, history, philosophy, travels, constitutions, religions of people from the infancy of the world down to our own day, from Thibet even to the Alps;—he had incorporated them all into his mind, had reflected upon them all, had retained them all;" he summed him up "as a living world chart of human knowledge." In 1870 Louis Favre said of him, "Mr. de Circourt speaks all languages, knows all literatures and all histories;" eulogies which justify the parallel which Mr. Winthrop suggests of his known attainments with those attributed to the admirable Crichton.


This the author announces to be a guide book for pilgrims. Not that everybody that arrives in New England in these days is held to be a pilgrim, but that Concord has its shrines—and sacred shrines they are in the eyes of all true Americans. Shrines to illustrious dead, homes of illustrious living. The American sage, whose word of wisdom will guide generations of thought, still holds converse here, easy of access as the Greek philosophers. Here, on the Virginia Road, Thoreau lived at an expense of a dollar a month, and studied nature on the simplest of diet, and here he died in the same simplicity, and here Hawthorne found the subjects of some of his most charming sketches. Needless to remind the readers of the scrimmage of the 19th April, 1775, when the men of Concord and Lexington opened the Revolutionary ball and taught a figure to the red coats with which they were not familiar—the face about. The book is charmingly illustrated.


This is rather a peculiar title for a book of this nature; the religious opinions of the greater number of the famous personages, some account of whose lives is here given, having had
little to do with their presence or deeds on the American continent. Of the twenty-four, the author tells us that four were Americans, ten French, three Spanish, three Irish, one Belgian, one Russian, one Italian, and one English born. Two were Archbishops, two Bishops, five Missionaries, one a Parish Priest, one an Admiral, two Generals, one a Commodore, four Religious ladies, four Explorers, one a Lady who belonged to no religious society, and one a Lawyer and Statesman; in all, ten ecclesiastics, four religious, and ten lay persons.

The work of course is made up from known authorities, and does not pretend to be the result of original investigation, as indeed from the nature and extent of the ground covered, it could hardly be. The personages whose lives are narrated are Christopher Columbus, Alonzo de Ojeda, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, Hernando Cortés, St. Rose of Lima, Samuel de Champlain, Father Isaac Jogues, S.J., Father John de Boebeuf, S.J., Father Andrew White, S.J., Mother Mary of the Incarnation, Miss Jane Mance, Father James Marquette, S.J., Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Venerable Margarita Bourgeois, Louis Joseph de Montcalm, Commodore John Barry, Most Reverend John Carroll, Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Right Reverend Simon Gabriel Bruté, Father Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, Right Reverend John England, Most Reverend John Hughes, and Father Peter John de Smet, S.J.

The volume contains a great deal of personal detail and abundance of interesting matter put together in a pleasant manner for the general reader, and free from any narrow sectarianism. It is illustrated in a satisfactory and popular manner.

THE LIFE OF REV. CHARLES NERINKX, WITH A CHAPTER ON THE EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS OF KENTUCKY. Copious notes on the progress of Catholicity in the United States of America from 1800 to 1852; an account of the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Missouri, and an historical sketch of the Sisterhood of Loretto in Kentucky, Missouri, New Mexico, etc. By Rev. Camillus P. Maes. 8vo, pp. 635. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1850.

The story of the life of the founder of Loretto was first told by Archbishop Spalding in his "Sketches of Kentucky," to the pages of which the author of the present extended and very full biography acknowledges his obligation. The amplification has been made possible by the accumulation of letters of the revered father in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Maes through the devoted and active cooperation of the friends of the man and the order; Dr. John Gilmary Shea, Archbishop Bayley of Baltimore, and Father Hill of St. Louis University have each lent a helping hand to the thorough work.

Charles Nerinckx was born in Belgium in 1761, and consecrating his life to the Catholic priesthood, was ordained in 1785, and the following year appointed Vicar of the Metropolitan parish of St. Kumoldus, Mechlin, where his zeal soon attracted the notice of the Prince Cardinal de Frankenburgh, the illustrious Archbishop of Mechlin. In 1794 he was chosen pastor of Everberg-Meerbeke. In 1797, declining to obey the orders of the French Republic, he escaped arrest by flight to Dendermonde, from which he occasionally, by stealth and at imminent peril, made frequent visits to his abandoned parish to comfort and console his flock. The story of his concealment by the nuns of the hospital of St. Blase, and indeed of all of this period of his life is written with exceeding grace and simplicity. In 1801, unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to the government of the First Consul, he refused its nomination to his old charge, and with the permission of his Prelate determined to enter upon the service of the American mission, and in November, 1803, applied to Bishop Carroll of Baltimore for admission to his diocese, his application being seconded by a personal letter from the saintly Princess Galitzin. Escaping the close search of the French gendarmes with difficulty, he embarked from Amsterdam in August, 1804, and was received with open arms by the genial, warm-hearted and most worthy Bishop Carroll, who found in him the very man he needed for the abandoned mission of Kentucky. After a study at Georgetown college of the English language, which he found of difficult acquirement, he set out in May, 1806, in a wagon for the convent of the Trappists at Conewago, and thence with a caravan of thirty-seven persons for Bedford, where, disappointed at the slow motions of his companions, he bought a horse, pushed on alone through the solitude of the half cleared woodlands of Ohio, and reached the house of Rev. Badin, the centre of the catholics of Kentucky, on the 18th July. Here was the chosen field of his long devoted service to God and his fellow man. He was forty-four years of age. The historical student will read with pleasure the succinct chapter on the history of the early settlement of Kentucky. Father Nerinckx found the district to which he was assigned an extensive territory, embracing nearly half the State. Suffering from a painful chronic complaint, depressing to the spirits, and weakening to the body, he nevertheless persevered, almost living on horseback. His labors were not in vain, and his influence is still visible in the parishes which he instructed. His notions of discipline were formed in the severe
school of the Trappists—self denial and physical endurance. The poor children in his catechism class were compelled to stand through long prayer, with arms extended in the form of a cross till they dropped from sheer weariness; but he won their hearts, nevertheless.

Between 1806 and 1808 he was greatly disturbed in his mission by the advent of some Dominican priests, whose novel ceremonial and picturesque costume proved attractions too strong for his simple flock to resist. His people began to chafe under his strict requirements, to intermarry with heretics, and to dance in the daytime; and some of the dissatisfied preferred charges against him. Nerinckx became impatient and asked for his dismissal, but Bishop Carroll held him to his work, and the priest submitted without murmur or complaint. In 1808 Bishop Carroll recommended him to Rome as a suitable person to take charge of the diocese of New Orleans, then in a state of disorder, as Titular Bishop. The papal bull soon arrived, but Father Nerinckx, alarmed at the responsibility, persistently refused the honor, and clung to his mission, for which he was surely eminently qualified. Notwithstanding his ailment, he was capable of great bodily exertion, and in rolling logs could lift against two or three men of ordinary strength. A pleasant story is told of a personal encounter with one of the bullies of the neighborhood, in which he showed his great power and his equally great moderation and self-control.

In 1812 he established the Sisterhood of Loretto, and founded a school of instruction for the novices. In 1815 he visited Europe, and went to Rome to receive the Apostolic Benediction of the Pope. The Loretto rules were approved by the Propaganda, and the Father made a successful appeal for aid to his Belgian countrymen. Returning in 1817 with his treasures of books and pictures, raiment and holy vessels, as models for American workmen, he supplied churches and convents with ecclesiastic ornaments. At least one hundred paintings were also imported, among which several valuable works of art. The masterpiece in the Louisville cathedral was purchased from the spoils of a convent sacked by the French. In 1820 he again visited Europe. His life of usefulness was closed at St. Genevieve August 12th, 1824.

To a severity which nearly amounted to rigorism, he joined the first of virtues, humility, which in a priest is surely in the words of the author, "the foundation of sanctity, the corner-stone of the whole fabric of Christian perfection." Well written biographies are charming reading, and of such is this interesting volume.

ABOUT GRANT. By JOHN L. SWIFT. 16mo, pp. 206. LEK & SHEPARD. Boston, 1880.

This book was avowedly written to show the important share the soldier president has taken in the affairs of the nation since 1861, and to present some of the reasons why he was regarded by a large body of the American people as the true leader in the grave emergencies which seemed to depend on the recent election. The election is over, the gravity of the emergency has passed. In 1884 the late census will prove an important factor in the problem, and the country will have outgrown the recent abnormal situation which placed its destinies at the mercy of a solid section with the aid of two States outside of its limits. And with it also forever will disappear the need of any individual as a protector of the nationality of our people.

But while the aim of this volume has no longer its initial significance, its interest remains, as indeed forever will remain every word that throws any light upon the remarkable character whose utterances, though he is known among his fellows as the Silent Man, are pregnant with common sense and remarkable insight into the reason of things.

The American people are somewhat tired of hero worship. The stock of gallantry and perseverance displayed on both sides of the contest is far beyond any available use for political purposes. There was a Roland for an Oliver in every contest, whether of armies or divisions or brigades. But as a civilian, General Grant is quite as much an object of interest as he was when a victorious General or popular President. His tour abroad was watched by millions, and even thousands, who were the opponents of his administration, were conquered by the genuine American simplicity and modesty of the first of its citizens. And since his return, though occasional pungent utterances have stung to the quick those against whom they were directed, the common judgment of the country accords to him a belief in his disinterestedness and his sincerity.

The pointed chapters in this volume are those which hold up to public scorn the absurd idea that Grant is a Caesar in esse or in posse, or that the liberties of the American people can be juggled, stolen or forced from their own safe keeping. The power of the American Government lies in the strong arms of its people, the power of the nation in the wisdom of their chiefs. Its liberties rest upon its intelligence; and it may be safely held that it knows itself, and directs its own destinies. Its present purpose, if the signs of the times signify anything, is to make a more perfect Union of all the States and territories.

A FAMOUS VICTORY. 12mo. pp. 368. JANSSEN, McCLURG & CO. Chicago, 1880.

In this oddly constructed political romance, the reader will recognize familiar faces and gain an insight into a notorious political fraud. The
chief character in the plot unites the traits of two of the most noted figures in our politics, though both have now outlived their opportunities for injury to the country. It is a clever satire on political conventions, political methods, and rascallies which amuse by their unblushing impudence. The bounds of truth are only overstepped in the consummation.

MEMOIR OF COL. JOSHUA FRY, SOMETIME PROFESSOR IN WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA, AND WASHINGTON'S SENIOR IN COMMAND OF VIRGINIA FORCES, 1754, ETC., ETC., WITH AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HIS SON, REV. HENRY FRY, AND A CENSUS OF THEIR DESCENDANTS, BY THE REV. P. SLAUGHTER, D. D. 8vo. 113 PAGES. J. W. RANDOLPH & ENGLISH. RICHMOND, 1856.

Attention has already been called in these pages to the excellent antiquarian work done by the Rev. Dr. Slaughter in his researches into Virginia history. After a careful investigation of the testimony, Mr. Slaughter arrives at the conclusion that Col. Fry was born in England. He first appears in history as a magistrate of Essex County, between 1710 and 1720, where he married the widow of Col. Hill, a large landed proprietor on the Rappahannock river. In 1754 he was, with Peter Jefferson as his associate, one of the Commissioners of the Crown for marking out of boundary lines, and in the same year, with the same colleague, finished the map of Virginia known as Fry and Jefferson’s map. In 1758 he was one of the Commissioners for Virginia in negotiating the Treaty of Logstown. Histories of the maps and the Treaty are given in the volume. When upon the failure of the mission of peace with which Washington was charged to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio failed, and the contests for supremacy over the Western territory approached, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Col. Fry to the chief command of the forces Virginia called to the field. Of this regiment Washington was appointed Lieut. Colonel, and left Alexandria April 27th, 1754, to clear a road for the artillery which followed under Col. Fry by way of the Potomac to Wills creek. Here Col. Fry, at Fort Cumberland, died suddenly on the 31st May, and was buried with military honors. Washington and the army attended the funeral, and the author tells us that the inscription cut by Washington, “Under this oak lies the body of the good, the just, and the noble Fry,” can be read to this day.

The reverend author presents a genealogy of the family of Fry, with the opinion that the Litany of the church would be improved by a petition for delivery from the writing of genealogies. The material he furnishes, however, is of extreme value for those who would unravel the tangled skein of Virginia pedigrees, particularly that of the Gregory, Lewis, Willis, and Washington families.

REMINISCENCES OF JAMES C. AYER AND THE TOWN OF AYER. BY CHARLES COWLEY. THIRD EDITION. 8vo, PP. 126. PENGHALLOW PRINTING COMPANY. LOWELL, MASS., 1879.

James Cook Ayer was born in the town of Groton, later called Ledyard, Connecticut, in 1818, and received his education in the Westford Academy and Lowell High School, after which he applied himself to the study of chemistry and the business of the apothecary. His mind was inventive, and in addition to the invention of machines for drug making and pill making he is claimed to have also discovered a system of telegraphic printing superior to that of Professor Morse. Becoming interested as a capitalist in the large manufacturing corporations of Massachusetts, he introduced reforms into their management, which were the cause of a long and bitter struggle which ended in legislation in accordance with his views. He died suddenly, at Winchenden, in 1878. The biographical sketch is followed by some pleasant reminiscences of the town of Ayer, which was organized chiefly from the village of Groton Junction in 1871.


This is the third annual publication of this popular hand book, which provides, in an admirably arranged manner an easy, convenient reference to the vast number of facts which no memory can retain, but some of which in some form it is necessary to turn to in each day’s experience. It contains the population of the globe and of the United States in detail. Tables of the debts, revenue and expenditure, imports and exports of all nations; financial tables in great variety, and a vast amount of information, well tabulated, concerning the various departments of the United States government and their practices under the law.

We direct special attention to the account of the government library at Washington, which has progressed in numbers and in the disposal of books. The most important of these is a new and revised arrangement under the guiding direction of Mr. Sofford, and also to the list which gives the ages of notable persons, native born and foreign.
LITERARY NOTICES

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICES OF ISAAC SAMS, for fifty years a distinguished teacher. By HENRY S. DOGGETT. 24mo, pp. 83. PETER G. THOMSON. Cincinnati, 1880.

Professor Sams was of English birth. He received his early training at a Dublin school, after which he essentially educated himself while serving on the Mediterranean fleet then engaged in the war with France. In 1818, fascinated with a friend's description of America, he sailed for this country, and engaged in the instruction of youth in a private family. In 1824 he opened the Rock Hill Academy at Ellicott's Mills, Maryland. In 1835 he went westward in pursuit of health, and settling at Hillsboro soon became interested in the Ohio Common School System, and on the enlargement of the Hillsboro Academy was invited to its charge. His immediate services there, and his larger attention to the general interests of education in the State, are fully related in these pages, which are from the hand of one of his pupils, and bear the signs of a labor of love.

THE THOUSAND ISLANDS OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE. With descriptions of their scenery, as given by travellers from different countries at various periods since their first exploration, and historical notices of events with which they are associated. 24mo, pp. 307. DAVIS BARDEEN & Co. Syracuse, N. Y., 1880.

Before the century closes the thousand islands which stud the broad bosom of the St. Lawrence will have changed their character. From being the quiet resort of the sportsman and passing tourist they will have become the seat of elegant and luxurious mansions for the magnates of the land. The wilderness will have departed from the scenery, but its picturesqueness is beyond the destructive reach of man. Its legendary and romantic interest will still cling to it in perennial freshness so long as history retains upon its pages the names of Frontenac and Montcalm, or Cooper's tales preserve the incidents of Huron story, or the legend of Hiawatha recalls the softer attributes of the fast disappearing aborigines.

In this volume Mr. Hough, an excellent authority, has gathered the historical and traditional accounts, the descriptions by travellers, and has appended a charming chapter on the poetic associations of the thousand islands.

One of the greatest charms of the scenery of the St. Lawrence at this point is the infinite variety of the current of the stream. We cannot forbear repeating the enthusiastic commendation of a guide of many summers, who on a later visit attempted to persuade us to spend the day in his boat, fishing for muscalonge and testing his culinary art. To the reply that this was impossible as time was precious and the object of our journey was Niagara, he responded: 'Niagara, sir, is nothing; I have lived there; it is the same thing all the while; but here, sir, it is all variety and change, never twice alike, sir, never!' It was the old contrast of the sublime and the beautiful, as expressed in the simplicity of an honest heart who wanted a day's employment for an honest hand.

The book is well printed, and will prove a charming companion when the muscalonge are shy and shirk the shining spoon.

A HAND-BOOK OF POLITICS FOR 1880. Being a record of important political action, National and State, from July 1, 1878, to July 1, 1880. By EDWARD MCPHERSON, Clerk of the House of Representatives. 8vo, pp. 217. JAMES J. CHAPMAN. Washington, 1880.

The purpose of this volume is announced to be to present a record of the controversy between the executive and legislative branches of the government during the last two years of the administration of President Hayes. Every important fact, paper or vote is included in its pages. To these are added the judicial decisions of the period and the modifications made in State Constitutions. A good index gives practical value to the volume.


There are few instances in the history of romantic literature of a more sudden bound to fame than that which placed Judge Tourgee, for a few days a great unknown, in the foremost rank of American writers and novelists. Since Uncle Tom's Cabin, no work has so instantly captured public favor as the Fool's Errand. Together they will live for ages as true pictures of slavery as it existed before and after the war. We use the phrase deliberately before and after.
the war, for no sane man can read these remarkable books, supported as they are by overwhelming proof, without the reluctant admission that it is the form of slavery which has changed and not the spirit. It is true law has forbidden the sale of the person, but in its place it has substituted a code which compels labor at the will of the dominant race. True the master can no longer break up families, but practice compels their separation in ways not less abhorrent to the sense of justice. We were not of those who believed it wise or necessary to give the ballot to the colored man, nor yet that the soil of the South could not be as well cultivated by the white man with his mechanical appliances as by the former slave, nor yet that a mingling of the races was a desirable consummation. The corollaries of these three negative beliefs were, naturally, that colonization, the withdrawal from the South of the three-fifths representation, and the gradual influx of European and northern immigration would solve the problem. A scheme of free colonization of the Antilles, under the authority of treaty and the immediate protection of American consuls, chosen for that purpose, would have given an initiative which would have been rapidly followed. The colored race, as the Irish race, would have moved itself by its own energies.

But the wise men decided otherwise. The bayonet was withdrawn, and the paper ballot presented to the colored man as the ax of his personal safety. The three-fifths representation, instead of being taken away, was extended to full representation. The Southern leaders, with that ordinary instinct for political thought—an instinct which makes every man in that section first of all things a partisan, and constitutes politics the first and most important business of life,—instantly grasped the situation and resolved to control the entire vote in their own interest, regardless of their newly-created political equals. How this was done is told in the three volumes before us in a style admirable in sententious vigor, convincing in its logic, and relieved with passages of the most exquisite tenderness, descriptions beautiful in their natural delineation and scenes of thrilling power. Yet, with all his noble glow of indignation for the wrongs of the poor despised race, his unsparking condemnation of the methods by which their new franchises were turned to ashes in their grasp, he never fails with the original kindness, the generous amity, which are the inherited traits of his Huguenot blood and the judicial fairness of honest training, to find excuse, if not exculpation, for the jealous white, who looked upon the elevation of the negro as the degradation of himself.

The enfranchisement of the colored race was not a true policy, either for their own interest or the homogeneity of the American race, and to our mind enfranchisement under a protectorate in the Antilles would have been productive of immense benefits, not only to themselves, but to the world in general; yet, once adopted, it should have been enforced, though every man that carried a musket during the war were again summoned to defend the privilege. That the Government failed to protect the poor ignorant race, who had been faithful to it in its severest trials, is a blot on our fame which time can never efface. But time works out its own revenges. The vast and continuing immigration to the Northern and Western States has at last finally turned the long disputed balance in favor of national institutions, as Washington and Webster understood them. Southern politicians, forced from their last vantage ground, must shortly recognize that the real lost cause is the cause of State sovereignty, that the cause which has won is that of the true rights of the States under the protection of popular sovereignty. Recognizing also that control of the government—the attractive allurement held out to them by their Mephistophelian leaders—is no longer within their reach, and the glittering national condonation which has lured them like the ignis fatuus, from quagmire to quagmire, is forever intangible, the people of practical politics will no longer sacrifice their interests to their sympathies, but seek with equal zeal and eagerness to secure their legitimate share in the national prosperity and in the direction of national affairs. The figures of the census of 1880, and the result of the election, are prophetic of the end of the old and the beginning of the new order of things. Before another year has rolled by, the South, hitherto solid in its sympathies, will find itself divided in its interests. Each side will seek all the strength it can obtain by the ballot-box, and in their division the colored man will find safety and peace, and the unimpugned exercise of every civil and political right.

Education! Education! Education! cries Judge Tourgee, is the only panacea; but if history teaches aright, the slaves of the Romans were the teachers of their masters, and English liberties were gained by men who knew more of the sword than of reading and writing. The true policy to-day is for the dominant party to open wide its doors to the Southern leaders; to treat with them openely man to man. When, in 1861, Lincoln held the helm of State in the storm of secession he made his arm invincible by tendering to the strongest of Southern men, Brown of Mississippi, Badger of North Carolina, and others, places in his cabinet. Why fight for the share I offer you, said he. Let his successor follow his example. Invite a conference with the representative men, the accepted leaders of the South. To conciliate in the very hour of disaster is the highest statesmanship. "Parce subjectos debellare superbos," the true policy of a strong government.


MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR ANDREW, WITH PERSONAL REMINISCENCES. By Peleg W. Chandler. 16mo. Roberts Brothers. Boston, 1880.


PROCEEDINGS AT THE DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT TO SERGEANT ABRAHAM STAPLES, OF MENDON, MASS., OCT. 31, 1877. 8vo. Sydney S. Rider. Providence, 1880.

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN OHIO

Fort Harmar was the first permanent military post established in the Northwest Territory. It was built on the right bank of the Muskingum river, in the angle made of its junction with the Ohio. The erection of the fort was begun under the direction of Major Doughty in 1785, but not finished until the following year. It was named for General Harmar to whose detachment Major Doughty belonged. The fort included within its walls about three-fourths of an acre and was admirably well situated. The Muskingum, as pure and limpid as the founts of Castalia, indeed in the Indian language the name means elk’s eye, so called from its transparency, flows down between banks clothed with magnificent trees, which only the richest soil could produce, and here loses itself and its name in the greater Ohio. Above, there is a curve in the Ohio river, drawn in the truest line of beauty, in which both shores sympathize; and a little gem of an island, which dame nature seems to have dropped from her apron as she was passing over to correct her work, follows out the curve exactly. Here the valley stretches below with a long variation in its trend. The same point commands a view up the Muskingum, than which no better watch tower could have been selected. The fort was pentagonal; the walls were of hewn logs placed horizontally one above the other, rising to the height of twelve feet, and one hundred and twenty feet in length. The fifth side, opening into the area of the fort was occupied with block houses, intended for the residences of the officers. The barracks for the private soldiers were built along the sides of the curtains, with the roof slanting inwards. On the curtain which faced the Ohio there was a square tower, from the top of which a tri-colored flag threw its folds to the breeze. A sentinel was always stationed in the tower, as from its position the outlook commanded an extended view up both valleys and down the Ohio. The sally-port was toward
the hill, back of the fort; the main gate faced the Ohio; gardens were tastefully laid out near the fort and a council house erected a short distance above. It was in this house that General St. Clair made the short-lived treaty of 1789. On the opposite shore, in Virginia, there were about a score of families living at the time the Pioneers came to begin their settlement. Isaac Williams, a noted hunter and an enterprising man, was at the head of this colony.

In 1788 the time came when a break was to be made in the wilderness of the great Northwest, and a home fitted up for civilized men. The spot chosen for the first inroad upon savage life and savage possession, was on the left bank of the Muskingum opposite Fort Harmar. This date marks the beginning of the heroic age in the history of Ohio. And more fortunate than most peoples whose heroes are only seen dimly in the mists of the past, the men who made that period illustrious in her annals stand out in full relief of form and lineament. Their characters are stamped upon all the existing institutions and conditions of the commonwealth. Indeed the children of the heroes are still actors in the drama their fathers initiated at their great cost. They are white-haired men and women, and their feeble steps show that they have reached and passed the prescribed limit of this mortal life; yet some of them have hope that they will be spared to join in the celebration of the Centennial of the Great Northwest, which will come to pass in a little less than a decade of years.

In these days when railroad facilities abound, the emigrant to a new country carries with him all the appliances of civilization. He knows scarcely more of hardship in the new country than he did in the old. Not so with the men and women who felled the first trees, planted the first corn and made the first homes in the Northwest Territory. There was no kind of toil and no manner of hardship with which they were not constrained to make acquaintance. The bride of a day, whose husband joined the emigrants to Ohio, bade her father and mother, her brothers and sisters an adieu, that was in most cases final. Nor could her homesick heart be comforted by weekly or even monthly messages of love from those left and longed for; no letters came to tell her that she was loved and cared for still. There was only blank silence between her and the dear ones at home. For years there were no mails and no way of sending letters but by a chance traveller.

The manuscript autobiography of General Rufus Putnam, which the writer has examined, gives the particulars of an attempt to establish a colony in the Territory northwest of the Ohio as early as 1772.
He says in that year "General Lyman returned from England where he had been several years soliciting the British Government for a grant of lands for the provincial officers and soldiers who had served in the late war against France." The King finally consented to the making of the grant, and a company of surveyors was sent out, among whom were the celebrated Israel Putnam, and Rufus Putnam, the son of his cousin. Eight or nine months were spent in making the survey; a town was laid, and a colony made themselves ready to go out and take possession. But before the deed was accomplished, the King changed his mind and revoked the grant. The struggle with the mother country for the independence of the colonies began soon after, and nothing more was done in this direction till the war was brought to a close. There is a pleasant compensation in the fact that when Rufus Putnam and some of his compatriots were fighting under the banner of St. George to lay low the lilies of France, they were really struggling for the possession of the fair lands which was to be a home for themselves and a field of enterprise for their children.

The step which led the way to the settlement of the northwest territory was taken by Congress in 1776, when an act was passed offering an appropriation of land to each officer and soldier who should serve during the war then in progress. The tracts offered varied in extent with the rank of the officer. A colonel was to have five hundred acres, inferior officers less, and common soldiers one hundred acres. In 1780 the act was amended so as to include general officers. Major Generals were to receive one thousand one hundred, and Brigadier Generals eight hundred and fifty acres. The first organized settlement in the northwest was the immediate offshoot of these enactments. The close of the war found the country, and almost all who inhabited it, poor and discouraged. During the long struggle agriculture had been neglected, manufactures had received but little attention, and production of every kind had greatly diminished, while consumption had immensely increased. Men who had been seven years in the army found many difficulties in the way of returning to the trades and occupations by which they had previously earned a living. There had been not only a loss of annual income, but in many cases the entire loss of the business itself. Besides, tastes and aptitudes had undergone a change, and what had once been acceptable and pleasant was so no longer. Yet a livelihood must be obtained, and generally men had others besides themselves for whom to provide. The general exchequer was as thoroughly exhausted as the private purses of the officers and
soldiers. The Government could only compensate the men to whose sacrifices and efforts it owed its existence by promises to pay; and so poor was the prospect of these promises being redeemed, that they only brought in the market one-sixth of the sum called for on their face. With many of the officers, as well as the soldiers, no time could be lost, for their needs were urgent, and the necessity of immediate action imperative.

Hence, in 1783, as soon as the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed, a petition was presented to Congress, bearing the signatures of two hundred and eighty-eight officers, asking that the land to which they were entitled might be located in “that tract of country bounded north on Lake Erie, south on the Ohio river,” etc. General Rufus Putnam forwarded the petition to Congress, and at the same time wrote a letter to General Washington, in which he enforced the demands of the petition with much earnestness and ability. Washington warmly approved of the proposed plan, and urged upon Congress the necessity of immediate action. But on the part of Congress there were difficulties, real or imaginary, sufficient to prevent anything from being done. One reason assigned for inaction was that these lands were not in the actual possession of the Government. To rebut this objection it was claimed, as was well known, that after the conquests of General Clark the French Government ceded all the territory northwest of the Ohio river to latitude thirty-one degrees, etc., to the English Government, and it therefore legitimately belonged to that Government when the war with the colonies began. And in the Treaty of Paris the said Government of Great Britain ceded to the United States all the territory then in their possession south of the forty-ninth parallel. It was a fact well known at the time that, during the adjustment of that treaty, the British Commissioners persistently urged the making of the Ohio river the boundary of the United States on the west. So strenuously did they insist upon this, that Dr. Franklin thought it was better to yield the point and accept that boundary, fearing that by claiming the less, the United States might lose the greater good and fail altogether in making a treaty; but when he proposed this concession to his two colleagues, John Adams and John Jay, the former said indignantly, “No! rather than relinquish our claim to the western territory, I will go home and urge my countrymen to take up arms again and fight till they secure their rights, or shed the last drop of blood.” Jay agreed with him, and Dr. Franklin said no more about giving up the West. In the end the British Commissioners found it best to yield the
point. A party in Congress doubted the expediency of retaining the western country, even if it did rightfully belong to the Government. They claimed that the Eastern States would be better off without so great a weight hanging to their skirts as this great West would be. Among General Putnam’s manuscript papers there is the first draft of an argument written out to convince such unbelievers that it was a matter of absolute necessity to all parts of the country that the West should be retained. The argument covers three or four sheets of foolscap, and is able and logical. In the light of the present one gasps at the thought that there was ever danger that this magnificent territory might be lost to the Government; this great West that has done so much to make our country what it is, and has opened before us such grand possibilities for the future.

In 1784 General Putnam wrote again to Washington in regard to forming a settlement in the West. After expressing his regret at the inaction of Congress, he says: “Surely, if justice and gratitude to the army and the general policy of the Union were to govern in this case, there would not be the smallest interruption in granting its request.” In a previous letter General Putnam had made known his determination to be himself one of the emigrants to the new country, and he was also the first to suggest the plan of laying out the land in townships, six miles square, with reservations for the ministry and for schools.

General Benjamin Tupper, who had been employed by the Government to assist in the survey of the territory bordering upon the Ohio, agreed with General Putnam in regard to the desirableness of the country along the Muskingum and Ohio rivers as a place in which to begin a settlement, and united with him in January, 1786, in issuing a call to those who in eastern Massachusetts were interested in the enterprise, to get together and elect delegates, who should meet at the “Bunch of Grapes” tavern in Boston, March 1st, 1786, to devise measures for a purchase of land and the foundation of a colony. In response to this call, eleven delegates met at the time and place appointed. Gen. Rufus Putnam was chosen chairman of the meeting and Winthrop Sargent, secretary. As the result of the meeting, a plan was drawn up for the formation of a company, and subscription books were opened. A whole year passed, however, without enough names being subscribed to justify further action. On the 8th of March, 1787, the stockholders met at “Brackett’s Tavern” in Boston, and the company was fully organized under the name of “The Ohio Company
of Associates." Samuel H. Parsons, Rufus Putnam and Dr. Manasseh Cutler were appointed directors. The directors were empowered to make proposals to Congress "for a private purchase of lands under such descriptions as they shall deem adequate for the purposes of the company." The directors made choice of Dr. Manasseh Cutler to go to New York, where Congress was then in session, and make the desired purchase. No fitter or more capable agent could have been selected. Dr. Cutler was a graduate of Yale College, and had studied and taken regular degrees in the three learned professions. To the scientific world he was known as a man eminent in science, and his writings on botany and other branches of knowledge had made his name familiar to students and men of letters. As a scientific scholar he ranked next to Dr. Franklin, whom in many respects he greatly resembled. Of fine presence and courtly manners, fond of anecdote, and a captivating talker, his conversation charmed his hearers, while at the same time his logic was so incisive and terse that he rarely failed to convince. He was just the man to meet the southern members of Congress, conquer their prejudices and obtain their assistance; for, strange to say, it was upon securing their aid that he mainly depended for success. It is a somewhat singular fact, that for the carrying out of a project which originated in Massachusetts, and depended principally upon Massachusetts men for successful execution, with an agent belonging to the same State to negotiate the business, no help could be looked for from the members of Congress from that State. On the other hand, opposition was expected and preparations taken to meet it, and to conquer, if possible, notwithstanding. The reason is not far to seek; Massachusetts and New York had relinquished unconditionally whatever claim they had to territory in the West. Connecticut had done the same with the reservation of a tract in the northeastern part of what was afterwards the State of Ohio. Virginia also gave up all claim upon being allowed a tract of land to be given as bounty to soldiers. While, therefore, Massachusetts had no interest in the opening up of the West for settlement, there was an interest nearer home to which that project was inimical. The State owned thirty thousand square miles of territory in the Province of Maine which had recently been brought into the market and there was great anxiety to dispose of it. It did not suit the men in authority to have the industry and enterprise and courage which the Ohio Company of Associates would withdraw from their border, taken out of their State and carried to the far-off West. If this drain must come, they would prefer to direct it within a channel that would
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benefit the parent State. If they must colonize, let them go to Maine and buy land of their own commonwealth.

Dr. Cutler left his home in Ipswich and started in his one-horse chaise for New York, June 24th, 1787. He reached his place of destination July 5th. He was equipped with more than fifty letters of introduction to distinguished men in New York and Philadelphia. The Constitutional convention was in session at the latter place.

He says in his private journal: "July 5th, about three o'clock, I arrived at the city, by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse in the Bowery barns. The first letter I delivered was to Mr. Hugh Henderson. He is a wholesale merchant and lives in genteel style on Golden Hill Street, New York. Mr. Henderson treated me very politely. After tea he proposed a walk about the city, but first gave me a specimen of Scotch generosity, urged me to take lodgings with him while I tarried in the city, assigned me one of his front chambers and ordered his servant Starling to attend me."

Dr. Cutler lost no time in setting about the accomplishment of the object for which he had come. The difficulties in the way of negotiating the purchase he found to be many and not easily overcome. There was need of all his consummate tact and unwearied perseverance. The history of the transaction as recorded in his journal shows that lobbying is not so recent an invention as has sometimes been supposed. Certain it is that he was greatly helped in the accomplishment of his object by its use. He received much attention and many invitations to dine and sup with members of Congress and other distinguished men. "He was skillful in always keeping his errand in view, and yet so treating the subject as to interest and not tire his hearers. He gives a full and interesting account of the great men that he met. He seems to have devoted himself mainly to winning over the members from the South, well knowing that it must be by their influence that he carried his point if he carried it at all. The progress toward successful accomplishment seemed to him very slow, and again and again he despaired of making the purchase upon any such terms as he desired.

He writes in his journal: "July 20th. This morning the Secretary of Congress furnished me the ordinance of yesterday, which states the conditions of a contract, but on terms to which I shall by no means accede. I informed the committee of Congress that I would not consent on the terms proposed; that I should prefer purchasing lands from some of the States, who would give me incomparably better terms, and therefore proposed to leave the city immediately."
Massachusetts was not the only State that had land in the market. New York also had large possessions in the western part of their State for which they would gladly find purchasers. Dr. Cutler made skillful use of these other chances to buy in order to secure such terms as suited him. There was no honest effort to which he did not resort, while at the same time he seems to have relied chiefly on personal influence exerted outside of legislative halls. He says, "in some instances we engaged one person who engaged a second, and he a third, and so on to the fourth before we could effect our purpose." Once and again he threatened to relinquish the attempt and go home. In furtherance of his object, he thought it best to make a change in officering the company. From the first, Gen. Rufus Putnam was selected to be the head and commandant of that particular colony which was to be located on the Ohio. It had also been agreed upon that Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut, should be the Governor of the new territory. The Hon. Arthur St. Clair was President of Congress and Dr. Cutler discovered that he had ambitious longing for the Governorship of the Northwest Territory. He had been but a lukewarm advocate of the measures proposed by Dr. Cutler, and if his zealous participation could be secured it might prove to be the weight that would turn the scale. Accordingly, the proposition was made to him that he should be Governor in case success attended the efforts then being made. The effort was soon perceptible. He gave his influence and his efforts to the accomplishment of the object. General Parsons was well satisfied to be made one of the judges of the new territory.

Finally, after much effort and many delays, Dr. Cutler succeeded in securing the terms he desired and had so ably contended for, though he deviated from his original plan of making a purchase merely for the Ohio Company, and united with it contracts for other parties. In addition to the one million and a half acres for that company, he bought about three and a half millions for private speculators, making in all about five millions of acres. He was induced to do this by finding that he could thus make better terms. For the million five hundred thousand acres bought for the Ohio Company, payment was to be made "in specie, loan office certificates reduced to specie, in certificates of the liquidated debt reduced to specie." The price to be paid was one dollar per acre liable to a reduction "by an allowance for bad land and all individual charges and circumstances whatever; provided, that all such allowances shall not exceed one third of a dollar per acre."

The company paid half the purchase money at the time of making
the contract; the land was to be conveyed upon the receipt of the remainder. But some of the shareholders failed to meet their engagements, and the Indian war breaking out in less than two years after the colony reached their new home, greatly crippled them, and the two causes combined effectually prevented the company from meeting its engagements. In 1792 the directors met in Philadelphia and sent a memorial to Congress asking for relief. After some discussion and difficulty, a bill was passed authorizing the conveyance of the half of the land already paid for—seven hundred and fifty thousand acres—to be made out; also another conveyance of seven hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and eighty-five acres (one seventh of the original purchase), to be paid for within six months by warrants issued for bounty rights, and yet another conveyance of one hundred thousand acres to be conveyed in tracts of one hundred acres, "as a bounty to each male person of eighteen years of age being an actual settler." The bill was approved and the patents issued to Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, Robert Oliver, and Griffin Green in trust for the Ohio Company of Associates. The patents were signed by George Washington, President, and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State. These three patents and also the original contract of October 2d, 1787, are in the library of Marietta College.

Much has been said in regard to the unwise choice made by the Ohio Company in locating their lands. It has been stated, and probably with truth, that the whole northwest territory was before them, where to choose; they selected a tract that included within it more poor, broken rough land than could be found in a body any where else in the whole territory. Lying, as a considerable part of it does, among the foot-hills of the Alleghenies, it is hilly and sterile compared with other portions of the West. These are the circumstances which seem to have influenced the company in locating their lands where they did. The first and most potent was the advice of Mr. Hutchins, "the Government Geographer;" Dr. Cutler had repeated conversations with him while in New York negotiating the purchase, and Mr. Hutchins very emphatically advised him to make the location along the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, in the region where the two united. He claimed to have a thorough acquaintance with the whole western territory then under government control, and asserted that there could nowhere be found so desirable a tract as the one proposed. Another influential reason for the choice was that there were but few Indians located on the said tract of land. The celebrated and war-like Iroquois or Five nations had been
in the habit of coming down the Ohio in their canoes and pouncing upon the Indians that lived along the banks, taking them unawares. This unpleasant experience was repeated so often that to escape it, the native Indians retreated farther and farther from the banks of the river, until there was a tract of country extending thirty or forty miles back from the river, in which there were only one or two unimportant villages and scarcely any regular inhabitants. This whole region was regarded as a common hunting ground and used as such. There would not, therefore, be the necessity for removing Indians in order to get possession. A third and very potential reason was the immediate vicinage of Fort Harmar. The principal personages of the colony were men of war, too shrewd in matters generally, and too well acquainted with Indian character to trust to present appearances or any promises of peace. Soldiers and muniments of war were better safe-guards than treaties, how well soever guaranteed. The result justified this opinion. It was only the presence of soldiers and their own wisdom and courage and acquaintance with war that saved the colonists from extermination in the bloody conflict with the Indians that continued from 1791 to 1795.

Before passing on to later events in the history of the Colonists, it is well to say a few words in regard to the “Ordinance of 1787.” In an article in the North American Review for April, 1876, it is said, “The Ordinance of 1787 and the Ohio Company’s purchase were parts of the same transaction. The purchase would not have been made without the Ordinance, and the Ordinance could not have been enacted except as an essential condition of the purchase.” . . . “The Ordinance in the breadth of its conceptions, its details and its results has been, perhaps, the most noted instance of legislation ever enacted by the American people. It fixed forever the character of the immigration, and of the social, political and educational institutions of the people who inhabit this imperial territory, then a wilderness, but now covered by five great States, and teeming with more than ten million persons, or more than one-fourth the population of the United States. It forever prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude. . . . Its vital principles embodied in six ‘articles of compact between the original States and the people and States of said territory, to remain unalterable unless by common consent.’ It was well understood that common consent to any material change could never be obtained.”

The article prohibiting slavery saved at least three of the five States formed of this territory from the grip of that monster of iniquity,
slavery. In Ohio there was a hard-fought battle over the subject at the formation of the constitution of the State, and a majority of only one vote saved the State from having slavery foisted upon it, the ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding; and only that saved Indiana and Illinois from being the recipients of the same evil.

We quote again from the article before mentioned: "Every square mile of the territory thus covered by the Ordinance of 1787 was patriotic" (in the late civil war), "and gave its men and its means for the support of the Union. South and southwest of that boundary line were treachery and rebellion, under the plausible semblance of neutrality. Kentucky and Missouri furnished more men that fought against the United States flag than fought under it. The north-western States put more than a million soldiers into the Union armies, and they were the men who fought at Forts Henry and Donaldson, Pittsburg Landing, Stone River, Jackson and Vicksburg, and achieved the only Union victories gained during the first two years of the war."

Of this same Ordinance, Mr. Webster says: "We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether any single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of a more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." Also, the late Chief Justice Chase said of it: "Never, probably, in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfill, and yet so mightily exceed, the anticipations of the Legislators."

There seems to be conclusive proof that Dr. Cutler helped to shape this Ordinance, and that the incorporation of some of its most beneficent features was due to him. He was in New York negotiating for the purchase of land when the Ordinance was passed; and, though not a member of Congress, and of course not on the committee for drafting the Ordinance, it was submitted to him for revision and amendments; and he says in his journal: "All the amendments I proposed were made except one." And he elsewhere stated that among the amendments he made, were the prohibition of slavery and the enactments for the support of religion and the encouragement of education.

As soon as the purchase was completed, General Putnam and his associates made preparations for going at once to possess the land. The Company had previously ordered, "that four surveyors should be employed and twenty-two men to attend them; that there should be added to this number twenty men, including six boat-builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common workmen."
These men were to be subsisted at the expense of the Company, and allowed wages, at the rate of four dollars each per month, till discharged.

The surveyors employed were Col. Ebenezer Sproat, Mr. Anselm Tupper and Mr. John Mathews from Massachusetts, and Col. Return Jonathan Meigs from Connecticut. The boat-builders and mechanics, in all twenty men, started under the command of Major Haffield White from Danvers, Mass., late in December, 1787, and reached Sumrill’s Ferry, the place of rendezvous, on the Youghiogheny river, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, late in January. The surveyors, their attendants and the remainder of the pioneers, to the number of twenty-six, met at Hartford, Conn., early in January, and began their wearisome journey, under the command of General Putnam, assisted by Colonel Ebenezer Sproat. When the party reached the mountains, they found them covered to such a depth with snow that it was impossible to transport their baggage upon wagons; so they were obliged to stop and make sleds, on which they crossed the mountains. But their passage was slow and toilsome. They did not reach Sumrill’s Ferry till late in February, and then were disappointed in finding that but little progress had been made in the building of the boats in which they were to perform the remainder of their journey. But, with the additional force of men, and under the eye of the master, the work progressed more rapidly. Captain Jonathan Dowell was the architect and superintendent of the boat-building. The large boat was launched April 2d, and called the Mayflower, in memory of that other boat that had come over the sea freighted with the seeds of a new Empire. The boat was forty-five feet long, twelve broad, and was stoutly built, with knees like a galley, and a covered deck, which was high enough for a man to walk without stooping, and the sides were strong enough to resist the force of a bullet in case of an attack. Besides this large boat, there were a flatboat and three canoes, loaded with provisions, equipments and materials for building. And now, after weary months of travel and work and waiting, the emigrants were launched upon waters that would carry them, without toil or anxiety, to their future home in the yet unbroken forest. They soon passed down the tributary and entered the tranquil Ohio, *La belle riviere* of its former claimants. The trees were already putting on their spring clothing, and the birds sang their songs of greeting in the branches. The verdure was creeping over the sides of the hills that bordered the river. To the greater part of the eyes that looked upon them, it was a
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new thing to see trees so ambitiously lifting up their branches toward the heavens, while their wonderful magnitude gave evidence of a depth and richness of soil that was both strange and encouraging to the beholders. To men accustomed to the sterile soil of New England, we can well believe that the glory and the grandeur of the scenes through which they passed as they descended the river, seemed like glimpses of fairy land. At any rate, whether any sentiment was waked up or not, each day brought them nearer to that long-talked-of and much-desired country, "the Ohio," where they were to make homes for themselves and their children. On the morning of the 7th of April they came abreast of Ren's Island, which some on board knew was only a short distance above the mouth of the Muskingum. They were, therefore, on the qui vive, and yet they passed the mouth of the river without seeing it, and found themselves at Fort Harmar. The trees upon the banks of the Muskingum so reached out their branches and covered the river, that, with the help of a fog, they quite concealed the river. It was found to be impossible to turn back their boats, so they landed at Fort Harmar, and Major Doughty, the commandant of the garrison, sent men to help them tow the boats to the east side of the river. The sun had reached its meridian when they landed on the site of the new town that was soon to be.

The 7th of April, 1788, is a memorable day in the annals of Ohio. Then and there was laid the corner-stone of the great Buckeye State; a State that, in less than a century, has become the third in the Union in wealth and population, and has freely furnished men to fill the high places in the national councils and in the army. On that 7th of April General Putnam and his fellow-workers lost no time in dallying. The boards, brought for the purpose, were at once landed, and the erection of temporary habitations begun. A large marquee was set up for General Putnam, where he lived and transacted business until the fort was built. The day after their arrival the surveyors began to lay out the town. The axe of the woodman woke the echoes that had slept so long, and the mighty trees began to fall before the blows of the chopper. As it would take more time than they could spare to fell so many trees, many of them were girdled and left standing. Although the season was far advanced when they reached there, they managed to plant one hundred and thirty acres of corn that first season. The rivers furnished an abundance of fish, and in the forests were found buffaloes, bears, deer in abundance and turkeys innumerable, so that their larders were cheaply and abundantly supplied.
Six thousand acres were set apart for the new city. The surveyors laid out the streets, the more important ones parallel with the Muskingum. The lots were ninety by one hundred and eighty feet. Dr. Cutler had suggested the name Adelphia as one desirable for the new town; but at a meeting of the Directors, held on the 2d of July, 1788, the first meeting held west of the mountains, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved, That the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers be called Marietta, that the Directors write to his Excellency Count de Moustiers, the French Ambassador, informing him of the motives for naming the city, and request his opinion whether it will be advisable to present her Majesty of France a public square." Alas! the beautiful queen was too near the close of her fearful sufferings to interest herself in a public square in a far-off city in the distant west of the New World.

General Putnam was wise to foresee danger, and efficient in preparing to meet it. He had not much confidence in the power of existing treaties to keep the Indians in peace with those who were in their opinion invading a hunting ground which belonged of right to themselves. At once, therefore, he began the erection of a fort, which should prove a place of refuge to the colonists in time of danger, or in case the Indians showed any signs of hostility. On the day of their first landing there were seventy Indians, men, women and children, with Captain Pipes at their head, in the neighborhood of Fort Harmar. They had come to agree upon a treaty, and to trade their peltries with the soldiers in the garrison. They had given noisy assurance of welcome to General Putnam and his company, but he knew them too well to trust them.

A stockaded fort was erected a short distance from the Muskingum river and nearly a mile from the Ohio. The sides formed a regular parallelogram, and were one hundred and eighty feet in length. At each corner there was a strong block-house, surmounted by a watchtower. These houses were twenty feet square below and twenty-four feet above. The dwelling houses were in the curtains. They were made of hewn logs, and were two stories high. The front was toward the Muskingum, and in the centre there was a belfry, underneath which was the office of the Hon. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Company. There were loopholes for musketry as well as artillery. General St. Clair occupied the southwest block-house; the northwest was used for public worship and holding court. Individuals were allowed to fit up dwelling houses in the curtains according to their inclination or
ability. There was room in them for the accommodation of forty or fifty families, but during the Indian war they were made to accommodate between two and three hundred persons. This fort was called Campus Martius, showing that there were classical scholars among the pioneers. One of the actors in these scenes wrote of it: "Campus Martius is the handsomest pile of buildings on the west side of the Allegheny mountains, and in a few days will be the strongest fortification in the Territory of the United States. It stands on the margin of the elevated plain, on which are the remains of the ancient works." In the open court within the square which the buildings occupied a well was dug, eighty feet deep. The cool and refreshing water from this well is still a comfort and convenience to many families that live in the vicinity. The block-house on the southeast corner is still standing, forming a part of the residence of the late Judge Arius Nye. To the mechanical and engineering skill of General Putnam, and the practical knowledge of some of his associates, was due the thorough workmanship shown in building this fort, which was undoubtedly the means of salvation to the infant colony in the Indian war which so soon followed.

The 4th of July after the arrival of the colonists was celebrated with all the "pomp of circumstance" possible in their condition. The officers from Fort Harmar were invited over, and a sumptuous repast was spread under a magnificent tree on the bank of the Muskingum. Many deer and countless turkeys bled freely for the occasion, and a giant fish—a pike—caught in the Muskingum, helped to fill the bill of fare. General James Mitchell Varnum, one of the Judges and also a Director, was the orator for the occasion. The speech is on record, and is flowery enough to suit the most poetic taste. In addressing his "fair auditors," after complimenting them upon their courage in "exploring the Paradise of America," he says: "Gentle zephyrs, fanning breezes, wafting through the air ambrosial odors, receive you here. Hope no longer flutters on the wings of uncertainty."

Governor St. Clair had not yet arrived, and there was no organized government, so that every man could be a law unto himself, if he chose. But that did not suit these law-abiding descendants of the Puritans. Therefore, as the closing ceremony in the celebration of Independence Day, they drew up a code of laws, which were written out on paper, and suspended, not as were the Ten Tables of the Romans, in a temple, but on the trunk of a tree that stood upon the bank of the river. By these laws they were governed until the arrival of the Governor and the organization of a government. Well might General Washington say
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN OHIO

of these pioneers: "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced on the Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

The Governor, General Arthur St. Clair, arrived in July, and was received at Fort Harmar with a salute of thirteen guns. After a few days' rest, he was escorted with considerable ceremony to the east side of the Muskingum, and received by General Putnam under his marquee. The Judges of the Territory and the principal men of the colony were present. The Secretary, Hon. Winthrop Sargent, read the Ordinance of 1787, the Governor's commission and his own. The ceremony closed with congratulations and assurances of welcome to the Governor.

The government thereafter established was quite anomalous. There were no precedents by which to be influenced, for it was the first territorial government established under the Federal authority. The people had no part nor lot in the matter. There were no elective officers. The Governor and Judges received their appointment first from Congress, and after 1789, when the Constitution was adopted, from the President. The General Government bore a part of the expense of the territorial government, but by far the larger share was obtained by heavily taxing the people of the territory. This government continued in force ten years.

On the second day of the following September the first civil court ever held in the Northwest territory was opened. A procession was formed near the Ohio river, and the men marched up through a path cut in the forest to Campus Martius. First went the high sheriff with a drawn sword, following whom came the citizens; then came the officers from Fort Harmar, next the members of the bar, after them the Supreme Judges, following whom were the Governor and clergymen, the newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Generals Putnam and Tupper bringing up the rear. The court was held in the southeast block-house, and opened with prayer by the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D.D., to whom the colony was so greatly indebted. He was there on a visit, and only remained a few days. To the honor of the forty-eight men who made up the colony it can be said, that there was not a single case on the docket!

On the 19th of August the hearts of some of the husbands and fathers among the colonists were encouraged and made glad by the
arrival of their wives and children. Eight families arrived from New England. Among them were the wives and children of General Anselm Tupper and Colonel Ichabod Nye. The new arrival increased the number in the colony to one hundred and thirty-two men, with some women and children. At the beginning of 1789 there was not a white family within the present limits of Ohio, except those connected with this colony.

Any account of these first settlers in Ohio which should omit the statement of their efforts in behalf of religion and education would be incomplete. The wise men in the East well knew that a successful and prosperous commonwealth must rest upon the basis of morality and intelligence. They therefore early looked after and provided for the interests of religion and education. At a meeting at Rees' Tavern, Providence, Rhode Island, March 5, 1787, a committee of the Company reported: “That the Directors be requested to pay early attention to the education of youth and the promotion of public worship among the first settlers,” &c. . . . “that they, if practicable, secure an instructor, eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall also superintend the first scholastic institutions.” The proprietors and others “of benevolent and liberal minds” were invited to make up a fund by voluntary contributions to carry out these resolutions. In the furtherance of this object, Dr. Cutler, who was appointed for the purpose, engaged the Rev. Daniel Story to go out to the colony. He was to have his board and four dollars in silver per week for his services. Mr. Story was a native of Boston and a graduate of Dartmouth College. He reached Marietta in the spring of 1789, and preached not only in Marietta, but in the other settlements in rotation. There were no roads, and his visits were made in canoes with oarsmen provided for the occasion. During the Indian war a guard well armed accompanied him when he went to fill his appointments.

The interests of education were well looked after from the beginning. In the contract for the purchase of land it was stipulated on the part of the purchaser, that “two complete townships should be given perpetually to the uses of a university, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers as near the center of the purchase, as the case may be, so that the same shall be good land—to be applied to that object by the Legislature.” Also, the sixteenth section in every township was set apart for the use of schools, and the twenty-ninth for the support of religion. The townships set apart for the university were located and
surveyed in 1795. The act incorporating the institution passed the Legislature in 1802. The town of Athens was laid out on the land thus set apart, and the college called the Ohio University.

Dr. Cutler was greatly instrumental in the establishment of the college, and strenuous in his efforts in behalf of common schools. As a matter of fact, a school was opened the first year of the settlement, and an academy established before a decade of years had passed away.

M. CONE
THE NEW VERSION OF THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS

This action, in itself unimportant so far as its casualties are considered, was of graver consequence in its restoration of the morale of the dispirited forces of the patriots. The first conflict on the island of Manhattan, and moreover a success, its centennial celebration with military pomp and civil ceremony by the New York Historical Society was fully justified. The ground was carefully studied by the committee of that body charged with the details; the traditions of the neighborhood were thoroughly sifted; all known maps, records and deeds relating to the locality were examined and compared, and all the documents and letters, printed and in manuscript, known to exist, were collected and collated. From these authorities Mr. John Jay prepared the memorial address delivered on the occasion. His account of the battle was in the main that presented by all the historians who had preceded him. The locality, the spot on which the celebration was held, was Bloomingdale, formerly Vandewater's heights. To this ground Lossing and Dawson assign the action. Immediately after the celebration Mr. William Kelby, the Assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, prepared a pamphlet, containing the commemorative oration, with an appendix of all the documents, which was published by the Society, and stands as the authoritative account of the historic event.

In the New York Daily Graphic of the same day, the 16th of September, 1876, copies of which were sold to the assembled multitude, there appeared an illustrated sketch of the action under the signature of Martha J. Lamb, in which the scene was laid in the same locality. Mr. Henry P. Johnston, in his Campaign of 1776, published under the auspices of the Long Island Historical Society, in June, 1878, concurred with previous authors. Whatever slight differences of views, in regard to minor detail of movements of the American and British troops appear in their narratives, they all agree as to the ground traversed during the engagement.

At the February meeting of the New York Historical Society, 1878, the late Erastus C. Benedict read a paper entitled the Battle of Harlem Heights, in which he advanced the new version, which is the subject of present comment, to which Mrs. Lamb, changing her views, conformed the description incorporated in her History
of New York, No. 3 of Vol. II., published in the spring of 1880. The new version of Mr. Benedict, of which the general public were then for the first time informed through the notes to Mrs. Lamb’s text, was reviewed by the present writer in the May number, 1880, of the Magazine of American History (IV. 351). A posthumous pamphlet, without imprint of date, entitled “The Battle of Harlem Heights, read before the New York Historical Society, May 5, 1878,” has recently (January, 1881) been issued by a nephew of the deceased. Of itself it needs neither notice nor comment, the author having attained no reputation as an historian which gives weight to his individual opinion, when it conflicts with well-known facts, established by authority in accord with tradition; and the subject would not receive further attention in these columns, but for the preface and appendix which accompany it. In both of these Mr. Benedict charges the writer with unworthy personal motives in the review of Mrs. Lamb, and the condemnation of the new version which she adopted on his authority. And secondly, of perverting facts and of “garbling authorities and cooking maps,” to quote his own inelegant, but characteristic words.

To the first of these unbecoming accusations, that of “private griefs,” sufficient refutation may be found in the publication in the January, 1881, number of this Magazine (VI. 78) of the memorial notice of Mr. Benedict, read before the New York Historical Society by Mr. George F. Betts, of which a copy was furnished for publication at the writer’s request. The absurdity of Mr. Benedict’s charge, that “Mr. Stevens has gone awkwardly out of his way to throw discredit on the history of Mrs. Lamb,” requires but a passing notice. If the editor of a magazine of this character has one duty which more than all others he owes to the public, it is to preserve the truth of history, to notice and condemn all departure from recognized authority not warranted by fact and supported by evidence. The truth of American history has already suffered enough from the careless and sentimental treatment which sacrifices facts for picturesque effects. Mr. Benedict, in his defense of Mrs. Lamb, his sole convert to his new version, brings forward no unfamiliar contemporaneous material. A critical examination of his argument, which is in the nature of a special plea, will show that no point made in Mr. Jay’s address or the writer’s review has been successfully controverted, while he displays a lamentable ignorance of the topography and roads of the island. As to the charge that “a garbled and cooked copy” of a map was substituted for and called the original
“Sauthier Map” in the Magazine article, it is only necessary to say that it is without foundation. The reduction of the map in the Jay appendix and the tracing in the May number of this Magazine, are both from the same print, well known and accessible.

The barracks, alluded to as “built and burned by the Americans,” were not “the barracks built” and burned by the Americans near Fort Washington, as disingenuously stated by Mr. Benedict, but the barracks marked “a” on Sauthier’s map upon Harlem Plains, between the Point of Rocks and McGowan’s Pass. Their presence on Sauthier’s map is conclusive evidence that the Americans held these plains until the movement of the British to Frog’s Point in October, a fact which Mr. Benedict persistently evades, because it is fatal to his theory.

The main point at issue is as to the locality of the scene of the action. The entire fighting, according to all other authorities, occurred on Vandewater heights, south of the Hollow Way. Mr. Benedict places it on Harlem Heights above. The name given, battle of Harlem Plains or of Harlem Heights, is immaterial. All the heights were parts of Harlem Heights, whether Vandewater heights, Hoogland’s hill or Morris heights above. The true name would be the battle of Harlem.

The meagre appendix contains the only new material—four letters, addressed to Mr. Benedict, from persons residing in the upper part of the island, as to the discovery of military relics on this historic ground, and a curious letter from one Humphrey Jones, a Western farmer, who, in 1822, when a lad of ten years of age, was informed by his father concerning the battle. He says: “My father at one time lived at Manhattanville, and has shown me the battle ground. It commenced on the hill near the Asylum, and the Americans drove the British up the road and down the hill, often called by the name of Breakneck Hill. The old gentleman used to say that was the reason they called it Breakneck Hill.” This is precisely the spot on which Mr. Jay located the engagement. The stand from which he delivered his address was directly in the rear and east of the Asylum. The Breakneck Hill referred to was the steep descent of road leading from Vandewater’s Heights, near the Leake and Watts Asylum, down to the Kingsbridge road in the plains. This is definitely settled by the deed (Liber 52 of Con., p. 30, N. Y.) quoted by Mr. Benedict, and well known to the writer long before this issue was raised. It conveys a portion of the ancient Kortright farm on the Harlem Plains, and mentions Breakneck Hill. Colonel Thomas F. Devoe has shown conclusively when the modern Breakneck Hill at 143d street received its name. Mr. Benedict’s anti-
quarian knowledge was as much at fault in his reference to the northern coach as in that to the location of the Breakneck Hill of the Revolution. The curious in such matters are referred to the advertisement of Tal mage Hall, who opened the Morris House on Harlem Heights, 23d May, 1785, for the accommodation of the eastern and northern stages. Both these conveyances crossed the Harlem River at Kingsbridge. There was no Harlem bridge at the time Mr. Benedict asserts, and the Harlem stage never took the Bloomingdale road over Vandewater heights.

It is a painful task to notice with animadversion the utterances of one whose lips death has sealed, but self-respect compels a refutation of such groundless and malicious charges as this posthumous pamphlet contains.

This question of locality should be now settled in a manner which will admit of no future doubt. The characteristics of the landscape are as yet unchanged, and the rock on Morning Side Park is sufficiently near to indicate the spot where the action occurred. At the time of the celebration in 1876 the Committee of the New York Historical Society proposed that a memorial inscription be made at this point, but the work on the park was not sufficiently advanced for any decided action. Now that historic sites are the subject of care by the General Government, State Legislatures and City authorities, this should not be neglected. No elaborate monument is needed, but a simple inscription, cut on the face of the rock, will serve to point out to the generations which come after us this the scene of one of the most interesting events of our revolutionary struggle.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

1 The Battle of Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776, read before the New York Historical Society February 5, 1876, with a preface and notes, by Erastus C. Benedict. Published by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.
WILLIAM SMITH

JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

William Smith, ancestor of the New York colonial family of Smith, made illustrious in the persons of Judge and Chief Justice Smith, served in the army of the Commonwealth. At the close of the great civil war he removed from his birth-place and residence in the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire, England, and settled at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, where he died about 1682. His wife, Elizabeth (Hartley), whom he married 4th September, 1661, lived until 1710, and was buried in the same grave with her husband in the aisle, on the south side of the font, of the parish church, Newport Pagnell.

James Hartley, the father of Elizabeth, was a younger son of William Hartley of Strangwicke Hall, the chief of one of the most ancient families of Lancashire. He (James Hartley) died 27th June, 1666, aged 63, at the same time with his wife, both victims of the plague which visited Newport Pagnell that summer. They were buried together in the parish church, and in the same aisle in which their daughter and son-in-law were afterwards laid to rest. Beneath the surrounding stones lie the bodies of many of the Hartley family. Among the memorial tablets was one “To the memory of James Hartley, who departed this life 27 June, 1666. Aged 63.

No epitaph can make
The just man famed
The good are praised
When they are only named.”

At the west end of the Hartley aisle, chained to a desk, were three volumes, the Lives of the Martyrs, with a Latin inscription, signifying that these books were the gift of William Hartley in 1612.

William and Elizabeth Smith had issue five sons and one daughter: William, James, John, Samuel, Thomas, the father of the subject of the present sketch, and Christiana, who died young (see notes to this article, I to V).

Judge William Smith, the subject of the present sketch, was the eldest son of Thomas and Susanna (Odell) Smith. He was born at Newport Pagnell, England, on the 8th October, 1697, old style, and died in the city of New York 22d November, 1769. He studied the classics
under the Rev. Mr. Stannard, minister at Simpson, and Mr. Woodward of Newport, and the sciences under Mr. Litten of the latter place. With his father's family he arrived in New York 17th August, 1715, and shortly afterwards entered Yale College, where he was graduated in 1719, and from which college he received the degree of A. M. 12th September, 1722. At this period his inclinations, in which he was encouraged by his father, would have led him to devote himself to the church, but whatever profession was selected, he was bent upon pursuing his studies. The city of New York offered few facilities to a student, and returning to New Haven, Mr. Smith accepted the position of tutor or professor—he is mentioned by both names, although on the college catalogue entered simply as tutor—and acted as such from 1722 to 1724. Although but twenty-seven years of age, such was his reputation as a classical and theological student, so pure was his life, that he was offered the presidency of the college, made vacant by the retirement of the Rev. Dr. Cutler. The tempting offer was declined. Of the dead languages, Greek and Hebrew were his favorites, in both of which he was a ripe scholar; but the law presenting attractions which were irresistible, every spare moment was devoted to its study. Happily he found in New Haven wise counselors, and in his father an indulgent parent, who imported for him books of study and of reference, which were not to be had in the colonies. He was admitted to the bar 20th May, 1724, and on the 20th July following began to practice as a lawyer in the city of New York. He rose rapidly to eminence. Few cases of importance came before the courts in which William Smith was not retained, generally on the Whig side. His life, which remains yet to be written, is interwoven with the political and legal history of the times. Here but an outline can be drawn, with brief allusions to those prominent events which influenced his political career; the first of which raised him while still a young man to the highest pinnacle of popular esteem.

In August, 1733, James Alexander (who is said to have come to America in the same vessel with Mr. Smith) and Mr. Smith, having been retained by Van Dam in his defense against Governor Cosby, took exception to the composition of the Supreme Court, arguing that Messrs. De Lancey and Philipse were not legally entitled to seats, the law not having been properly complied with in their appointment. The plea gave great offense, and was never forgiven by the Court party. In April, 1735, the same gentlemen represented John Peter Zenger, editor of the popular New York Weekly Journal; Mr. De
Lancey having in the meantime been promoted as Chief Justice in the room of the distinguished Justice Morris, and Mr. Philipse advanced to the second place. Again exception was taken to the composition of the court. The Judges refused to allow or hear the exceptions argued, the Chief Justice in great heat exclaiming, “You have brought it to that point that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar.” The counsel refused to withdraw their plea, and boldly stood on their rights; thereupon, 16th April, 1735, an order was issued striking the names of James Alexander and William Smith from the list of attorneys. Mr. Van Dam and Zenger, the printer, had in the opinion of the great mass of the population of the province been unjustly and harshly dealt with; the treatment of the two popular lawyers added fuel to the existing excitement. Both were gentlemen of the highest social position, of large means, of great private and public influence, and were supported by most of the influential families of the province. The party in power soon found that they had gone too far; in gratifying personal revenge and jealousy they had weakened themselves and strengthened the opposition. Justly did Gouverneur Morris declare that “the trial of Zenger in 1735 was the germ of American Freedom.” There was, moreover, a disturbing doubt whether the angry Justices had not rendered themselves liable to personal damages. Neither Smith nor Alexander condescended to withdraw from the position taken. Worst of all, the Judges were taunted with ignorance of the law, and mortified by the ridicule of the opposition—ridicule that still survives in the pages of Smith’s History of the Province of New York. In 1737 advances were made to the two lawyers, which, being frankly met, the order depriving them was cancelled upon the condition that they should forego any right of action for civil damages. To assist his party friends and to strengthen the popular cause, William Smith accepted, 29th September, 1736, the office of recorder under Mr. Van Dam. With this sole exception, until 1751, he kept aloof from official employment, confining himself strictly to his profession and his duties as a citizen.

Mr. Smith was appointed, 1748, in Governor Belcher’s charter one of the incorporators of the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and is believed to have been also a trustee under the charter given by John Hamilton, President of the Council, in 1746. The historian of the college, President Maclean, inclines to the belief that William Smith prepared the first charter, and also the rough draft of the second one. He says of him that “to the end of his life he was the earnest friend of the
college, and one of the most honored and influential members of the board.” Many of his immediate descendants, sons and grandchildren, were graduated at Princeton.

The indifference of the people of New York to their lack of facilities for education was, as it had formerly been to his father, a matter of surprise and solicitude to Mr. Smith. With the exception of those in holy orders, there are found in New York, during a period of many years, but two college graduates, natives of the province, Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey of Cambridge, England, and Judge Smith of Yale. In the city of New York the classical schoolmaster was left to starve. Judge Smith and his brothers had been forced to seek competent teachers in neighboring provinces; his sons were sent to Yale, to Princeton and to Europe. To their regret, other gentlemen of English origin, whose numbers were now rapidly increasing, were compelled to pursue the same course. As the worthy Dutch burghers, notwithstanding their wealth, would not support a pedagogue by their voluntary contributions, William Smith, William Alexander and some of the Morris family in 1732 petitioned the Assembly to establish a free school for teaching Latin, Greek and mathematics. The petition having been favorably received, the school was established the same year, under the care of Alexander Malcolm. A commencement had been made, but much more must be done, and that promptly; something more than a grammar school was a necessity. As might be expected, William Smith is found foremost among the founders of King’s College. With a liberality beyond the age, his wish was that the institution should be free from sectarian bias; in this expectation funds were easily collected by lotteries, and a yearly grant was promised by the Legislature. In November, 1751, trustees were appointed, composed, ex-officio, of Civil Magistrates, and James and William Livingston and Benjamin Nicoll. Presently it became apparent that the Court party purposed to divert the control of the college to the Episcopalians. The people took alarm, the press clamored in vain. Although the popular party represented nine-tenths of the population, they were overruled. Mr. De Lancey gained his point, but lost his popularity. There was no redress, except for the Assembly to withdraw a moiety of the funds collected, but this to the College was of little moment. Party spirit had been aroused. Trinity Church made a magnificent gift of real estate; wealthy Episcopalians, at home and abroad, furnished ready money. What at this time appears to be of little or no moment was at that period an absorbing political question. Well might the
Presbyterians dread the power of the Church of England, and resist what in their estimation became an entering wedge against their dearly won privileges. Their hard experience in England and Scotland was fresh in men's minds. The immense number of Scottish emigrants from the north of Ireland, driven out by persecution, morally and physically a splendid race, could not forget their sufferings; most of all, could not forget the prelatist taunt that their offspring were bastards. As the Romanists denied the validity of Episcopal orders in the Church of England, so, in turn, the Irish Church establishment proclaimed that no apostolic power existed in a Presbyterian ministry to legally bind in wedlock. Unhappily they possessed the temporal authority to enforce their doctrine, and at times the home government lent their sanction to the monstrous claim. In Ireland, for many years, in the eye of the law the Romanist and Presbyterian stood on the same ground; neither were acknowledged, both were permitted to exist. The dominant Church, however, conceded to a foreign priesthood the miraculous gift to bind, if not to loose, but denied that the power could exist in a Presbyterian ministry. The pauper, peasant, perhaps dissolute priest, in virtue of his office possessed what the learned, pious, perhaps nobly born Presbyterian divine could never attain to. The lowest of the one was more exalted by the Anglo-Irish Church than the highest of the other. In Great Britain, Presbyterian honor had asserted itself with the sword; their rights were secured by Parliament. In Ireland their congregations were at the mercy of an intolerant clergy. Priestly folly, the curse of the lovely isle, forced her hardy population to seek refuge in America. The Presbyterian refugees certainly precipitated, perhaps turned the tide of war which gave freedom to a continent.

In former days many of the great nobles, with some few of the clergy—Knox, Bishop of Rappo; Dr. Usher, Primate of Armagh, who is styled in Wadrow's Biographies "not only ane learned, but ane godly man, although ane bishop," with some others, had protected the Presbyterians against the hostility of the Church. Old friends removed by death were not replaced by new ones, or the sympathy which is accompanied by active aid was withheld, because of the Jacobite principles attributed to the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians. The refuge America extended was more and more availed of. Each vessel that arrived at New York added strength to the national party, and rendered the Court clique more impotent of harm; the brief "Golden Age" of the Tories was passing away. Presently, as the High
Church Tories, with increasing wealth, increased their pretensions, prominent men in neighboring Connecticut were heard to say in public, that “another Oliver might arise,” and soon after, as Dr. Peters records, the fame of Governor Tryon was increased, because he was reported to have recommended to the British Ministry the Presbyterian Livingstons and Smiths, with the Dutch Schuylers, as the best subjects in New York. These were men who could neither be bought, flattered nor terrified. As Englishmen, they would have their rights, and in the end were justified and honored both at home and in England; and this too, whether in the approaching struggle they adhered to the mother country or to the colonies.

In 1754 Messrs. Smith, Philip Livingston, William Alexander (Lord Stirling), Robert R. Livingston (the Chancellor), William Livingston (Governor of New Jersey), John Morin Scott and others, assembled at the residence of one of their number, believed to have been that of William Smith, arranged a plan for a public library, and collected for the purpose £600, with which to make a beginning. Under Governor Tryon a charter was obtained. The library then founded is now represented by the New York Society Library.

In 1751 William Smith was appointed by Clinton, Governor of the province, without solicitation on his part and in most flattering terms, Attorney General and Advocate General, and was sworn in 31st August, 1752. The same year he was recommended to the seat in the Council made vacant by the death of Sir Peter Warren. The Governor's letter, addressed to the Lords of Trade, and dated 24th October, 1752, adds the significant testimony, that Mr. Smith was “the only lawyer who would and did consent to prosecute Mr. Oliver De Lancey, brother of the Chief Justice.” That the “Golden Age” was then at its prime is shown by the fact that the recommendation of Governor Clinton to remove Chief Justice De Lancey from his office was not complied with by the home government. Pursuant to a mandamus of the King, William Smith was sworn in on the 30th day of April, 1753. Singularly enough, among his unsuccessful competitors for the office is found this same Mr. Oliver De Lancey. Mr. Smith remained a member of the Council until shortly before his death, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

In 1754 Mr. Smith was appointed one of the four representatives from the Province of New York to the General Congress which met at Albany, and was the representative of the province to propose and receive plans for the Union of the colonies under one Government.
A few years later, 1760, he was offered by Lieutenant-Governor Colden, and declined, the office of Chief Justice, made vacant by the death of Mr. De Lancey. The offer was the more complimentary as it was made over the heads of three existing justices, Messrs. Chambers, Horsmanden and Jones.

In 1763 Mr. Smith accepted the appointment of Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province, and retained the office until his death.

Judge Smith was all his life a hard student. His learning and accomplishments were as thorough as they were varied. He was an excellent linguist, a theologian, a good mathematician and possessed some scientific knowledge. As a lawyer he stood among the highest in the provinces, and both as lawyer and judge was conscientious and painstaking. In every sense an Englishman, he possessed in an eminent degree that best of English qualities, an inbred determination to resist oppression and tyranny, whether exerted against himself or against his neighbor. Too late Great Britain acknowledged that men like him were, in the colonies, equally as at home her most desirable subjects. His person was commanding, his countenance full of intelligence; he possessed a strong constitution and uninterrupted good health. With unusual natural and acquired advantages, he was also endowed with a rare fluency of speech, a lively imagination, a most retentive memory and real eloquence. An obituary notice in the New York Gazette of 27th November, 1769, admits him to have been the most eloquent speaker in the province; in all of the provinces would have been equally correct. Whatever work Judge Smith undertook it became to him a pleasure, as well as a duty, to perform it thoroughly. But one portrait of the Judge is known to the writer to be in existence; this, painted by Wollaston in 1751, is preserved among his descendants in Quebec, Canada. From it the etching which accompanies this sketch has been taken.

Judge William Smith was twice married; first by the Rev. Mr. David de Bonrepos, minister of the French congregation on Staten Island, the service being performed in the French language, on the 11th of May, 1727, to Mary, daughter of Rene and Blanche (Du Bois) Het (see N. Y. G. and B. Record, 1880, p. 144, and Hist. Mag., 1868, p. 266, for some particulars of the Het family), by whom he had fifteen children. Mrs. Smith was born in the city of New York, 24th May, 1710, died 22d August, 1754, and was buried in the aisle of the Old South Church. Judge Smith married secondly on the 12th May, 1761, Mrs.
ELIZABETH WILLIAMS, widow of Colonel Elisha Williams of England, and daughter of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Scott of Nithern, Herefordshire, England, and later of Norwich, where he died about 1747. Mrs. Elizabeth Smith was born 17th October, 1708, and came to America with her husband, Colonel Williams, in 1751. The Historical Magazine, 1868, p. 267, states that, after the death of Judge Smith, his widow "returned to Wethersfield, and died there in the sixty-eighth year of her age." She had no issue by Judge Smith.

The children of Judge and Mary Smith were all well educated. They were proficient in French and Dutch, and possessed for the period and city in which they lived an unusual knowledge of English literature. The sons were familiar with the Greek and Latin classics; two, if not more of them, were good Hebrew scholars. They were educated in the Presbyterian faith, and were prominent members of that church. All adhered to the Republican party, and held to their father's conviction that as Englishmen, although born in the provinces, they were entitled to all and every one of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by their cousins at home. They were among and well represented the descendants of those who had curbed the tyranny of Charles the First.

As a family they were, by birth and training, tolerant of the religious convictions of others, and for this very reason were the more prone to take alarm at the very shadow of Tory and priestly practices as they spread over the new England and were fostered by some of the Governors. In opposition to the Court party of the several local governments, they warmly supported their father's views, to strengthen the country by the union of the colonies under one general government. Faithful to the British Constitution, they were aware of its faults, and believed that upon its model one more just and sound might be devised for the new English country. In this they anticipated some of the reforms which the people of England in after years added to their liberties.

MATURIN L. DELAFIELD

I. William Smith, known as "Port Royal Smith," and also as the "Uncle," to distinguish him from his nephew, Judge William Smith. Of his life and issue an account is given in the N. Y. G. and B. Record, Vol. X., p. 32. He died in New York City, 15th October, 1736, of apoplexy, at 74, leaving a grandson and heir William Peartree Smith.
II. James remained and died in England; residing at Passenham, near Stoney Stratford, Buckinghamshire. He married and left sons and daughters.

III. John emigrated to New York, where he married and lived many years. About the year 1714, he returned to England and died there, leaving a family in New York. Nothing is ascertained with certainty in regard to his issue. William Smith, a “cousin” of the judge and of the Rev. John Smith, whose death is recorded as having occurred 7th February, 1728, aged 30 years, may have been a son of his.

IV. Samuel settled in Jamaica, West Indies, probably moving there at the same time with his eldest brother, “Port Royal” Smith. He married in the Island, and died there soon afterwards, at twenty-seven years.

V. Thomas, the youngest son, was born at Newport Pagnell, 18th September, 1675. He survived all of his brothers and his sister, and died in New York 14th November, 1745, and was buried at the plantation of his son Thomas, in Smith’s Clove, Orange County, New York. Thomas married in England, 13th May, 1696, Susanna, second daughter of Thomas and Christiana Odell, of Northfield Meadows, Buckinghamshire, in which parish Mr. Odell owned a large estate, besides other landed property elsewhere. Thomas Odell died 13th May, 1698, aged 47 years; his wife, Christiana, died 7th July of the same year. Besides Susanna, married to Thomas Smith, they had a daughter Mary, who died unmarried, and two sons—John, who died in infancy at Newport Pagnell, and Thomas, who when of age inherited the Odell estates. This gentleman, “falling into grand company, and being a very agreeable person of wit and humor, was much solicited by the nobility and gentry, which took off his attention from his own affairs. He soon spent his estate and afterwards obtained a small office under the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Chamberlain, of £200 a year. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Everitt, and died, as I have heard, in 1749, leaving a daughter Penelope. Thomas Odell, the father, was buried under his seat in the church at Simpson; Christiana, his wife, John their son, Mary their eldest daughter, and Odell Smith, the youngest son of Thomas Smith and Susanna, his wife, lie buried in the church yard, before the South Porch of the same church and thereabouts, and in the church lie the dust of a train of ancestors, who have died in succession through many years.” (From a note prepared by Chief Justice Wm. Smith, dated 9th December, 1796.)

Christiana, the wife of Thomas Odell, was a daughter of John Goodman, of Simpson, four miles from Newport Pagnell. Mr. Goodman possessed an immense estate in Buckinghamshire, transmitted, as was claimed, from the time of William the Conqueror, from father to son, the heirs with rare exceptions bearing alternately the names of Richard and John.

Thomas Smith also emigrated from England, but at a much more advanced age than his brothers. He sailed from London on the 24th May, 1715, with his wife and three sons, arriving in New York on the 17th of August following, bring-
ing with him if not wealth, at least a considerable fortune; a fortune sufficient to place him immediately among the substantial citizens of New York. His new home offered many attractions; still two things, in his opinion of vital importance, were wanting: schools or teachers to educate his sons, and the Communion of the Presbyterian faith. The first want Mrs. Smith and himself did in part replace, with the occasional aid, as is believed, of a tutor from New England; the second he resolved should not be of long continuance. Almost immediately upon his arrival, Mr. Smith employed himself in gathering together the members of his church, many of whom had previously, as they continued to do when absent from New York, worshipped with the Dutch congregation. He has the honor of being one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church in New York. As early as October, 1716, a congregation, presided over by a resident minister, was assembled in the City Hall, and after 1719 in their own building in Wall street, a church built upon ground purchased and held in the names of Dr. John Nicoll, Patrick Mc'Knight, Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith. In 1722 a part of the congregation, under the leadership of Thomas Smith, withdrew for a short period from the Wall Street congregation, and called the excellent Jonathan Edwards as their pastor. During the eight months of his ministry, his home was at the house of Thomas Smith; of his intimacy with the family, some account is given in Edwards' own words, in the sketch of the life of the Rev. John Smith, which appears in the appendix to this article.

As old age approached Mr. and Mrs. Smith appear to have longed to return to the mother country and the bright fields of old England. With this in view, and intending to purchase an estate near Guilford, Mrs. Smith sailed in the Rebecca, Captain Banks, 7th December, 1728, and landed in England on the 15th of January following. At London she was taken ill and died there on the 9th of March, 1729, in the fifty-second year of her age. She was buried in the Church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate.

Thomas and Susanna Smith had issue four sons and several daughters. 1, William (the judge); 2, Thomas; 3, John; 4, Odell; Elizabeth and Martha, of whom some account appears in the appendix.

Note—In the possession of the Penn. Hist. Society there is a bound volume of the New York Weekly Post, 1744 to 1746, in which is found the book plate of William Peartree Smith. The arms and crest are the same as those upon the seal and book plate of Chief Justice Smith, the latter of which is here reproduced, but it has for motto Deus Nobis Haec Oitia Fecit; a worthy device for an expatriated family which had served in the army of the Parliament. Beneath is the name, William P. Smith, A. M. This Mr. Smith was the only grandson and surviving issue of William (Port Royal) Smith, and inherited the estate of his grandfather. His father, also William, who died probably 7th February, 1728 (?) was first cousin to the Colonial Judge William Smith. According to the excellent genealogy of
this branch of the family by T. H. Montgomery, Esq., in the N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record, 1879, page 34, William P. Smith was born in 1733, and died 20th November, 1801, and on the same authority, this the eldest branch of the American Smiths appears to be now extinct in the male line.
APPENDIX

IMMEDIATE FAMILY OF JUDGE WILLIAM SMITH

Thomas Smith, the second son of Thomas and Susanna Smith, was a farmer. But little authentic information has been obtained of him. He is said to have been a man of education, as indeed could hardly have been otherwise, considering the surroundings of his youth; and is believed to have entered Yale College, but his name does not appear in the catalogue of graduates. He owned property in or near New York City, and a large tract of land, which, or a part of which, appears to have originally belonged to his father, in what was then, from this family, known as Smith's Clove, the present town of Monroe, Orange County. It is recorded in the handwriting of his brother, the judge, under date of 25th January, 1725, that on that day Thomas announced his engagement to Miss Hannah Hooker, and another note states that Thomas' daughter Sadie, died 14th September, 1749, aged 25 months. Miss Hooker, the intended bride of Thomas, is called cousin by the judge, and may have been a sister of Mehitable Hooker, who had married the Rev. John Smith, and possibly a grandchild of the John Smith, who in 1714 returned to England, leaving his family in New York. During the Revolution descendants of Thomas Smith are mentioned as living in Smith's Clove.

John Smith (Rev'd), the third son of Thomas and Susanna Smith, born 5th May, 1702, at Newport Pagnell; died at White Plains, Westchester County, 26th February, 1771. He was graduated at Yale College 1727, where in addition to his other duties, he occupied himself with the study of divinity and of the healing art, then or at a later period receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Among the papers of his brother, the judge, is found the statement, that while still an undergraduate, brother John married at Guilford, Conn., 6th May, 1724; we are left in doubt as to the name of the lady; but of his family, we find that a son was born to him 22d March, 1725, that his daughter Molly, aged 17 months, died 3d September, 1729, and that a son John died 24th September of the same year, at Guilford. At this place he appears to have chiefly resided, for several years practicing there as a physician, but also at times in New York occupied with his profession. From this period his life and labors are traced by the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Baird, in his admirable History of Rye, from which the following is condensed. On the 13th December, 1742, Dr. Smith was ordained by a council of the Eastern Consociation of Fairfield County, which met at Rye, as minister of that place; here he removed his family and purchased a house, to the no small chagrin and displeasure of the Church of England missionary, who plaintively records the thoroughness with which the new minister entered upon his labors and increased his following. At a later period the churches at White Plains and also at Sing Sing were put under his pastoral care; he removed to the former village and continued, as he had done at Rye, to practice, when occasion required, as a physician to the suffering body as well as to the troubled soul. The authority already quoted gives Dr. Smith high rank as an "able, earnest and influential minister of the Gospel," as "a man of eminent piety, and of a very high order of intellectual capacity." His father, Thomas Smith, as previously stated, had been one of the founders of the Wall Street or First Presbyterian Church in New York City, and was among those who in the trouble of 1722 withdrew from the congregation and called Jonathan Edwards to preside over the flock. The famous preacher made his home in the house and with the family of Thomas Smith. "Edwards was then barely nineteen years of age, and John Smith but a little over twenty, and between those two young men there sprang up a friendship the most intimate and ardent; which we have reason to believe lasted for years and perhaps through life. They used often, Mr. Edwards tells us, to walk together on the banks of the Hudson, to converse on the things of God, 'and our conversation used to turn on the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world and the glorious things that God would accomplish for his church in the latter days.' He speaks of his separation from his endear'd friend and companion as one of the most bitter trials of his life" (History of Rye by Rev. Dr. Baird, p. 331). After nearly thirty
years of labor in the ministry Dr. Smith fell asleep among his people at White Plains, and was buried in the grave-yard of his church.

During the recent enlargement of the church, the rear of the building was extended over the grave and the upright slab removed further back; the inscription kindly copied by the present incumbent, the Rev. Mr. Heermance, is as follows:

Here Lies the Remains of the Rev'd
John Smith the First ordained Minister
Of the Presbyterian Persuasion in Rye
& the White Plains. Who was born in
England May 5: 1702; Wore out with
Various Labors & Fell asleep In Jesus
Deceased Feb'y 26, 1771: Aged 68 Years: 9 Months &
29 days.

By Faith He Lived In Faith He Died & Faith
Forsees a Rising Day when Jesus Comes While
Hope Assumes & Boasts His Joy Among the
Tombs O Death O Grave Where Is Thy Victory
Thanks be to God which Giveth us the
Victory Through our Lord Jesus Christ

Near by are tombstones to the memory of his
wife and of two daughters.

The History of Rye so freely used in preparing
the above sketch gives the marriage of the
Rev. John Smith as obtained from papers in the
possession of his descendants. He married 6th
May, 1724 (the same date as given in Judge
Smith’s memorandum) Mehetabel, daughter of
James and Mary Hooker, of Guilford—her
father being “a son of the Rev. Samuel Hooker
and grandson of the famous Thomas Hooker.”
They had issue four sons and eight daughters,
whose descendants are said to be numerous. Mrs. Smith died as appears from her tombstone
Sept. 5, 1775, aged 71 years, 4 months and 5
days. One of the daughters, Susanna, married
the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Tallmadge, of Brook-
haven, L. I., and was the mother of Colonel
Benjamin Tallmadge.

Oskell Smith died young and was buried at
Simpson as already stated.

The daughters of Thomas Smith and Susanna
Smith all remained and died in England.

Elizabeth, the third daughter, married
Thomas Herbert, of Acton, Buckinghamshire,
and had Thomas and others.

Martha, the fourth daughter, married Edmund
Roberts, of Elrington, near Leighton Buzzard, Bucks and had Edmund, Thomas,
John and perhaps others.

DESCENDANTS OF JUDGE WILLIAM
AND MARY SMITH

William Smith, Chief Justice of New York
and of Canada (known as the Historian), born
18th June, 1728. His life will make the subject
of a separate paper.

Susanna Smith, born 24th December, 1729;
died 20th March, 1791; married 14th Septem-
ber, 1747, Robert James Livingston, merchant
of New York (born 15th February, 1725; died
25th January, 1771), the eldest son of James and
Maria (Kiersted) Livingston, the feudal head or
chief in descent of that family in America; and
had ten children. As doubly first cousins to the
children of Chief Justice Smith, a short account
of their lives is given.

Mary Livingston, born 7th June, 1748, in New York
City; died in London 6th January, 1830. She married,
first, license dated 29th October, 1765, Captain Gabriel
Maturin, who died in Boston, about 1774-6. Captain
Maturin entered the British service 12th April, 1756, as a
Lieutenant in the 34th Regiment, was promoted Captain
1764, and in 1768 transferred to the 31st Foot. He was
appointed military and private Secretary to Sir Guy
Carleton, Governor of Canada. Sir Guy returning to
England, Captain Maturin, then in New York, was sum-
momed to London, and ordered to replace his chief in im-
portant military duties. His wife and a younger sister,
Susanna, afterwards Mrs. Armstrong, accompanied him
in his northern journey. Mrs. Maturin married, secondly,
Dr. Jonathan Mallet, an Englishman, who had settled in
New York, sometime prior to the revolution. His first
wife, Miss Catherine Kennedy, whom he had married
about June, 1765, licensed dated 13th of that month, died
in New York 3d September, 1777 (N. Y. Gazette, 8th
September, 1777), leaving three children.

Dr. Mallet’s residence, which he had built adjoining
the Kennedy house in Broadway, is reported as having
been occupied by the British troops at the commencement
of the war. (Note 1.) He appears to have been the
fashionable and one of the most successful of the
physicians of the period, and is described as an educated
and very agreeable man. During the war, 1776 to 1783,
he was Surgeon, for part of the time Chief Surgeon, and
Purveyor to the hospitals for his Majesty’s forces in
America. In 1793 his name appears in the army lists as
Chief Purveyor only, and the following year is omitted.

A letter from Mrs. Mallet, dated 25th July, 1784, now be-
fore the writer, tells of her arrival two days before, at
London, with her husband and servants. After a passage
of six weeks from New York, the Maltesa, Mrs. Jauncey
and another lady landed at Dover, where they met Lieut
Mallet, a brother of the Doctor, who had also served in
America. At London, the Americans flocked to see them. Mention is made of Chief Justice Smith, of Thomas and Doctor James Smith, the latter in ill health, of Mrs. Plinderleith and her children; of Mrs. Kennedy, probably her husband's mother-in-law, who was very kind; of Miss Kemble, who was about returning to New York and would take letters. London was made very pleasant to Mrs. Mallet; her husband's social position was excellent, old friends numerous, new ones very attentive. Her extraordinary beauty, which she retained until far advanced in life, is not only a matter of tradition, but is eulogized in more than one letter now faded and yellow with age. A portrait by Copley, taken about the time of her marriage with Captain Maturin and now in the possession of one of her nieces, justifies the admiration expressed by her friends for her loveliness. Two of her nieces, celebrated for their personal attractions are said to resemble her.

In 1806 Mrs. Mallet became for the second time a widow, and although her thoughts turned towards her native land, and her letters overflow with affection for her kinspeople she could not separate herself from the new associations and her late husband's home; there she continued to reside until her death, which occurred 8th January, 1840. Except among her immediate family who were a long lived race, she had survived most of her contemporaries, but her interest in their children continued until the last.

Mrs. Mallet had issue by neither marriage. Her step-children, the son and two daughters of Dr. Mallet by his marriage with Miss Kennedy, formed her family.

James Livingston, also called James Kierstedt Livings-ton, born 29th December, 1749, died unmarried 8th February, 1777, aged 27, and was interred in the burial ground at Princeton, N. J. Owing to an accident received in boyhood, he was an invalid and sufferer all his life.

Elizabeth Livingston, born 14th September, 1751, died 10th November, 1759.

Elizabet Livingston, second of the name, born 6th October, 1753, died 13th October, 1756.

Colonel William Smith Livingston, born 27th August, 1735, died 25th June, 1794, and was buried in the family vault of Abraham Lott, N. Y. City. Colonel Livingston was graduated at the College of New Jersey, 1757. At the commencement of the revolution he entered the army and held a command at the battle of Long Island, where he was taken prisoner. Confined for a short time in the Sugar House, he was paroled and soon afterwards exchanged. He served throughout the war, and as Lieutenant-Colonel of Colonel Webb's regiment, greatly distinguished himself in Rhode Island under General Greene. His gallantry and reckless daring gained for him the sobriquet of "fighting Bill," a name preserved in a doggerel verse of the period. Colonel Livingston possessed great physical strength, and shared with Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge the reputation of being the handsomest officer in the service. He married in 1774 Catherine, daughter of Abraham and Gertrude (Cojeman) Lott, merchant of New York, but during the war a resident of Beverwyck, near Morrisstown, N. J. Mrs. Livings-ton died 29th September, 1803, and was interred in the Livingston family vault of the Dutch Reformed Church, Rhinebeck. They had eleven children, of whom seven died in infancy. One son, William Mallet, entered the navy and was lost at sea, unmarried; another son, Francis Armstrong, and two daughters, married and have left issue. To an agent from Europe who wished to induce them to take steps for the revival of family honors, now dormant, both the Colonel and his son declined taking any action; the former making the characteristic reply, "that he preferred being an American citizen to being a Scotch Lord."

Robert Livingston, born 29th August, 1757, died 8th September, 1757.

Susanna Livingston, born 30th July, 1758, died at Trenton, N. J., 13th February, 1831. Married by Dr. John Witherspoon, at Princeton, 2nd August, 1781, the Rev. James Francis Armstrong. Dr. Armstrong was born 3d April, 1750; died 19th January, 1816. Graduated at College of New Jersey 1773. Trustee of the college from 1770 until his death. Studied divinity under Dr. Witherspoon, and was ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle January, 1778. Chaplain of the Second Maryland Brigade during the revolution. Secretary of the Society of the Cincinnati, 1790 to 1799. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Trenton for 30 years. His useful and honorable life was spent in the service of his Maker and of his country, ably seconded by a most worthy wife. Their good works, the love and respect they inspired in both young and old, are cherished traditions throughout southern New Jersey, and their memories are held in honorable remembrance as among the worthies of the revolution. They had issue six children.

Robert James Livingston, born 5th November, 1760; died unmarried 25th April, 1829, at Grasmere, Rhinebeck, the residence of his brother, Peter R., and was buried in the family vault at Rhinebeck. He had prepared himself for and had probably matriculated at the College of New Jersey, when the British troops overran the State. Young Livingston, but sixteen years of age, accidentally learned that the American army was in motion and was secretly moving upon the enemy. He left home to join the vanguard of the Americans, and fell severely wounded at the victory of Trenton. Tradition states that he was wounded in the first onslaught and that for a few moments he was in the power of the Hessians, by whom he was roughly used. A lady, whose name unfortunately has not been preserved, had the lad removed to her house, sent for his mother and kept them until he could be carried in safety to his home at Princeton. Some years later an accident caused the loss of an eye. He went abroad and travelled in England and France. In New York he and his brother the Colonel were among the gayest of the men of fashion of the period; if somewhat wild, none the less popular, unless perhaps among the partisans and friends of Mayor Varick. But the life wearied him and he retired to his brother's seat at Grasmere. Fine natural abilities were sacrificed to the care of a farm, to his horses and gun.

Hon. Peter R. Livingston, born 3d October, 1766; died 19th January, 1847, at his residence, Grasmere, and was buried in the family vault of the Dutch Reformed
Church, Rhinebeck. Peter R. graduated at the College of New Jersey, 1784. For many years he represented Duchess County in the Senate of New York, and was elected Speaker 7th January, 1833, and President 5th January, 1846. He was a member of the Council of Appointment under the first Constitution of the State and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1821. He married Joanna (born 14th September, 1779; died 1st March, 1859, and buried by the side of her husband), daughter of Judge Robert R. and Margaret (Beckman) Livingston. They had no issue.

Judge Maturin Livingston, of Staatsburg, born 10th April, 1759; died 7th November, 1847, at the residence of his son-in-law, Major Joseph Delafield, N. Y. City, and was buried in the Livingston vault of St. James' Church, Hyde Park. Judge Livingston graduated with the highest honors at the College of New Jersey, 1786; studied law and was admitted attorney; was one of the members from New York to the Constitutional Convention of October, 1821; was appointed 10th October, 1804, Recorder of the City of New York; and 31st February, 1823, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Duchess County, being the first appointment for the county under the Constitution of 1821. He married 9th May, 1798, Margaret (born at Clermont 5th February, 1760; died at Staatsburg 31st September, 1850, and buried by the side of her husband), only child of Major General Morgan Lewis and his wife Gertrude, daughter of Judge Robert R. and Margaret (Beckman) Livingston. They had twelve children, all of whom survived their father, married, and with one exception had issue.

— Smith, still born 24th February, 1730.

Mary Smith, born 20th March, 1732; married 13th April, 1749, John, son of William Smith, and died 12th October, 1750, leaving an only child, Mary, born 17th July, 1750. John Smith does not appear to have been any relative of his wife; his father William is described in the N. Y. G. and B. Record, 1880, p. 145, as a mariner and merchant, and is styled Captain; he married first Gertrude, daughter of Justus Bosch, by whom he had the above John and others, and secondly Sarah, youngest daughter of Joshua and Blanche Het, and hence a sister of Mrs. Judge William Smith.

Sarah Smith, born 3d August, 1733; died 12th October, 1815; married 31st October, 1755, Abraham Keteltas, minister of the Presbyterian Church at Jamaica, Long Island, and had issue. Thompson’s History of Long Island, Vol. II., pp. 111, 113, contains an interesting account of the Rev. Mr. Keteltas, and states that he had eleven children, of whom only one survived at the date of that publication.

Thomas Smith, born 11th March, 1734, graduated at the College of New Jersey, Princeton, 1754. Licensed attorney 4th May, 1756 (Hist. Mag., 1868, p. 267). He was a member of the Whig Club, and prominent in his opposition to the illegal measures of Great Britain (Note 2); was a member of the Committee of Safety of 1st May, 1775, and of the Provincial Congress of the same year. He stood well as a lawyer, and enjoyed a large practice, both at the bar and in the management of estates. He married in New York, 22d November, 1758, Elizabeth Leinsen, or Lynsen, as spelled in the Baptismal Register of the First Presbyterian Church, and left a large family (Note 3).

Elizabeth Blanché Smith, born 13th December, 1736; died 11th December, 1817; married John Torrans, a merchant, from Ireland, who had settled in South Carolina, and had issue. Mrs. Torrans’s tombstone in the graveyard of the Circular Church, Charleston, S. C., gives her name as Elizabeth B. Hatter Torrans (N. Y. G. and B. Record, Vol. VIII., p. 44).

James Smith, M. D., born 13th February, 1738; died in New York, 1812. Graduated at the College of New Jersey, 1757. He received his medical education chiefly in Europe, and was graduated Doctor of Medicine at Leyden. His published thesis for the doctorate, dated 22d August, 1764, was de Febribus Intermittentibus; the only copy known to be in America is found in a private library in the city of New York, and bears the impress of Theodore Haak, 1764, Leyden. "He is admitted (Dr. James Thatcher’s Am. Medical Biog., Vol. I., p. 95) by all to have been eminently learned, though too theoretical and fanciful both as a practitioner of the healing art and in his course of public instruction." Dr. Smith was interested in the organization of the medical department of King’s, now Columbia, College, and in 1768 was appointed to the Chair of Chemistry and Materia Medica, but resigned his professorship in 1770. Although an active and efficient member of the Whig party, at the commencement of the revolution, Dr. Smith removed to London, and there continued the practice of his profession. Among his patients, under date of 6th October, 1785, we find his brother, the Chief Justice. A few years after the peace he returned to New York. The Political Maga-
APPENDIX

zine, quoted in Smith's "Andre," is authority for the assertion that in London Dr. Smith was prominent in his devotion to his country. Jones' History of New York states, on the same authority, but a search has failed to identify with certainty the passage quoted, "that he was known in all the debating clubs for arguing against Great Britain in favor of America." Dr. Smith married (Hist. Mag., second series, Vol. IV., p. 266), about 1765-7, Mrs. Atkinson of Kingston, Jamaica.

Anne Smith, born 19th July, 1740, married [———] Bostwick of New York.

John Smith, born 20th August, 1741. Mentioned in Historical Magazine, 1868, p. 266, as an attorney.

Catharine Smith, born 7th April, 1743; died 8th December, 1776, and was buried in the graveyard of the Circular Church, Charleston, S. C. (N. Y. G. and B. Record, Vol. VII., p. 44). She married John Gordon, a Scotchman, who from London had removed to and settled in South Carolina. After Mrs. Gordon's death, and during or at the close of the revolutionary war, Mr. Gordon returned to Great Britain with his children, and died shortly afterwards in France, where he had accompanied an invalid relative. His children resided with and were brought up by their father's family. Two of his daughters, Mary and Jane Drummond, married brothers, James and Edwin Gairdner, and left issue.

Martha Smith, born 18th June, 1744; married—license dated 30th September, 1763—Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay of the revolutionary army. His residence was at Fishkill, N. Y. She left a large family.

Samuel Smith, born 24th June, 1745; died, unmarried, at Charleston, S. C., 12th August, 1771, and was buried in the graveyard of the Circular Church there, et al. 26 (N. Y. G. and B. Record, VII., p. 44). His share in his father's immense real estate, and which it was supposed would become of great value, he bequeathed by will to his sisters, Mrs. Livingston and Mrs. Hay. This property, for many years after the revolution in the hands of trustees and their successors, was gradually dissipated, and proved of little or no value to the heirs.

Margaret Smith, born 19th September, 1747. She married, probably at a period subsequent to the execution of her father's will (her husband's name not appearing in the instrument, which is dated 24th May, 1769), Alexander Rose, a Scotch merchant, residing in Charleston, S. C., and had three sons and three daughters.

Joshua Hett Smith, born 27th May, 1749, died (Hist. Mag., 1868, p. 267) in New York, 1818. He was twice married; first, license dated 13th October, 1770, to Elizabeth Gordon of Belvedere, South Carolina, who died in New York, 1st January, 1784, leaving two children.

Joshua Gordon Smith, born in New York, 7th August, 1771.

Sarah Gordon Smith.

He married secondly in England Anne Middleton (Hist. Mag., 1868, p. 267), who survived him, but does not appear to have left issue.

Joshua Hett Smith was bred to the law, and was licensed attorney 30th April, 1772. He practiced his profession with success, and prior to the revolution was regarded as one of the most promising young men in the city. In politics he espoused the Republican cause, and was among the zealous champions of constitutional liberty. He was not, however, in favor of a rupture with Great Britain, or of an entire colonial independence. As a member of the Fourth Provincial Congress, he carried out the views of his Orange county constituents, and opposed the ratification of the National Declaration of Independence. Prior to the battle of Long Island, Smith removed with his family to his country seat, Belmont, near Haverstraw (see Mag. Am. His., IV., 21, 1880, for an engraving and admirable article entitled "Smith's House at Haverstraw"), a retired situation, famous for its natural beauty, and commanding very extensive views of the Hudson River; in the neighborhood was his father's estate; and here also his brothers and other members of the family owned immense tracts of land. Smith's means were sufficient to enable him to indulge in the pleasures of hospitality. Courteous, personally a favorite, of excellent social position, married to an accomplished lady, his house was constantly full of guests, and a favorite place of resort for the officers of the army, French and American—to the former especially attractive, as their host was
APPENDIX

conversant with their language. When the unscrupulous Arnold sought and obtained the command of West Point, social intercourse was naturally established between his family and that of Mr. Smith. Arnold employed every means in his power to ingratiate himself with Smith. If the proprietor of Belmont were found to be tractable, his house and its neighborhood would prove of great strategic importance in the contemplated negotiation and the future movements of the conspirators. The locality was well known to many British officers, especially to Major André, who had resided at Haverstraw as a prisoner after his capture by the American troops before the walls of Quebec in 1775. Arnold had won and betrayed the esteem of those who had befriended his youth and early manhood. Montgomery, Gates, Washington, were each in turn the victims of his hypocritical arts; was he likely to fail with a country gentleman, whose sympathies were with his countrymen, but who did not disguise his sympathy with the efforts of the peace commissioners, of whom his brother was one. The details of Arnold’s plot, his failure, the part taken by Joshua Hett Smith are matters of history; the vexed question of Smith’s innocence or guilty participation remains unsettled. Had West Point fallen, its garrison been taken, the momentous consequences to the patriot cause could hardly be exaggerated; necessarily, indiscriminate odium fell upon all who had in any manner participated in the plot. On Saturday, 25th September, 1780, at Pine Bridge, Smith bade farewell to Major André, whom he knew only as Mr. Anderson, not recognizing in him the gentleman whom a few years before he had met at the table of Colonel Hay, and took the northern road to Fishkill intending to join his family then visiting at the house of his brother-in-law Colonel Ann Hawkes Hay; the Colonel having married a sister of Mr. Smith. On the route he stopped to dine with Arnold, and in the evening at Fishkill supped in company with General Washington, with whom he was well acquainted. The next day, Sunday, he rode to Poughkeepsie and back. The day following, the 25th, was passed pleasantly with his family. That night he was arrested and carried before General Washington. From this date until the 22d May, 1781, seven long months, he was held a prisoner, often in want of common necessaries, constantly subject to indignities. Tried first before a court martial, he was presently transferred to the civil authorities; another tedious trial followed. From the little contemporaneous authentic data it would appear that both the military and civil courts were embarrassed with their prisoner and in doubt what to do with him. The more the matter was inquired into, the more probable it appeared that Smith had had no knowledge of Arnold’s infamous purpose. Smith asserted that he believed Arnold to be engaged in a legitimate enterprise from which possibly an honorable peace might result. The testimony adduced, and his own conduct, bore witness to the truth of his assertions. On the other hand, in view of the part he had taken, of his intimacy with Arnold, how was it possible to believe him innocent? Smith tells us that on numerous occasions he was approached by soldiers and others, with offers to assist in or bring about his escape, but that conscious of innocence and distrusting the motives of those who offered their services, he forebore to make the attempt. It is not at all improbable that the puzzled authorities were the authors of the plan to rid themselves of a troublesome case; if so, their action was not without precedent during the revolution in the American army. Worn out with suspense, sick at heart, his sentence still delayed, Smith finally resolved to escape. A devoted wife arranged the details, her spirited conduct rendered them successful; throughout the whole sad business she shines in the bright, unsullied character of an affectionate, unwearying wife and comforter. Smith reached the British lines in safety, and in New York found protection at the house of his brother, the Chief Justice, where he was presently joined by his family (Note 4). Through Lieutenant-General Robertson, some of his own houses and others belonging to the family estate, occupied by the British as the property of absentees, were restored to him. In one of these he took up his residence and resumed the practice of his profession. On the 5th of November, 1783, he sailed in the transport Ann for Falmouth, his wife, worn out with the anxieties of the past few years, being
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too ill to accompany him. On the first of the new year, as her husband sadly records, she died of a broken heart. The Royal Gazette of the previous month contains an advertisement for sale by auction of No. 7 Smith, now William Street, in possession of Joshua Hett Smith, and of a lot on the west side of Broadway, extending to the river. The sale was doubtless ordered to provide ready funds for the use of the exile. For several years Smith was a wanderer, his health broken and by many regarded as a proscribed man. In 1801 he had returned to America and is found travelling in South Carolina and Georgia. His work entitled "Smith's narrative of the causes which led to the death of Major Andrè," was published in London, 1808, and has been severely criticised by writers on American history. In it the author does not hesitate to plainly express, often in an abusive manner, his opinion of those by whom he deemed himself wronged. Washington, the members of the court martial, and especially Lafayette, are accused of having prejudged his case and assumed his guilt. Nothing is more probable, and the charge may also be brought against the nation; with the information first obtained of the circumstances, it was impossible to do otherwise. That the English regarded Smith as the dupe but not the confederate of the astute Arnold is sufficiently proved by the miserable pension allowed him. Arnold was rewarded with wealth, honors and high military rank. Smith's pittance was not sufficient to provide for his family, who for a period at least were cared for by others. Had Smith been a partner in Arnold's infamy, his reward would have been proportionate, and wealth, not poverty, would have been his lot; in that case his widow would not have supported a precarious existence as a school teacher (His. Mag., 1868, p. 267). Great Britain is not wont to neglect those who venture all in her service.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

Note 1. Mr. William Kelby, the thorough and conscientious student of the history of old New York, who with rare courtesy is always prepared to aid those who follow in his footsteps, has furnished the writer with the following extract from a letter dated 11th April, 1776, in Almon's American Remembrancer, Vol. III., p. 86; "O, the houses in New York, if you could but see the inside of them! Occupied by the dirtiest people on the continent (for the empty houses are almost all taken up by the soldiers). Kennedy's new house, Mallet's, and one next to it, had 600 men in them. If the owners ever get possession again, I am sure they must be years in cleaning them, unless they get new floors and new plaster on the walls."

Note 2. Jones' History of New York places the sons of Judge Smith among the prominent constitutional leaders of the day, and to their credit no one of them finds favor in the sight of the Tory writer. Without reproducing the characteristic abusive language of that author, he states in substance, Vol. II., p. 7, that Alexander McDougal, Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Peter R. Livingston and the brothers Thomas, John and Joshua Hett Smith, were the principal leaders of the Republican clubs. Again, Vol. I., pp. 19 and 20, that Thomas and Doctor James Smith with Judge Robert R. Livingston, his son Robert R. Jr. (the Chancellor) and others, gave efficient aid to the great triumvirate, William Livingston, William Smith and John Morin Scott, in the publication of the American Whig and Watchman. The writer regrets that he does not find other authority to connect the younger brothers of the Chief Justice with the distinguished gentlemen, who principally conducted the above publication.

Note 3. The following advertisement from Mr. Thomas Smith describing his seat at Haverstraw is copied from the New York Packet, November 15, 1781:

To be Sold or Lett, Immediately, The Farm on which the Subscriber now lives, at Haverstraw, in the county of Orange, within three miles of King's Ferry. There is on the premises a new stone house, with six fireplaces, and good cellars under the whole; a complete large barn, with proper hovels for cattle,—a frame house for an overseer, and a good garden, inclosed with a stone fence; 150 acres of meadow well ditched, and now in a mowable state, and as much more may be made with little trouble and expense; a sufficient quantity of woodland for fencing and fuel, and a young bearing orchard; The farm commands a large out drift for cattle, and a landing on Hudson's river, within three-quarters of a mile from the house. The situation in point of prospect, is equal to any in the State, and the most frequented public road to and from the eastern and western States, runs along the front of the farm; it is an advantageous stand for a farmer, merchant or innkeeper, and is an elegant situation for a gentleman's country seat: The farm is in tolerable repair, and a sufficient quantity of chestnut rails are already provided to put it into compleat order. The terms of payment will be made easy to the purchaser, and if rented the farming utensils, hay, grain, horses, cattle and hogs, with a quantity of household furniture, may be had with the farm on the most reasonable terms.

Wanted immediately by the subscriber, a small house, with twenty or thirty acres of land, either in the western part of New Jersey, or in the interior part of Connecticut; it will be either rented during the present war, or
purchased, or taken in exchange, as may best suit the owner.

Thomas Smith.

November 22, 1781.

Note 4. With Jones anything which tended to the disadvantage of the Presbyterian Smiths was great for the veracious History of New York; a history whose pretended facts are in great part extracted from contemporaneous Tory prints. If the authorities cited failed to express themselves with sufficient force, it was not beneath the Honorable Mr. Jones to supply what he deemed to be lacking. For instance, compare the following as copied from the Political Magazine, Vol. II., p. 65, 1781, with Jones' pretended quotations therefrom (he citing vol. and page) Vol. I., p. 389, and also p. 20—then assigned to the same authority and very possibly derived from the same item:

From the Political Magazine, Vol. II., p. 65. "Circumstances respecting the betraying of Major André." When Major André went to consult with General Arnold, he was carried to the house of a man, Smith, to the Smith lately appointed Chief Justice of New York by Gen. Robertson, and also brother to a Dr. Smith, who lately lived in Downing Street, Westminster, and who is said to have gone off the morning that the soldiers fired on the rioters, and whose negro woman was hanged for being concerned in the burnings. While Major André was communicating with General Arnold, he lived at the house of Smith, and wore Smith's clothes, and when he set out from Washington's camp Smith attended him till within about twelve miles of Kingsbridge, where André told him he knew his way perfectly well. Just after Smith left him, he was taken, and, at that very time he had on Smith's clothes. Washington has tried Smith for being concerned in what they call Arnold's conspiracy; but the trial has turned out a mere farce; for Smith has not suffered any punishment. The people at New York therefore believe that Smith betrayed André to the rebels, and are of opinion he never can clear up his character anywhere but at the gallows.

From Jones' History of New York during the Revolutionary War—Vol. I., p. 385. "The Political Magazine, second vol., page 65, speaks of this affair as follows: When Major André went to consult with General Arnold, he was carried to the house of a Mr. Smith, to the Smith lately appointed Chief Justice of New York by Gen. Robertson, and also brother to a Dr. Smith, who lately lived in Downing Street, Westminster, and who is said to have gone off the morning the soldiers fired on the rioters; his negro wench was hanged for being concerned in the burnings. While André was communicating with Arnold, he lived in Smith's house and wore Smith's clothes; upon his return, Smith attended him. Just after Smith left him at Tarrytown he was taken, and at that very time had on Smith's old clothes. He was tried for being concerned in Arnold's conspiracy. The trial turned out a farce, Smith was never punished. The Loyalists therefore believe that Smith betrayed André and are of opinion he never can clear up his character but under legal proceedings."
ORDERLY BOOK FOR LIEUT. COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMPANY

1776 - 1777

From the original in the possession of the Rev. Marinus Willett

COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMMAND

II

POINT CLAIR


Its the Commanding officers orders that all the Regt. get their Arms and Cloathing Clean and in good order, and appear Under Arms to Morrow morning at Seven o'clock on the field as they are to be Reviewed by the Genl — the officers commanding Comp'y, to give in an Exact field Return to the Adj't. to Morrow at Seven o'clock. The Officers Commanding Comp'y's to give a Return of what Camp Kettles they have in charge and of what they want to Compleat at a Kettle to Six Men—the Return to be given in to the Quarter-master this Evening at 4 o'clock; the officers will give particular orders to their Men to do no Damage to the Barns where they are Lodged, and be very Carefull of fire, and Particularly not to smoke in the Barns; any of the Soldiers that is found Guilty of Meddling with any of the Inhabitants Effects may Depend on Being Punished According to the Martial Law. The sick men that are Quartered in the Country are to be Removed to the Village that they may be Convenient to the Doctor. An Officer of Each Comp'y to Attend this Evening at 4 o'clock and Receive what Arms they want to Compleat their Comp'y's.


The Commission'd officers and Non Commission'd, Drums and Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to be Under arms to Morrow Morning at 7 o'clock for Exercise, Jessup's Corps are to be at Point Clair to be Exercised till Further orders.


Its the commanding officers Orders that the officers Commanding Comp'y's give in a Return this Evening at 4 o'clock to the Qur Master of what Cloathing they want to Compleat their Comp'y's & that the Men Attend to Morrow Morning at 8 o'clock at the Taylors Shop to have their Measures taken. The Officers Commanding Comp'y's to give in their Monthly Return to the Commanding officer to Morrow morning at 9 o'clock. The Regt to be Under Arms to Morrow Morning at 7 o'clock for Exercise. Its the Commanding [officers] orders that Thomas Miller & John Palmer be Appointed Corpl's in Capt Browns Comp'y, and James Plant Appointed in Capt. Daley's Comp'y. in the room of Corporal Mcgrigor who is transfered to Capt Browns Comp'y. Francis Albrant soldier in the Colls Comp'y to attend the Qur Master and Do no Other Duty for the future.

—29th. P. Phillips. C. Frazer. For
Guard to Morrow Ens Crothers 1 S & 1 C, 1 Drummer and 12 Privat men.

The Officers Commanding Companys to See that the tailors keep steady at the Cloathing till finished, no Excuse to be taken: the Regt to be under Arms at 6 o'clock. Every morning while the weather is Good; and in the Afternoon firing Ball.

—30th. P. Johnson. C. Watts. For Guard to Morrow Ens Crawford 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl, 1 Drummer & 12 Private Men.

The Commanding Officer Desires that officers Would be more Particular in Giving the Monthly Returns—Field Returns, Morning Reports, Reports of the Sick, or any other Returns that may be Wanted Relative to Military Duty—& that they Would furnish themselves with a Copy of the Different Returns that they may have Occasion for: the Regt to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Lachine at an hours Warning.


The Regt to March to La Chine to Morrow Morning at 6 o'clock—the Officers & Men to carry no more Necessaries with them than what they want for 9 or ten Days to Shift themselves with, what Baggage the men Leave behind to be put in the Store this Evening at 4 o'clock, & Every Compy's Baggage by itself—the Quarter Master Sergt to see that there is Cloathing taken for the use of the Recruits which the Taylors are to make at Lachine; what Clothing is finished to be Given Out to the Recruits; & Sergt Hillyer to pack up what is not finish'd to be Carri'd along to Morrow. 1 S 1 C & 12 Old Men to be left behind as Guard for the Stores & to Attend the Sick. Surgeons Mate to Remain in Point Clair to take Care of the Sick until further Orders—the Regt not to fire Ball this After noon. A Cart will attend Each Company to Carry the Officers Baggage & the Men's Provisions. Compy Duty for Gd. 2 Privates.

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LACHINE

1777 June 1st. P. [——] C. [——] For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl 12 P men. Lieut. McKenzie Officer of the day.

The Officers to Attend Roll call every Evening and morning and make the Report to the Commanding Officer. They are to take particular Care that the men shall not be straying from their Quarters: the Regt to be under arms at 6 o'clock to Morrow morning: the Taylors to begin Directly to work at the men's Cloathing and to keep Close at them till they are finished; they are to work in Mr. Pridones Garret.


The guards to be mounted every morning at 7 o'clock—rolls to be call'd twice every Day; in the morning after guard mounting and in the evening after retreat beating at 7 o clock—All officers to attend at the head of their Company—all beats to be taken from the 34th Regt—the troops to be exercised 3 times a day for an hour each time—the commanding officers will observe the kind of Discipline laid down by Colonel St. Leger. The kings royal regiment of New York to Fire balls by
Divisions till Further orders—the hours of exercise will be half after 4 in the morning, at mid Day and at half past 5 in the evening—it is understood that the mid Day exercise is to be for the guard men only for whom some shady place will be chosen by the Commanding officer—a weekly state of the Different corps to be given in every monday morning to lieutenant Crofts. For the future a subalterns guard to be mounted consisting of one subaltern one sergeant one Corporal 1 Drummer and 18 privates. The 34 regt to furnish to morrow 1 subaltern 1 corporal 1 Drummer and 5 privates; the Kings royal regt of New York and Jessup’s Corps to Furnish 1 sergeant and 13 private men.

—3d. P. Johnstown. A Strict and Punctual Adherence to all orders Given, is the life and soul of Military Operations; without it Troops are but confus’d & ungovernable Multitudes ever liable to Destruction & sure never to acquire honour to themselves or gain advantage to their Country: therefore Col. St Leger acquaints the Troops he has the Honour to Command that the few Necessary Orders he means to give Must Instantly and Privately [be] attended to without Discretionary Interpretations whatsoever. A Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34 Regt, 1 C, 1 Drum. & 6 Privates: Kings Royal Regt N. York, 1 Subaltern 1 Sergt & 12 Private. Regt orders, for Guard to Morrow Ens McKenzie.

—4th. P. King George. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow; 34th Regt 1 Corpl 1 Drumr & 6 Pr. Kings Royal Regt of New York 1 Sergt and 12 privates.

Regt Orders for Guard to Morrow Ens Crawford.

—5th. P. Burgoyne. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th Regt 1 C. 1 D. 7 P.; R. Yorkers 1 S. 12 P.; Jessup’s Corps 1 L. 1 C. 7 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P.

—6th June. P. Gray. C. Ancrum. Every Soldier off Duty or Regt work must be under Arms at the times appointed Except those notyfy’d by the Surgeon as too ill to appear—the want of any part of their Necessarys will not be admitted as an Excuse. Coll: St. Ledger thinks proper to observe to the Kings Royal Regt of New York, That the Surest Method of Making the Noble & honorable zeal they have Lately manifested to their King and Countrys Interest take the Effect they ardently wish for, as well as to Repossess themselves of the peace & property which has been most illegally wrested from them, is to give a Constant & unwearied attention to the learning of Military Discipline which will give them Superiority over the Confused Rabble they have to deal with. All orders Relative to the men to be read to them at the Evening Parade By an officer of each Compy. Detail of the Gd. for to morw: 34 Regt 1 C. 1 D. 5 P.; K. R. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 8 P.; Jessup’s Corps 5 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P. Ens Byrne for Guard to Morrow.

—7th. P. Oswegatchie. C. Fort Stanwix. Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 8 P.; Kings Royal Regt N. York 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 12 P.; Jessup’s Corps 1 S. 1 C. 6 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P. Ens Wall for the Guard to Morrow.

—8th. P. St. Johns. C. Oneida. A.
Weekly State[ment] shall be given in to Morrow Morning to Lt. Crafts of the Strength of each Corps. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 6 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 D. 7 P.; Jessup’s Corps 5 P.

Gen'l Orders—The Corps Under the Command of Coll St. Leger to be Paid Subsistence to the 24th of August.

—9th. P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips, General Ordes—When any Calash or Carts, horses or Men are wanting for the service, Application must be Made for an Order from Coll St Leger, the officers and Non Commiss’d officers being in every Sense Responsible for the behaviour of their Men must keep a Strict eye Upon their Conduct. By which Means a stop will be put to the Frequent Complaints Made that are not only Dishonourable to a Soldier but some Deserving the Cord. A Patrol must go from the Main Guard at Tattoo Beating, which is to make Prisoners of all soldiers or Non Commiss’d Officers they find in them— They are likewise to order to their Cantonments all Stragglers.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. Yorkers 2 S. 1 C. 15 P.; Jessup’s Corps 1 L. 1 C. 4 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

Regt Orders—A Regtl Court Martial to sit to Morrow Morning at 11 o’clock, Lt. Singleton President. Members—Ens Burne, Ens McKenzie, Ens McDonell & Ens Phillips, to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—10th. P. Castle Johnson. C. Fort Hunter. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th to Give 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 9 P.; Jessup’s Corps 1 S. 3 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 1 C. 18 P.

R. O. Its the Commanding Officers Positive orders that the Men do Not wear their shoes when they go out a fishing.

Gen[eral] After Orders. At the Evening Exercise After the priming and loading Motions are over, the 34th and K. R. R. N. Y. will be Joined, the 34th making the Right Wing, while the others form the left. This Body will be Exercis’d by Lt Crofts of the 34th Regt.

—11th. P. [—]. C. [—]. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt to give 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 14 P.; Jessup’s Corps 5 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

G. O. A field Return of each Corps to be given to Lieut Crofts whenever the Men are Under arms for the Information of the Commanding officer—Its Lieut Coll Sir John Johnsons orders that the Commissioned, Non Commissioned officers Drummers and Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt of New York attend Exercise Every Day for the future at the hour appointed. Ens Phillips for Guard to Morrow.


Gen[eral] O[rders]. As Cleanliness and a Strict Attention to Duty are Indispensable Necessaries in a Soldier,
Colonel St. Leger Desires the troops Under his Command may be Immediately furnished with Necessaries & Each a black Stock. Officers must Inspect their Men Every morning, when they will correct any Man that comes Slovenly to the Parade; they will Likewise Remember that for the future he will impute to their Inattention the Un-Soldier Like Parade he Observed this Morning.

HEAD QUARTERS MONTREAL
17th June 1777. G. O. Those Regiments & other Departments who have not Rendered Receipts for provisions & Rum are desired to send forthwith the three Receipts of the same tenor & Date According to a form Sent for that purpose to Complete a Settlement with the Commissary Genl to the 24th of May. the troops intended to Remain in Canada & Stationed in the District of Montreal to Report [to] Brigr Genl Maclean.

8th June 1777. Promotions. His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following Promotions in the Army Under his Command:

Royal R. N. Y. Alex. McDonald to be Capt in the Room of Lieut. Brown who returned to the 31st Regt—6th June, 1777.
John McDonald to be Capt Lieut. in the Room of Capt Lieut Hewetson—19th June, 1777.
Ens William Byrne to be Lieut in the Room of Lieut Grant—6th June, 1777. Volunteer Lipscomb to be Ens vice Byrne, Do.

To Sir John Johnson or officer comndng the Royal Regt of New York.

WM DUNBAR, Majr of Brigade

LACHINE
G. O. The party of Artillery Under Lieut Glennie to be Reinforced Immediately by a Corpl & 20 Men from the 8th, 34th, & Kings Royal Regt of New York—8th & 34th Regt will give 5 each & the New York Regt 10—the 8th Regt will give the Corpl.

Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34 Regt 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. N. Y. 1 S. 2 S. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 C. 3 P. Ensl Crothers for guard to Morrow.
Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 Privates; K. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 14 Privates; Jessups Corps, 5 Privates.
G. O. A Corpl and 10 private Men with hand hatchets to go to Morrow to lower Lachine at 5 o'clock to cut boughs to Cover the Batteaux. As Coll St. Leger wishes not to take the K. Regt of New York from their Exercise the Above Party is to be given by the Detachment of the 34th Regt. Officer of the Guard to Morrow Ens McDonell. Compy Duty Gd S. 1 C. D. 4 P.

AFTER ORDERS. Its Lieut. Colonel Sir John Johnson orders that Capt Lt McDonell, Wm Byrnes & Ens Richard Lipscomb do Duty in this Compy.

Capt. Dallys Company, Lt. Gummer-folk and Ens Craford in Capt Alexr 
McDonell's, Lt. Moure [Moore ?], Lt 
Wilkeson & Ens Walle in Capt 
Duncans compy, till further orders.
—16th. P. Newark. C. Boston.
Capt Ancrum⁴ is appointed to Do the 
Duty of Adjt Genl assisted by Lieut. 
Crofts, Lt. Lundy, Deputy Qr. Mr Genl, 
Mr Piety conductor of artillery, who are to be obeyed, as 
such; orders coming thro Lt. Hamelton 
and Ens Clergis⁴ are to [be] Looked 
Upon as from the commanding officer 
of the Expedition—the corps of the 
Batteau Guard is to send a written Re- 
port Every morning to the officer of the 
Main Guard which will Report it to the 
commanding officer.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., L. 
1 S. C. D. 5 P.; Kings R. R. N. Y. 1 
L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps, 
L. S. C. D. 4 P. Total 1 1. 2 S. 1 C. 
1. D. 18 P.
G. O. The corps under the command of 
Col St. Leger to hold themselves in 
Readiness to march on the Shortest 
Notice.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., L. 
1 S. C. 1 D. 13 P.; Ks. R. R. N. Y., L. 
2 S. 2 C. D. 15 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 
1 D. 28 P.

REGTL ORDERS. The Commission'd 
Non Commission'd Officers Drums & 
private men of the Kings Royal Regt of 
New York to be under Arms to Morrow 
Morning at 5 O'clock—the officers will 
be very particular that their mens Arms 
are in Good Order & their Regts Clean 
so as to appear Decent at the Genl. Re- 
view. Company Duty 4 P.

—18th. P. Edinburgh. C. Inver- 
ness.

G. O. 34th Regt takes the Guard to 
Morrow. For Guard to morrow Ens 
Clergis.

REGTL ORDERS—the Commiss'd Non 
Commiss'd Officers, Drums & Private 
men of the Kings Royal Regt of N. 
York to be Under arms this Evening at 
5 o'clock.

F orty eight Batteaux to be Delivered to 
the Royal Regt of New York; Forty 
Five Felling axes & 3 broad axes to be 
Delivered to that Regt. Seventy Five 
Felling axes and two broad axes [for] 
the use of the 34th regt which are to be 
distributed amongst the boats at the dis- 
ccretion of the respective commanding 
Officers. A number of thole pins to be 
provided for each boat according to the 
patterns given to the carpenter, wooden 
Punches to be made by the boats crews 
—two fishing lines & hooks in propor- 
tion to be delivered to each boat. The 
K. R. R. N. Y. are to take 440 barrels 
of provision allowing 10 barrels each for 
44 Batteaus—the rum or brandy de- 
ivered out is to be put into the officers 
boats for security—his excellency the 
commander in chief has pleased to ap- 
point Roville esqr to be captain in a 
comp of Canadians in the room of Capt 
McKay Resigned—he is to be obeyed as 
such—the royal Regt of New York to 
give the guards to morrow. Lieutenant 
Gummerfolk. For guard to morrow. 1 

AFTER ORDERS. The K. R. R. V. York 
to be compleated with 14 days provision 
commencing Saturday the 21 June— 
their boats to be loaded at the Kings
stores on Friday, and from thence brought up to their quarters the same day to be ready to push off at point of day on Saturday—their Division is to be supplied with three pilots, Le Catargne the quarter master is to give a receipt for the number of barrels and the specie the division carries to the commissary at Lachine and is to be accountable for them. It is expected that the several captains have laid in necessaries for their men for the campaign.

—20th. P. Hartford. C. Milford. The 34th Regt to take the Guards to morrow. Ens Phillips 1 Sergt. 1 Corl & 32 Privates to Be left at Lachine in order to go with the baggage of the K. R. R. N. Y. over Lake Champlain to Crown Point & then proceed after the army under the command of General Burgoyne with the baggage as far as Albany if he should proceed to that place—ten old men to Be left at Point Clair.

—21st. Forty boats to contain 400 barrels of provisions & 7 of rum—the remainder to be left at Colonel St. Legers Quarters—the barrells to be distributed in such proportion as to make room for the Officers & their baggage. Major Gray must see that the companies provided according to seniority. The Capt. or Officers commanding compys to be in the front—the oldest Sublts in the rear and the youngest in the center—34 precedes; squads of boats abreast when practicable. As Sir John has reason to apprehend from the many Company's that have been made that there may be many [ir]regularities committed by the men [he] recommends it in a particular manner to all the officers.

BUCK ISLAND

1777, July 8th. P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips. For Guard Ens Crawford. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. & 16 P. the Batteaux to be taken up to the store to morrow morning at 4 o'clock and Unloaded, & such as wants repairing to be drawn up; the Taylors of the Regt begin to work to morrow morning to compleat the mens cloathing.

—9th. P. Fraser. C. Powel. Lieut Burnet of the Kings Regt to act as Adgt to the Division till further orders. A return of the strength of each corps to be given in at twelve o'clock. Capt Potts will direct liquor to be given to the troops when at work as he shall think proper according to the service they perform.

REGL ORDERS. Lt. McDonell, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. & 16 P.

—10th. GENL ORDERS. by Brigadier Genl St. Leger. Lt. Colonel St. Leger is appointed to act as Brigadier Genl; Chevalier St. Oaris appointed Lt. in Capt. Buvilies Compy of Canadians. Two Subalterns and 50 men to attend the Deputy Qr Master General to Clear Ground sufficient to exercise the army; the party to be furnished with proper Utensils for that purpose. The Kings Regt and the 34th form one Corps [and] will encamp on the right. The Hessian Chasseurs on the Left, and the R. R. of New York in the center, Lt. Collerten will choose out the proposed ground on the Right of the Army for his party of Artillery and will begin Immediately to prepare Bark Huts for His Ammunition. The Irregulars will be arranged by the Deputy Qr Master Genl Colonel Close [Col Daniel
Claus] will take ground for the Indian Allies.

Signed Wm Crofts, Lt 34th Regt.

For this Duty Ks Regt 1 L. 16 P.; R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 34 P. For Guard Ens McKenzie.

It is the Commanding officers Orders that Jos. Locks & John Laurance be appointed Sergts in Capt Duvan's Compy; Jacob Shall, Wm. Taylor, Phillip Coach, Corps in said Compy and be obeyed as such.


G. O. Lt. Crofts of the 34th Regt is appointed Major of Brigade for this expedition. Guards to Mount every morning at 8 o'clock, the Retreat to be at 7 o'clock in the evening and tattoo at 9 o'clock. An officer of each Corps to attend for Genl Orders at the Major of Brigades's tent every Day at 12 o'clock. One Sergt and 8 private men of Captain Buvelles Company of Canadians to parade to Morrow morning to go to Oswegatchie for Provisions and 4 privates will parade at the same hour, who will receive further orders from Lt. Rudyard Engineer.

REGTL. O. For Guard to Morrow, 1 S. 1 C. D. 8 P. men. Ens McKenzie is to do [duty] in Capt McDonell's Compy, Ens Crothers in Major Grays, & Ens Crawford in Capt Daly's till further orders.

The officers commanding compys to give in their Monthly Return to Morrow morning at 6 o clock and be very careful that they are not false. Compy Duty Gd 1 D. 3 P.

—12th. P. Gray. C. Mohock River. His Majesty has been Pleased to ap- point Coll. Claus to be superintendent of the Indian Department on this expedition; A Sub. of the Day is constantly to remain in Camp who will see all publick orders executed and to whom all reports of any thing extraordinary will be made for the information of the Brigadier. All orders relative to the Soldiers shall be read to them at the Evening Parade by an officer of the Company. For fatigue to Morrow—K's Regt 22 P.; K's R. N. Y., 1 S. 36 P.; Canadians, 1 S. 12 P. The Kings Regt to Give the Sub. of the Day to Morrow.

—13th. P. Carleton. C. McClain. The state of provisions at this post to be given by the D. Commissary general as soon as possible this day [to] the Brigadier—no biscuit to be delivered but by his particular orders, or small barrels of pork to be broke open; no arrears of provisions to be recd at this post; such persons as may have any rations due to them this day and properly certified to the D. C. General may receive the value of them in cash, the usual drawback being made at 64 pds. ration, or a certificate from him that such Rations are due, which will be delivered from the Kings Stores at a more convenient time; no person to draw more than one ration pr day viz: 1 lb of flour, 1 of Beef or 10 oz. of pork, & such troops as choose to draw one pound of flour pr. day shall receive from the D. Q. master General the value weekly of the remainder at 1 lbs.; all public store[s] not immediately pertaining to any particular corps to be put in charge of the Detachments under the orders of Capt Potts of the Kings Regt. at this
post; the Detachment of the King under the Command of Capt. Lanotts' will furnish a relief of 1 Sergt 1 Corporal and 12 private every day to the above Detachment. The D. Quartermaster General will direct a hut to be built immediately within the lines of the incampment of Capt Potts Detachment to receive all publick stores and is to be sufficient to protect them from the weather; each Corps shall receive under their charge a certain number of Boats; all the overplus boats for publick stores will come under the charge of C. Potts Detachment and Each Corps will be answerable for the particular attention for the safety of the boats given unto their charge, and to report to the Superintendent any repairs they may want. Each corps after Expending what provisions they have recd, to draw weekly their rations, and they will sign an order for all provisions drawn for such persons on this Expedition in his majesty's service who do not belong to any particular Corps. Colonel Claus will ascertain the number of Indians absolutely necessary to be fed at this post of which he will give directions to the Brigades who will give directions that the S. rations be issued daily to the Indians, and Colonel Claus will appoint a person from the Indian Department who speaks the Missaga language to attend the delivery of said provisions which by him is to be Recd in bulk delivered in Camp to Indian Department and the D. Commissary General will deliver no provisions to any person but under the assignment of Commanding officers of Corps and detachments and the Deputy Quartermaster General. Lieut Burnet of the Kings Regt is appointed Superintendent of the Kings Batteaux.

For Fatigue to morrow. Kings Regt, 16 P.; 34th Regt, 1 S. 17 P.; R. Y., 2 L. 1 S. 27 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. gives the Subaltern for the day to morrow.

Reg't Orders. For guard to morrow Ens Lipscomb, 1 S. 1 C. and 10 privates. S. Crawford of M. Gray's Compy to do duty. [illegible] McDonells Compy.

C. Campbell is appointed Sergt in major Grays Company in the Room of S. Crawford. John Raley is appointed Corpl in M. Grays Company in Room of Corporal Campbell. The officers commanding companys to be very particular that the mens arms and accoutrements be in good order as they are to be reviewed to morrow at Guard mounting; all the Boats that want repairing in the different compys their numbers to be given in immediately to the Quartermaster. Lieut Anderson officer for the day to morrow.

—14th. Morning Orders. All leaky and damaged batteaux belonging to the different corps to be immediately hauled on shore and turned up on their own ground, ready for repair under the directions of Lieut. Burnet, and any boats that may have been drawn up before the present directions of ground took place not within the present line of incampment and to be Immediately Launched, and brought to the ground of their Regiment to prevent confusion. Mr. Charles Miller is appointed Batteau Master in the room of Mr. Kuysak and is to be attended as such.


A return of the number of caulkers and carpenters belonging to the different
corps to be given in Immediatly to the D. A. G. and they will be ready to attend Mr. Burnet at one o’clock.

P. Brunswick. C. Kent. No person whatsoever to trade rum or any spiritous liquors for any thing which the Indians may have to dispose of, those people will be Informed by their officers that it is necessary to have the C. S. to pass the centres and guards of the Comp—and they will strongly recommend to them not to leave their incamper after dark lest they should be subjected to Inconveniences from the difficulty of pronouncing or Rembering the pass word; no Soldier or any of the Corps Canadians on any account to fire their arms unless to discharge them after bad weather and then in the presence of an Officer—No trader on this Island to sell any Rum or spirituous liquor without the assignment of Capt Potts of the Kings Regt; any officer wanting such things will send their orders to be countersigned by him to prevent forgeries and Imposition; the guard of the camp not to turn out but once a day to the Brigadier or are they to take notice of him unless in his Uniform. Sergt Killigrew of the 34th Regt is appointed provost Martial at 2s-6d pr day for the Expedition and to be obeyed as such; his guard to be proportioned to the number of prisoners; a Corporal and 4 private men from the line to mount at the usual time to morrow morning for this duty; all prisoners Excl those styled officers from the Rebel army to go on all fatigues daily, a man of the Guard to attend them; the Rations pr day for all Rebel prisoners of what ever distinction to be an oz. of pork and pound of flour. For duty to morrow
—K’s Regt, 17 P.; 34th Regt, 1 C. 16P.;
R. R. Regt, 3 L. 1 S. 1 C. 32 P.

REGT ORDERS. For Guard to morrow
Ens Lipscomb, 1. 1. 2. and 20 private men. Its Major Grays orders that an officer of a Compy shall Read to the men the Gen. Orders against trafficking with the Indians with Rum, and that the officers employed in seeing the Batteaus carried over the long Sault shall give in an Exact list of the number of Boats brought up by each squad.

The duty of the Provost Marshal. The care of all prisoners taken in battle, spies and deserters is Intrusted to them forthwith; he will have a guard strong in proportion to their number; all disorders in the camp fall under his cognizance; he is to have the control of all settlers and traders selling Liquor, and have authority for Impressing such as he finds disobedient to General Orders; he is to regulate all markets that may be formed in the Camp, and appoint proper places for them, and likewise to protect with his authority and guard all persons coming with provisions to the troops; he is from time to time to send out patroles from his guard and when necessary attend them himself to take prisoners all marauders and stragglers; all his reports are to be made to the D. Quartermaster General—only for the Information of the Commander-in-Chief cases relative to the economy of the Comp, and to the D. A. General all Extraordinary matters; as spies, deserters, &c. &c. In cases of Executions he is to the Martial law what the Sheriff of a County is to the Civil; he is to be pro-
provided with an Executioner when this he Requests and when a more honourable death by fire arms is granted he will give the word of command; his guard is to be near headquarters.

G. O. Commanding officers of the diff’rent Corps will direct that the mens tents are struck and the rear turned up every fine day at 10 o’clock and remain so four hours at least to air them perfectly; their streets must be swept every morning; no washing, cleaning of arms or accoutrements or doing any thing in them that may Render them filthy and Consequently unwholesome must be suffered.

The K. R. R. of New York will Expend that part of their ammunition which [is] fit for service in firing at marks Every morning in presence of their officers. For duty—K. R. Regt, I L. 1 S. 17 P.; 34th Regt, I L. 2 C. 15 P.; K. R. R. N. Y., I L. 1 S. 32 P. 34th Regiment to give the subaltern of the Day to morrow, 1 man to be sent [as] orderly over the adjt General.

Rgnt. Orders. For Guard to morrow Lieut. Walker, I S. 1 C. 1 D. 16 private men—all the men of the R. Regt of N. Y. to send two Rounds of Ball Cartridge each to morrow morning at 10 o’clock.

—16th. Morning Orders. The Kings Royal Regt of N. York to send one Sergt and 12 careful men to the artillery at 8 o’clock to examin the Ammunition.

Signed,

Wm Crofts, Major Brigade.

P. Bristol. C. Taunton. For duty to morrow K. Regt, 4 P.; 34th Regt, 1 C. 6 P.; K. R. Regt N. Y., 1 L. 1 C. 5 P.

Its Sir Johns orders that the officers Commanding Companys Settle with their men Before to morrow night and pay them the Ballance of their acct’s to the 24th of August Inclusive.

Its Major Grays Orders that see that the men wash their cloathing and clean their arms to Morrow as there are but few men for duty; they will likewise Examine their Necessaries of which they will give a report in writing to Major Gray.

The brigadier has the satisfaction to inform the Corps in this expedition that Fort Ticonderoga, a large Quantity of provision & artillery & stores with their whole stock of live cattle were abandoned by the rebels to the grand army the 6th instant; that many prisoners were taken & many killed, and that at the moment the advanced corps of Indians were in hot pursuit; the troops on this expedition to hold themselves in readiness to embark on an hours notice; 40 Days provision for 500 men to be immediately sorted to be ready to be embarked on boats which the superintendents will point out. Lieutenant Collorton will prepare ammunition For two 6 pounders & 2 Cohorns and 50 rounds ball cartridges per man for 500 men and make a demand of the number of large boats that will be sufficent For their transports; all ovens to be set at work to bake 6 Days bread For 500 men; great care must be taken that it will be well soakt to keep in that time; each corps to find what bakers they have [and report] to the Deputy Commissary general at 10 o’clock; the kings regt, the 34, Captain Watts Detachment, and Capt Reveils corps to be compleated with 50 rounds of good ammunition Imme-
diately. All those corps who have it not in their own stores will make a demand on the artillery and give a receipt agreeable to the forms they require; it is absolutely necessary that the officers commanding Corps should provide their men with some sort of cases to keep their locks dry through the woods in rainy weather; the master of the Ship Colweel and Mr. Miller, the Chief Ship Carpenter with any other carpenters or seamen they think proper to call For to assist or advise with, and to take an exact and particular Survey of the State and condition of Sloop Charity, and to make the report to the brigadier in writing this Day, signifying therein whether their works and timber will admit of such repair as will enable her to sail the lakes again with any probability of safety. Lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt will preside on this survey.

For Duty to morrow K regt, 6 P.; the 34th, 1 C. 7 P.; the kings royal yorkers, 1 L. 1 C. 10 P. A return to be given in immediately by each corps to lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt of the number of bateaux, painters, oars, setting poles and paddles, specifying the size of the bateaux.

—18th.  P. Onadaga.  C. Fort Bull. The advance Guards consisting of all the officers & 80 rank and file of the Kings & 34th Regts, the Tribe of Mis-sagey Indians, with what is on the Island of the Six Nations, & the officers and rangers will move to morrow Morning at 4 o'clock.

The Kings & 34th Regts will Receive 10 Boats Each for their men & twenty days provision. The officers will be allowed a proper portion of Boats for their Baggage on their way to Oswego, those boats will be man'd by the Supernumeraries of each corps. Capt. Ruvielle's corps of Canadians will remove the same time & carry 20 Days provisions for 500 men. The Corps will be assisted by a proper number of men [from] the Ks and 34th to mount the Rapids from Oswego to Fort Stanwix. The provision boats as well as those of the officers baggage are to be Loaded this Evening ready to push [ahead] at a moment's warning in the morning. The advance Corps to carry 6 Days provision in bread & pork to shut out any possibility of want of provision from Delays or Disappointments of the Ks vessels; the officer command'g in chief finds himself under the painful necessity of putting a short stop to the currency of Trade by ordering that the crews of the boats that come to unload on the Island may go one trip with provision to Oswego for which they will be paid. Every Brigade of provision boats, which arrived before the return of the vessels from Niagara, Capt Potts will push forward to Oswego with all Expedition.

REGTL ORDERS. For Guard to Morrow Ensign Wall, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 15 P. Each officer Commanding Companys is to pay 3 Dollars, Each subaltern 1 Dollar to the Quartermaster in order to pay the men that carry'd the bateaux over the Long Sault, & the officers of the Colonels Company to pay Three Dollars extraordinary [for] the bateau that was lost at Point Apaw in place of Five paid to the Indians for finding the 5th Bateau, and for the future whatever Companys shall lose Bateaux or provisions by negligence shall pay the whole value
& be liable to censure besides; as men seem to be careless about their arms & Accoutrements it is the Commanding officers orders that at Roll Call evening & morning the men appear with their arms, and whoever loses any of them shall be obliged to pay for the same.

—19th. P. Hesse Hanau. C. Cassel. The troop [i.e. Bugle-call] will assemble the advanced corps, & upon the beating the second troop, they will embark. Each corps will be allowed 1 boat to carry such things as will be immediately wanted, which will move with the Artillery and provisions destined for Fort Stanwix. The remainder will stay at Oswego till a general clearance of that post. The whole Brigade of Canadians that brought up the Hessians to be employed in carrying provisions to Oswego after giving Eight hands to strengthen Capt Rouville's Company. The Artillery under the command of Lt Collerton to carry 20 days Provision for their own Detachment. Three of the Rebel Prisoners now in the Provo Guard who have taken the oaths of allegiance to the King are to be employed as Batteau men to Lt. Glennies Detachment to which will be added 10 Men of the Royal Yorkers which takes two boats from their proper line of transports.

—19th. After Orders. The several corps to proceed in 2 lines dressing. The Leading boats, the officer commanding in chief & the staff to Lead; the lines to be followed by the Artillery, Kings Regt, Capt Ruvills Company, & 2 Merchts boats & 34th Regt.

Signals to be observ'd by the Detach'mt; the Ensign hoisted a mid ships and one musket a Signal for all boats to put off. The Ensign hoisted in the bow and one musket a signal for all boats to put ashore. A Signal to be made by any boats in Distress, three successive muskets; a signal for a [illegible] any thing white in the bow. All signals to be Repeat'd by commanding officers of corps.

The Detachment of Royal Artillery under the command of Lieut. Glennie, the R. R. N. Yorkers, the Companies of Chasseurs* & officers & Rangers" of the Indian Department & Canadians Destined for the transport of provisions are to hold themselves in Readiness to embark to Morrow Morning at 4 o'clock, for which purpose the officers command'n the different Corps are to see that their Boats are loaded this evening; all the ovens to be Impoly'd this evening in Baking for the Hessians. Three Canadians out of each of the 7 boats to be Impoly'd as Steersmen to the Royal Yorkers & Hessians, for which in equal Number agreeable to the proportion [of] each Corps, Receipts must be given for the Provision boats. The whole to proceed in the Following order. First, The Commandg Officer with such of the staff & Indian Department as are on the Ground.

Oswego Falls

—1777 July 31st. P. York. The Detachment of the Royal artillery under the command of Lieut. Glinne, the R. R. of N. Y. of Capt. Buvills company of Canadians to take in their loading immediately; each captains boat in the royal Yorkers to carry 4 barrels, 10 lieut boats 5 each, lieutenant Anderson J. Wilkerson to carry 4 Barrels each, the
privates' boats to carry 6 each, & to hold themselves in readiness to embark at 2 o'clock this afternoon to proceed in the Following order.

Royal artillery. Six Companies of the Kings R. R. of N. Y. Capt Bouvills Company of Canadians, Lieut Col's Company. The officers commanding companies not to allow their boats to fall back or put ashore without orders or a signal for that purpose.

1 A portion of Jessup's Corps was also with Burgoyne's army. The Big Fall on the Hudson River, about ten miles above Glen's Falls, where the entire volume of water pours over a sheer descent of seventy feet, is named Jessup's Falls, after the commander of this corps. Above the fall is a gorge in the rocks, where the river finds a passage in a cleft about fourteen feet space. Here legend says that Jessup jumped across the river and made his escape at the outbreak of the Revolution from the Sheriff of Albany county."—Holden's History of Queensbury.

2 Allan Maclean of Torloisk, Lieut. Col. 1st Battalion Royal Highland Emigrants, afterwards 84th Foot.

3 This officer was captured with Gen. Prescott on the fleet while attempting to escape from Montreal to Quebec in November, 1775.

4 Major Ancrum was the officer sent by Col. St. Leger to Col. Willett to summon the garrison of Fort Stanwix to surrender. See Willett's Narrative, p. 56.

5 Lieutenant George Clerges of the 34th Regiment. He entered the British army as Ensign in the 53d, July 10, 1776; exchanged into 34th January 2, 1777; became a Lieutenant therein November 5th, 1782, and appears last in army lists in 1783.

6 Bucks' or Carleton Island—called by the French 'Ile aux Chevreuils,' from the fact that the deer frequented it, as it had good pasturage. In passing on the steamboat down the St. Lawrence River from Cape St. Vincent, the tourist will observe a number of stacks of old stone chimneys standing near the shore on the left side, which are upon Bucks' Island. Buchette, in his History of Canada, published in 1815, states that Carleton Island was converted into a large magazine or dépôt for military supplies and general rendezvous in 1774-5 by the British Government, in anticipation of trouble with her American colonies. Doubtless, as Carleton was then in command of Canada, the name of the island was at this time changed in honor of that General. The stacks of chimneys still to be seen are probably the remains of those "ovens"—to which the Orderly Book refers—in which bread for the troops was baked. The English Government reserved this island in its sale to Macomb; and in 1796 a corporal and three men were in charge. The island, however, had evidently been fortified by the French many years before 1774, the time spoken of by Bouvills for Count Frontenac mentions it as one of his stopping places in 1696 in his expedition against the Onondagas, at which time Captain du Luth was left on the island with a garrison of forty men, masons, etc., with orders to "complete the fort." For a more detailed account of this island and its fortifications, see Hough's History of Jefferson Co., and Rochevuestauc de Liancourt's Travels. I am indebted to Messrs. Todd and Ames of Oswego, N. Y., for their courtesy in giving me information about this island.

7 The British service recognized a number of military commissions which are unknown in others, among them "acting," "territorial" and "local." For instance, in the cases of Carleton and Clinton, they were full generals in America, but only Lieut. Generals elsewhere. This explains how Ferguson is variously known as Line Major, Breve Colonel and Territorial Brigadier General for the command of militia.—J. W. De Peyster.

8 Col. Claus states that he had under him in this expedition 150 Indians of the Misisagey and Six Nations.

9 Col. Claus, however, in his Letter to Secretary Knox, above referred to, speaks of only one company of Chasseurs, and that arrived a day or two before the 19th of July.

10 "The origin of Rangers, since the late Sir Wm. Johnson's time, was to intermix them with the Indians when on service, and be commanded by the Indian officers. Formerly none but those acquainted with the Indians and their language were admitted, and received half a crown pay; now that distinction, though essentially necessary, is no more made, which makes his commission become an additional useless expense, though very beneficial to him."—Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, 16th, Oct. 1777.

Note.—The reader should be informed that the hiatus which occurs in the Orderly Book between the 19th and the 21st of July is due to the fact that at that time the troops of General St. Leger and Sir John Johnson were passing from Buck's (Carleton) Island to Oswego Falls in boats.

It should also be stated that, while the names of towns and places in the Orderly Book have been corrected, the variations in spelling of the proper names of persons have been in nearly all cases preserved.

William L. Stone
NOTES

CLINTON PORTRAITS—Miss Booth, in her History of New York City, has made an error in giving to the portraits of George Clinton, first Governor of the State of New York, and Lady Clinton his wife, the names of Sir George and Lady Clinton. Sir George was Admiral Clinton, Governor of the New York Province from 1743 to 1753. The portraits given are after the St. Mémé heads.

A. H.

COLONIAL PRIZES—Letter from Charleston, S. C., December 26, 1744. Since my last came in here the brave and active Captain Franklyn, in his Majesty's Ship the Rose, and brought in with him a rich French Ship, called the Conception, bound from Carthagena to the Havannah, of 400 Tons, 20 Carriage Guns, and 326 Men on board. Captain Franklyn fought her 11 Glasses, Yard-Arm and Yard-Arm, during which Time he killed 116 Men, and wounded 45, and then she struck; and had himself five Men killed, and 13 wounded; the Rose had 175 Men on board. The Vice King's Secretary was made a Prisoner, and says, she is the richest Ship that has ever been taken since the Commencement of the Spanish War, (except Admiral Anson's great Prize.) All the Passengers on board are very rich; and the Crew of the Rose continually find hidden Treasure. We are informed that her Cargoe consists of the following Particulars, viz.:—800 Serons of Cocoa, 68 Chests of Silver, Gold and Silver Coins, Plate, a large Quantity and very curious. A Two-Wheel'd Chaise, with Silver Wheels. An Axle-Tree, of the same, all of the same Metal. A large Quantity of Diamonds, Pearls, and Precious Stones. A large Quantity of Gold, &c., &c.

—The following is an Account of the Money and other Cargo found on board the South Sea Ship, called Notre Dame de La Deliverance, carried into Louisville soon after the Acquisition of that Place.

14,840 Double Doubloons, at 66s.
Sterl. each .......................... £48972: 0: 0
1,320,000 Dollars at 4s. 9d. .......... 313618: 15: 0
786 Ounces of Gold at 72s. per Ounce ........................................ 2829: 12: 0
283 Pound, 3 oz or 4531 oz Silver, 5s. per oz ................................ 1132: 15: 0

£367553: 2: 0

18 Large Gold Snuff Boxes.
1 Gold headed Sword.
1 Crucifix and Chain.
A small box containing rough Diamonds.
876 Serons, 1/2 of Coca
316 Bags
195 Serons of Jesuits Bark.
36 Bales of Fine red Wool.

The value of the Whole amounting to about £400,000 Sterling.—N. Y. Weekly Post Boy, Dec. 16, 1745 W. K.

PROGRESS OF BOSTON—Long previous to the revolution in America, I had repeatedly visited Boston; what a strange contrast after an absence of more than thirty years! In 1762, 64 and 65, it was the extravagance of fanatic religious folly; under the cloak of which, hypocrisy and vice prevailed to a high degree. It is true, there were no public notorious brothels, nor any women of known loose conduct suffered to reside in the town; but there was more private debauchery than I ever knew in any other part of the world. I could fill pages with the sin-
gularly laughable occurrences within my own knowledge. In 1794 I found a Roman Catholic chapel freely tolerated, and was entertained in a handsome, crowded theatre; two circumstances, which, if I had ventured to predict when I first knew the place (daring as I was known to be at that time), I should have run some risk of being tarred and feathered. Not a single Jew was able to live there sometime previous to the revolution; now there is an abundance, with every species of accommodation, bad as well as good, that can be found in the seaports and cities of Europe.—Lieutenant John Harriott's Travels, II., 34.

Petersfield

The Ohio Company—Cameron, Febr'y 23d, 1748–9. Sir: We the Committee of the Ohio Company met here have order'd the Hundred pounds Sterling from each Member as a Stock for goods from London to be paid at or before the 15th of April next, we therefore desire you'll send that Sum so Mr. Nath'l Chapman or order at or before that time who's to give receipts for the sum by order of —. Sir, Y'r humble Serv'ts.

Law'r Washington
James Scott
Nath'l Chapman
John Carlyle

P. S. We have Appointed the 18th day of May next for a General Meeting at Cameron where Business of Importance Relating the Comp'y will be Transacted & we desire your attendance without fail

To Maj'r Law'r Washington

T. A. E.

The Drama in Boston—The Theatre in this city was opened for the season on the Monday evening of last week. We do not mention this fact to give information;—we mention it to excite Christians to pray against the wide-spreading pestilence; to exhort Christian parents to keep their children from the vortex of destruction; to sound an alarm among all ranks of society, where a relic of morality remains, and beseech them to feel that “the hour of temptation is come.”—Boston Recorder and Telegraph, Dec. 1826.

Beacon Street

Rhode Island Congressmen—Dr. Williamson in a letter to Judge Iredell, of North Carolina, dated New York, August 23, 1788, describes Chief Justice Peleg Arnold and Jonathan Hazard, the delegates from “the large, upright, and respectable State of Rhode Island,” as follows: “That State was some days ago represented by a Mr. Arnold, who keeps a little tavern ten miles out of Providence; and a Mr. Hazard, the illiterate ‘quondam’ skipper of a small coasting vessel, who now, the very leader of Know Ye justices, officiates at country courts, and receives small fees, not as a lawyer, but agent for suitors.”

Nipmuc

Niagara Falls—The first mention in history is in 1648, Relations des Jesuites, and the mention is as follows: “A Lake called Erie discharges its waters par une cheute d'eaux d'une effroyable hauteur into Lake Ontario.—One Hundred Prize Questions in Canadian History, Montreal, 1880.”

Editor
QUERIES

Colonel Thomas of the Guards—In the expedition to Gov. Livingston's house, Liberty Hall, in June 1780, Lieut. Col. Gordon [a brother of the Duchess of Gordon, whom Staats Morris married] is alleged to have "got into trouble." He was tried; "and afterwards insisted on fighting and killing Lieut. Col. Thomas of the 1st Guards, who had testified against him."

Is this latter officer the same one who is mentioned in the following footnote to Boswell's Johnson? If so, what are the facts in the case, and what was the nature of the trouble? "In a clause in the will of the late Colonel Thomas, of the Guards, written the night before he fell in a duel, Sept. 3, 1783, he says, 'In the first place I commit my soul to Almighty God, in hopes of his mercy and pardon for the irreligious step I now [in compliance with the unwarrantable customs of this wicked world] put myself under the necessity of taking.'"

C. A. C.

Continental Army—What regiment in the Continental army has been by the majority of historians declared the best in discipline and length of service?

E. S. W., Jr.

Columbus in Iceland—Irving in his Life of Columbus, lib. I., chap. 6, says: "While the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the North of Europe. Of this we have no other memorial than the following passage, extracted by his son from one of his letters:

"In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, etc."

Humboldt [Cosmos, I.] mentions a work of Columbus, Tratado de las Cinco Zonas Habitables. "Christopher Columbus," says Humboldt, "in a work 'On the Five Habitable Zones of the Earth,' which has now become extremely rare, states that in the month of February, 1477, he visited Iceland."

Is this work and the letter mentioned as above, by Irving, both one and the same? If not, then Irving must have been unacquainted with the existence of the work to which Humboldt alludes.

Columbus mentions an island to the south of Iceland, which he calls Frislanda; and Humboldt asks the question how Columbus, if ignorant of the travels of the brothers Zeni, came by this name Frislanda.

C. A. C.

C. C. Colton in America—It has been stated that the author of "Lacon" arrived in 1824 in the ship Boy, Captain Greene, owned by Governor Collins, at Newport, R. I., where he assumed the name of Hamilton; and that he lived two years in this country, residing part of the time in New York and in Charleston, S. C., and that while here he contributed to the newspapers.

Is this statement true? The question has been asked elsewhere. I ask it now in the hope that some of the readers of this may be able to answer it.

C. A. C.

A Scottish Blade—Col. Edward Wyman, of this city, has a very old sword [claymore]. On each side of the blade
near the hilt is marked SAHGUM. Can any one explain this? It is supposed to have been brought from Cape Breton.

**Boston**

**A. A. F.**

**REPLIES**

**THE BLUE BELL TAVERN**—[IV. 460, V. 142, VI. 64, 223] The following additional testimony justifies me in reaffirming my former statements, 1st, as to the site of the "Blue Bell," and 2d, as to the date of its destruction. My original authority in the matter—for of course I am only a reporter—Mr. Ryer, the oldest and best informed man at Fort Washington, locally, having been consulted and again questioned with special reference to the points in debate, has thus written me:

“You wish to be correctly informed with reference to the location of the Blue Bell tavern. Its location was on the east side of the Kingsbridge road, right opposite grandmother’s house, still standing. Her brother, Blazius Moore, bought the farm just previous to the yellow fever in New York, and moved out there. It [the Blue Bell] was burnt down by an old crazy colored women, and what was left of any good, was used in a house; he built on the property that still stands there. The broken brick that was of no use was piled against the old road wall and lots of it remain there still. The farm is owned by his grandson, Mr. Charles S. Cheshbough. The location now is just in 181st Street, the east side of the Kingsbridge road. The building was burnt down the year he bought it, and he came in possession the year following, moving there during the summer. **Blazius Ryer**

In order to procure all the information in this matter within my reach, I addressed a note of inquiry also to my friend Isaac M. Dyckman, Esq., who lives about a mile north of Fort Washington on the Kingsbridge road, the present representative of the large Dyckman estate on the island, a man of sixty-five, familiar from his boyhood with all the old landmarks in those parts, and an esteemed and intelligent Elder in the Presbyterian Church at Inwood, who thus replies: "In compliance with your request I write you in relation to the 'Blue Bell' tavern. I saw Mr. Ryer, and have compared notes with him. He and I agree, viz.: The 'Blue Bell' tavern was located on the east side of the road, now at or in 181st St., and was burned down in 1819 or 1820. The mistake arises from the location of another old house about one-half a mile south of 'Blue Bell,' and this house was burned down in or about 1846, and was on the west side of the road." Thus far these witnesses, and how they can be mistaken in the premises, being as it were "to the manner born," and being persons so locally well posted, I cannot conceive.

**Elizabeth**

**W. H.**

**ST. MÉMIN PORTRAIT**—[V. 446] There was published in Baltimore in 1840 a brief work in pamphlet form, called "An Exposition of Book-keeping by Single or Double Entry," by Henry Alexander, which is embellished with a portrait of the author engraved by St. Mémin. It appears in Mr. Dexter's
REPLIES

collection, No. 364. The face is to the right. Above the portrait is "Henry Alexander, 1806," and below is—
"Drawn and engraved by St. Ménin, Baltimore." M. W. H.

Baltimore

JOHN BROWN, LIEUT. COLONEL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE [V. 376] The Rev. G. L. Roof, who delivered the address at the laying of the corner stone of Lieut. Col. John Brown's monument, is living at Mount Ida, at Troy, New York, and might know if any portrait exist of him, or possibly the fact may be stated in "The Northern Invasion," printed by the Bradford Club.

W. HUDSON STEPHENS

LOUISVILLE, N. Y.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS—Lieut. Col. Francis Barber [VI. 60] A few particulars relative to the death and burial of this distinguished officer of the New Jersey line, have been received from his grandchildren living in this city, and are here subjoined. Other biographical facts may be found in a notice of him by the late Dr. W. W. Whitehead, of Elizabeth, published in Appleton's Encyclopedia.

On the day when the news of peace were received at Washington's Headquarters at New Windsor, in the vicinity of Newburgh, N. Y., the General had invited his officers with their wives, to dine with him. Col. Barber that day had been reviewing troops for a military friend, and on his return to meet Mrs. Barber—a daughter of the Hon. Robert Ogden, of Elizabethtown—awaiting him at his brother's house in or near New Windsor, rode through a piece of woods where some men were felling trees by the road side. They called out to him to hurry, as one was about to fall, but not understanding them, he unfortunately reined in his horse, and in a moment after the tree came down and killed both him and his beast. He was buried in the grave-yard of the "Good Will Presbyterian Meeting House," in New Windsor, where a head-stone to his memory was either erected or renovated a few years ago.

Elizabeth W. H.

ROBINSON'S HOUSE [IV. 109]—The immediate surroundings of the house are much changed since the revolution. The road which now leads past the place was not there then; the mansion being approached by a lane leading westward to it from the old Peekskill road which lies some distance east of the house. This lane may be seen laid down on Erskine's map in the Magazine for Dec., 1879 (III. 756). Faint traces of the road which led from the house to the dock are still to be found. On the west side of the highway, a few rods above the house, is a stile; from this a winding path, all that is left of the Beverley Dock road, leads down to the river side and the remains of the dock itself. In the lots west of the old Peekskill road may still be seen vestiges of what is called the Old Camp Oven, which probably stood on or near the lane which formerly was the approach to the Beverley House.

The night that André was brought from South Salem, in Westchester County, to Robinson's house, the party
took [by orders of Washington] a very circuitous route. As far as can be told now, they must have taken a road [delineated on Erskine's map] which leads off from the Crumpond road some distance east of Somer's Town. Following this northward to about the site of the present Carmel in Putnam County, they then took a road branching off westward towards the Hudson River. This would take them by Lake Mahopac; near which we catch a glimpse of them. At Red Hills, or, as it was then called, Robinson's Mills, which is but a short distance from the lake, at the house of James Cox, Blake, in his History of Putnam County, says they stopped. Pursuing their course by this road their route would lay through what is now known as Shrub Oaks, and they would eventually come out into the New York post road at Cortlandville, two miles above Peekskill. That they did so is proven by the fact that here again we meet with a tradition of them. At the fork of the roads near St. Peter's church [in the cemetery of which John Paulding lies buried] is a very old house. At this house, according to a well authenticated statement, the party halted for a short time. [See Potter's Am. Monthly for Sept., 1876]. From this point their route is clear enough; up the post road, over high Gallow's Hill, where Palmer was hung three years before, and keeping to the left above Continental Village, on to their destination.

French Hill, Westchester County

-The names of Henry Strong, page 443, I. Hazard Strong, page 446, and Major Joseph Strong, page 445, should all read Strong, and in the last paragraph of my article, "There were three logs," should read, there were logs there.

W. J. C.

Yorktown, N. Y.

The Bowerie [IV. 224, 468, V. 66]

In answer to the query as to the true spelling of this name, "B. F." of Albany writes that it is properly spelled "Bouwerij." In Sewel's Dutch and English Dictionary of 1764, the word is spelled "Bouwery"-its meaning a farm. The only change in the name of the street bearing that name is in dropping the u.

Fort Jervis, N. Y. W. H. N.

Kissam Book Plate [V. 376, VI. 224]

I have a copy of Locke, published in London, 1731. On the inside of the cover is the plate referred to, and on the fly leaf is written "Benj. Kissam, Bt. of Thos. Wilcox, London."

H. Dawkins was probably an engraver in London.

New York

Benj. T. Kissam

The Chains of Columbus—[II. 162]

In an article on "The Remains of Columbus," in the Magazine for March, 1878, Mr. Brevoort says: "As for the chains which Columbus wore on his return from his third voyage, and which he ordered to be buried with him, they are not mentioned elsewhere than in his will."

I do not find any such clause in Columbus’ will. Fernando Columbus (Hist. del Almirante, in Barcia, Hist. Prim. de las Ind. Occident., ed. Madrid, 1749),
tells us that his father kept the setters, in which he was brought home, hanging in his house, and requested that when he died they should be buried with him; but I look in vain for any such directions set forth by Columbus himself either in his will or elsewhere.

C. A. C.

PIERRE AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU — [V. 204] The family spelling is as above, not "Chouteau," as given in E. T. Lander’s article. Scribner’s Monthly of 1874, in an account of St. Louis, gives the correct spelling, as also a picture of the old “Chouteau Mansion” as it was. Tradition assigns to Col. Chouteau the honor of having cut the first tree on the site of that city. With other descendants, Mr. Gabriel S. Chouteau, his son, a venerable nonagenarian, is still living in St. Louis, as we have recently been informed. To Mrs. Col. Phinney, of N. J., a great grand-daughter of his father, its original French patriarch and founder, with Liguest, we are indebted for the particulars here recorded.

Elisabeth

W. H.

WASHINGTON A POLYPHEMUS—[VI. 142] The Tory printer had his laugh a century ago at the slow progress Washington made with his impedimenta dragged by oxen, but the last word from India shows that even great English generals are compelled to do the best they can.

Of the thirteen thousand bullocks in the transport service of the British army in Afghanistan, five thousand are unfit for work, owing to the effects of General Roberts’ march last August, and the hard work and approximate starvation endured under General Phayre. It is proposed to substitute camels.”

IULUS

FOX-HALL MANOR [V. 373]—Thomas Chambers, one of the earliest settlers of Wittwyck [Kingston], had purchased from the Indians considerable tracts of land east of Kingston and extending southeasterly from the Esopus Kil. The English Government confirmed his title to these lands, and Gov. Dongan erected the same into a manor and lordship with right to hold a Court-Leet and a Court-Baron on the 28th Oct., 1686. The manor was merged into Kingston, March 12, 1787.

B. F.

Albany

THE RANDAL MAPS [V. 372, VI. 63]—The Randal “Field Notes” of his survey of New York Island have been purchased by the city government and are now in the Department of Sewers.

The Randal map proper is to be seen in the City Hall.

Engineer

DESCENDANTS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON—[V. 373, VI. 225] The following information may be new to some of the readers of the Magazine:

In case of McKinnon vs. Bliss, 21 N. Y. Reports, p. 207, it appears that 92,000 acres of land were devised by Sir William Johnson to his eight children by Molly Brant—Susanna taking 3,000 acres. Doubtless all reliable existing evidence as to the whereabouts of the land papers and their reported “burial” there appears; and the case illustrates the value of general history as evidence.

W. HUDSON STEPHENS

Lowville, N. Y.
EDITOR’S CHRONICLE

At the February meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Ralph Waldo Emerson read a paper upon Thomas Carlyle, who was one of its foreign members. Mr. Emerson introduced the works of Carlyle to America, and Sartor Resartus first appeared in book form in this country. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop reported that the amount contributed by Americans to the Raleigh memorial window in St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster, was about £315 sterling. Colonel Lee gave a description of the William Clark house and the Hutchinson mansion at the North End, as they were in 1831. A contribution was reported of one thousand dollars from Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman to the Erastus B. Bigelow fund of the Society.

The Maryland Historical Society held its annual meeting at its rooms, Saratoga and St. Paul streets, Monday evening, February 14. J. H. B. Latrobe was elected President, E. A. Dalrymple, Corresponding Secretary, and John M. W. Lee, Librarian, for the ensuing year. Large additions to the library were announced. The paper of the evening, on the origin of the name of Baltimore, was read by Joseph Barry of Harper’s Ferry. Mr. Barry did not claim to settle the question, but insisted that, whatever the etymology, the name was derived from the green isle.

The Georgia Historical Society held its regular annual meeting Monday, February 14, at Hodgson Hall, Savannah. Henry R. Jackson was elected President, and Wm. G. Mann, Recording Secretary. Efforts are to be made to increase the numbers and efficiency of the institution. Charles C. Jones of Augusta delivered the address, the subject of which was the Founders, Patrons and Special Friends of the Georgia Historical Society. The historic field presented by the Southern of the old thirteen States is rich and unexplored. The efforts of the Societies at Savannah and Charleston are eagerly watched by students of history.

The Dauphin County, Penn., Historical Society held its annual meeting February 10. Officers were elected for the ensuing year. A. Boyd Hamilton, President, Thomas H. Robinson, Corresponding Secretary, and William H. Egle, Librarian. Papers from the pen of the President on the Early Settlement of the Susquehanna, and on Washington’s Stay in Harrisburg in 1794, were read.

The February meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was held in the library of Edward D. Neill, at Macalester College, Minneapolis. The paper of the evening was by the Reverend Mr. Neill on the Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, a volume lately published in London, in which intolerance is charged upon the government of Maryland, in not permitting the Order to hold public worship in 1634, and a desire for their expulsion attributed to Lord Baltimore.

The American Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia, met Thursday, February 4th. A number of
interesting additions to the cabinet were announced. Among the papers presented was one from the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden of Wilkesbarre, Penn., on the Soldiers' Medals issued by the State of West Virginia as Tokens of Respect to those of her citizens who served the United States from 1861 to 1865. Mr. Westcott Bailey exhibited a silver idol from Peru, near Lake Titicaca, with a paper in relation to its discovery and probable history.

The Trustees of the Peabody Fund met at the Riggs House, Washington, on the 2d of February. The address of the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, was devoted to a review of the services of the late Dr. Barnas Sears, general agent of the Fund.

The American Library Association held its fourth general meeting in Washington during the second week in February. The construction of Library Buildings and the Arrangement and Cataloguing of Books were ably treated in papers presented by William F. Poole, Justin Winsor and others; and S. S. Green presented a Report on the Distribution of Public Documents, to the suggestions of which our legislators will do well to pay heed. How necessary some action is may be understood from the single fact, that as far back as 1862, after weeks of labor and research in Washington and elsewhere, and with the kind assistance of Mr. Secretary Chase, the writer was unable to complete a set of the Treasury Reports for one of the great commercial corporations of the country.

The Long Island Historical Society held a regular meeting on the evening of February 22d, when Joshua M. Van Cott read an appropriate Appeal for National Unity against Sectionalism, and, invoked Washington's national spirit as the example for the hour.

Washington's Birthday was celebrated throughout the country with unusual spirit and zeal. North and South the Father of the Nation was remembered with appropriate feeling and honor; and in States where this national holiday has been long neglected the ancient spirit is revived—a sure harbinger of that era of good feeling for which every patriotic American devoutly prays.

On the 22d February the official presentation of the Egyptian Obelisk to the City of New York was made with appropriate ceremony at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Central Park. The building was filled by a distinguished company, and thousands gathered without about the ancient monument. Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, made the address, and Mayor Grace responded in the name of the city. At the conclusion of the ceremonies silver medals, struck for occasion by the Numismatic and Archeological Society, were presented to Lieutenant Commander Gorringe and W. H. Vanderbilt, and one hundred medals in bronze were also given to boys selected from public schools for scholarship and deportment.

In the evening of the 22d February the Cooper Union building was thronged. Addresses appropriate to the day were
delivered, and the interest of the occasion was heightened by the presentation from the students of a series of resolutions to Peter Cooper, the founder of this admirable and useful institution.

We were mistaken in a statement made in the Chronicle for February, in regard to Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth's book on the Saratoga battles. She still retains all rights to the work, with the plates of original maps; and has authorized no one to act for her in subscriptions, or in sales of the book, except through the ordinary channels of the book-stores and news stands. Mrs. Walworth is, however, personally interested in the erection of memorial tablets on the battle-field at Bemis Heights; she is chairman of a committee of the Monument Association who have that matter in charge. She may be addressed at Saratoga Springs.

The Yorktown Centennial Commission consists of one Senator and one Representative from each of the original thirteen States. Senators Johnston, Rollins, Dawes, Anthony, Eaton, Wallace, Kierman, Randolph, Bayard, Whyte, Ransom, Butler, Hill. Representatives Goode, Hall, Loring, Aldrich, Hawley, Dick, Brigham, Muller, Martin, Talbott, Davis, Richardson, Parsons.

The following programme has been issued by Senator John W. Johnston, Chairman, and John S. Tucker, clerk:

The Guests of the National Government will assemble at Washington October 18th, 1881, and be received there with proper ceremonies by the Congressional Committee. The Committee will proceed, with the invited guests and such government officials as may join them, to Yorktown, to arrive there on the morning of the 19th. Preparation will be made during the morning of the landing of troops, and the Oration and Poem will be delivered at two o'clock P. M. with such accompanying services as the Committee may determine. These services will consist of brief addresses of welcome by the Governor of Virginia and others, an original ode, the laying of the corner-stone, with an address by the President of the United States, who will be invited to preside on the occasion. The exercises will be interspersed with music by the military bands present, and with salutes by the artillery. On the 20th there will be a grand parade of all the military organizations on the battle-field, and a review by the President of the United States. The military exercises will be concluded with a Dress Parade. A competent army officer will be selected to take command of the parade. It is hoped that a Naval Review may be held on the 21st, in the adjacent waters. The Governors and Commissioners of all the States will be invited to be present, the former with their military staffs and such military organization as may wish to accompany them; and it is particularly desired that at least the Original Thirteen States should provide for as imposing a representation as possible, by the presence of their civil officers and military organizations. The Committee suggests, without presuming to give any directions in the matter, that each State will provide itself with such means of transportation and accommodation, while present at the celebration, as will enable it to take part in any local services which may take place. The details of the Celebration will be arranged hereafter, and with the list of invited guests will be published for general information.

No announcement has as yet been made with regard to the design of the monument to be erected.

The Associated Pioneers of the Territorial days of California held their sixth annual banquet at Delmonico's on the 18th January. A vacant chair, draped in mourning, reminded the Society of its late President, John A. Sut-
ter. General H. G. Gibson presided, Samuel Ward responded to the toast: “The day we celebrate and California; the days of old and the days of gold; the days of '49.” General John C. Fremont was elected President for the next year.

Monday the 17th January was the anniversary of the battle of the Cowpens, when General Morgan, ably seconded by Col. John Eager Howard, defeated the British troops under Col. Tarleton at “Hannah’s Cowpens,” in Spartanburg County, South Carolina. A grand celebration was intended, and a column of gray granite, from fifty to sixty tons in weight, was ready for erection. An ode was written, and all local preparations made for a national celebration, but as the cooperation of the thirteen original States had not been secured in season, the celebration was very properly postponed till April.

The Weymouth (Mass.) Historical Society held its annual meeting at Tuft’s library on the 3d January. The proceedings are reported at length in the Weymouth Gazette of the 21st of the same month. Elias Richards was re-elected President, and the Rev. Anson Titus, Jr., Corresponding Secretary. The treasury was reported to be in an excellent condition. During the year papers were read on the Early Physicians of Weymouth by P. F. Forsarth; History of the Weymouth Light Horse Troop, by C. C. Tower; The Land Owners of Weymouth prior to 1644, by Anson Titus, Jr.; Roads, Houses and Families of East Braintree about 1803, by Samuel A. Bates; East Weymouth in 1818, by Alvah Raymond; Old Spain in 1793, by Thomas F. Cleverly; The Old North about 1800, and Weymouth Landing two and three generations ago, by Gilbert Nash. Inscriptions have been collected from the burying grounds and recorded, and additions have been made to the department of genealogy in the Early Tirrells of Weymouth, the Lovell Genealogy, and Something about William Dyer of Weymouth in 1690, and his family. The paper of the evening was upon The Extinct Families of Weymouth, by Gilbert Nash.

The first publication of the Society will soon appear, entitled, “Journal of General Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot Expedition, 1779.” General Lovell was the only Weymouth General in the Revolution.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec met on the 23d January, when a paper was read upon The Wreck on the 4th November, 1843, of H. M. Transport Premier, conveying a wing of the 1st Royals from Quebec to the West Indies. The narrative is from the pen of Dr. Dartwell, the surgeon of the ill-starred vessel.

The Sagadahoc Historical Society of Bath, Maine, has announced its intention to unite with the City Council in preparations for the Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Bath, which falls on the 19th of March, 1881, that being the date of the first town meeting, and therefore preferred to the 17th of February, the date of the incorporation of the town.
It is proposed to celebrate the first quarter centennial of the early settlement of Spirit Lake, Iowa, by erecting a suitable monument to the memory of the first settlers who were massacred by the Sioux in March, 1856.

The Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass., met at its hall February 2d, when an historical and descriptive address upon Dorchester, England, was delivered by the Rev. Edward G. Porter, of Lexington, Mass. The orator suggested that the people of Massachusetts might well contribute to place a tablet in the porch of St. Peter's church in Dorchester, Eng., in memory of the Rev. John White, who led the emigrants that settled the town of the same name in Massachusetts, and whose bones lie in the English churchyard.

The New York Historical Society held its stated monthly meeting February 1st. Among the interesting contributions to the library was a collection of the official papers of the great Fair for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, known as the Metropolitan Fair, presented by Mr. John H. Gourlie, one of its managers. With the exception of the Union Defence Committee Papers, this society now possesses the records of all the great Union movements of the late war. The society is rich in documents of a similar character, including the minutes of the Sons of Liberty, the Committee of Safety, and the Committee of Correspondence of 1774. The Hon. Hamilton Fish was elected First Vice President. His services as President are well remembered. He thoroughly represents the Whig element of New York. The paper of the evening was read by Judge George G. Munger, late of Rochester, now of New York, upon "The Influence of the Epoch of Richard II. on American History."

We are glad to learn that the committees are moving to secure suitable endowments for the Library and Publication Fund, and a new building in a more central site for the society.

The Maine Historical Society took formal possession of its new rooms in City Building, Portland, where its treasures are now on exhibition—the 2d February. The proceedings were marked by great spirit. Publications are to be issued in two series: Collections and Proceedings. The address was delivered by Joseph Williamson, well known to historical students by his History of Belfast. His subject was the History of Maine and a biographical survey of the contributions of the State to historical literature. An excellent analysis of the paper appears in the Portland Advertiser of the 3d February. A paper was also read by Rufus K. Sewall, of Wiscasset, on the Future Work of the Historians of Maine.

The Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, held its twenty-seventh annual meeting on the 3d January. The report shows a satisfactory condition of affairs. The building fund, which will not be touched till it reaches $15,000, is now over eight thousand dollars. The library contains 43,105 bound volumes, and 47,668 pamphlets; a total of 90,773 titles. The officers for 1881 are: Presi-
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

A subscription is on foot to obtain from the descendants of DeWitt Clinton the beautiful half length portrait of the famous Governor, by Trumbull, one of the most pleasing of his pictures, for the gallery of the New York Chamber of Commerce, already rich in originals and copies from originals of New York worthies, and only needing a suitable hall for their fitting display.

The death is recorded of Dr. Joseph Clay Habersham of the distinguished Georgia family of that name, a gentleman well known in the best circles of Northern society, and a surgeon of the 25th Georgia regiment in the Confederate service. He died in Savannah in January last, deeply lamented.

General Fitzhugh Lee has been selected as the orator on the unveiling of the statue to "Stonewall" Jackson at New Orleans in May next.

Mr. E. W. Van Voorhis, 129 E. 36th Street, New York City, is collecting material for a sketch of the Dutchess County branch of the family of Van Voorhis, and will be thankful for any information, such as records of births, marriages from family bibles, etc.

In the columns of the New York World there appeared, under date of Monday, January 31, an admirable abstract of all the documents, resolutions, letters, etc., of 1781, relating to the Yorktown monument. The paper is entitled "France and America. The recognition by the Continental Congress of the aid of France in our war of independence." These documents prove beyond possibility of doubt that the Congress intended the monument to be to the French Alliance. Robert R. Livingston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in his letter to Luzerne, the French Ambassador, calls it "the monument of the alliance and of the military virtues of the combined forces."

The bill appropriating thirty thousand dollars for the erection of the Saratoga monument at Schuylerville, New York, passed the House of Representatives at Albany on the 25th January.

The Mason's Lodge of Fredericksburgh, Virginia, in which Washington was initiated in 1752, is about to erect a Washington Memorial Masonic Temple.

Senator Joseph R. Hawley is the orator selected for the Centennial Celebration of the Massacre at Fort Griswold, Groton (now Ledyard), Conn., which falls in September next.

The Governors of Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Nevada and Utah, are all natives of Kentucky. Where is State pride?

A woman by the name of Sally Hunter is reported to have died at Washington, in January, at the age of 115 years. She is supposed to be the last of the servants of George Washington, by whose will she was manumitted.
PAMPHLETS IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY
RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The late John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., spared no pains in collecting whatever he could find to add to the value of his library as a treasury of everything pertaining to American history. The writer has been struck with the collection of pamphlets having reference to matters connected with the war of the Revolution. It is his purpose in this article to give some account of those which may, perhaps, be regarded as of the highest value, beginning with the year 1774, and ending with the year 1781. Of these pamphlets, varying very much in size and in interest, there are not far from four hundred. To give even a cursory glance at all these, will be impossible. We make the most judicious selection we can, aware, at the same time, that the curious reader may regret not to see a notice of some tract or pamphlet on a topic which may be of special interest to himself.

We go back to the year 1774, since it may gratify curiosity to observe what was the tone of public sentiment prior to the breaking out of the war. A pamphlet of sixteen pages, said to have been written by Dr. Priestly, bears this title, "An Address to the Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, in the Approaching Election of Members of Parliament, with respect to the State of public liberty in general, and of American affairs in particular." Chief Justice Allen of Pennsylvania expressed his sentiments in a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled "The American Crisis, etc." Being a Royalist in sentiment, he left the country not far from the commencement of the Revolution, and took up his residence in England, where he died in 1780. A pamphlet of thirty-two pages, published by the Tories of New York, to throw contempt on the American Congress, bears the title, "Americans Roused (The), in a Cure for the Spleen, or Amusement for a Winter's evening; Being the Substance of a Conversation on the Times over a Friendly Tankard and Pipe, Between Sharp, a Country Parson; Bumper, a Country Justice; Fillpot, an Inn Keeper; Graveairs, a Deacon; Trim, a Barber; Brim, a Quaker; Puff, a late Representative. Taken in Short Hand, by Sir Roger de Coverly, 1774." We find also, published this year, a letter written from Boston to a friend, giving an account of the great sufferings endured by the inhabitants of the town, on account of the enforcement of the "Port Bill." A tract of thirty-one pages, by Pres. Myles Cooper, of King's College, a Tory in Sentiment, has written on its title-page these significant words: "This pamphlet, on the 8th of September last, was, in full conclave of the Sons of Liberty in New York, committed to the flames by the hand of their common executioner; as it contains some queries they cannot, and others they will not answer." Dr. Cooper resigned his office in 1778, and returned to England, where he died in 1795. A folio of four pages contains "His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament on Wednesday, November 30, 1774." Josiah Quincy, Jr., is repre-
sented in the collection by his "Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill; with thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies." There is a London reprint of this pamphlet from the Boston edition. Mr. Bartlett quotes from a writer in the Monthly Review, who, among other things, says:

"This Shrewd Commentary on the Boston Port Bill will induce us to entertain a respectable opinion of these law pleaders."

Coming now to the year of the war, 1775, we find a large number of valuable and important pamphlets. We call attention only to those which at the time must have made the deepest impression on the public mind. As the writer has referred to several of these in an article recently published in the Magazine of American History [V. 427], he will omit mention of those in the library of Brown University to which allusion was made in that article. We may form some conception of the wrath that must have been awakened in the breasts of the insulted citizens of Boston by the oration of Dr. Thomas Bolton, delivered March 15, 1775. We are told that "this oration was delivered from the balcony of the British Coffee House in Boston to a crowded Audience of Officers, tories, etc., in ridicule of that delivered by Dr. Warren." The Orator begins by saying, that he "cannot boast the ignorance of Hancock, the insolence of Adams, the absurdity of Rowe, the arrogance of Lee, the turgid bombast of Warren, the treason of Quincy, the hypocrisy of Cooper, nor the principles of Young," etc. Another tract of twenty-four pages has this quaint title: "Bull, Patrick—A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing; or, An Old Jesuit Unmasked, Containing an Account of the wonderful apparition of Father Petre's Ghost in the Form of Rev. John Wesley. With some conjectures Concerning the Secret Causes that moved him to Appear at this very Critical juncture." Several original editions of Burke's speeches are among the pamphlets of this year, as well as of two of the Earl of Chatham. We find also John Clarke's "An impartial and Authentic Narrative of the battle fought on the 17th of June, 1775, etc." 2d edit., 36 pp. "Common Sense; In nine Conferences between a British merchant and a Candid merchant of America," with much more in the title. The criticism of the Monthly Review on this tract is this: "The Candid merchant of America, who is here employed to support Nine tedious Conferences, and to be Converted from his opinions, appears to have been a greater booby than even the letter-writer, who was brought forward by a reverend Dean." We find also a copy of "The Crisis." Folio 2 vols., 91 numbers. 574 pp. This work, we learn, is one of great rarity. It contains a remarkable collection of papers attacking the Ministry and the British Government in terms of the greatest severity. Dr. Johnson's famous tract, "Taxation no Tyranny," with numerous replies which it called forth, is among the pamphlets. As is well known, this pamphlet was written when its author was in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and is an echo of the sentiments which prevailed among those who sustained the government. Another small 8vo of 66 pages is said to have been published by Dr. Franklin in London in January, 1775—"Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress held in Philadelphia,
We are told that "its effect was startling, for it proclaimed to the discriminating British Public, that the English language had acquired new vigor and clearness in being transplanted to the Western Shores." We find what a writer, at the time of its publication, pronounced to be "A masterly specimen of accurate learning," Catharine Macauley's "An Address to the people of England, Ireland and Scotland on the present important Crisis in affairs:;" "Massachusetts," a series of letters, numbered i. to xvii., in support of the policy of the mother country. For a full notice of these letters, see North American Review, Vol. IX., p. 376. "The Parliamentary Register," 14 vols., a thesaurus of important matter pertaining to the war of the Revolution. Also the 16 volumes of "The Remembrancer," said to be "the most important for the period it covers of any work extant." We find thirteen pamphlets, varying in size from eight to thirty-six pages, including the "Calm Address" of Rev. John Wesley and replies to the same. One of these replies has the title, "An old Fox Tarred and Feathered," in which the writer charges Wesley of having plagiarized Dr. Johnson's "Taxation no Tyranny." "I liken him"—i. e., Wesley—"unto a low and puny Tadpole in Divinity which proudly seeks to disembowel an high and mighty whale in politics."

We now reach the year 1776, when the war was fairly inaugurated. and notice, as among the most valuable of the works in the library on matters pertaining to the Revolution, one which bears the title, "Affairs de l'Angleterre et de l'Amerique 1776. Anvers MDCCCLXXVI." 8vo, 24 cahiers, bound in 19 volumes. Hon. J. R. Bartlett says: "This valuable collection of papers, relating to the American Revolution, is, from its scarcity, so little known, that no satisfactory account of it exists. It is singular that a work so extensive and so important should have escaped the notice of Brunet." As a matter of curiosity, one would like to know in what other libraries, if any, of the country, this very rare work is found. "An answer to the Declaration of the American Congress," in which the author says, that the opinions of the modern Americans on Government, like those of their good ancestors on witchcraft, would be too ridiculous to deserve any notice, if, like them too, contemptible and extravagant as they be, they had not led to the most serious evils." "The Critical Moment, on which the salvation or destruction of the British Empire depends. Containing the rise and progress, present state, and natural consequences of our American Disputes;" a pamphlet which attracted to itself no inconsiderable attention. This year were published tracts on American affairs, by Ralph Erskine, Caleb Evans, John Fletcher and other well-known divines of Great Britain, editions of which we find in the Library. "Independency, the object of the Congress in America; or, An Appeal to Facts." Samuel Adams and Hancock are severely handled by the writer. The first he calls "the would-be Cromwell of America," while Hancock is, to quote Hudibras,

"A very good and useful tool,  
Which Knaves do work with, called a Fool."
Another remarkable pamphlet, at one time the property of Jeremy Bentham, is
worthy of notice: "An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress."
The work, we are told, created quite a sensation, and appears to have gone throughive editions in the year it was published. "Obedience to the best Charter," etc.,
which the writer represents the American, "as the most worthless of manhood,
as wretches in whose breasts the blackest treason rankles, while devotion shades
their faces, and rebellion fumes in their hearts!" We give, for the special benefit
of the Dutch readers of the Magazine, the title of one of Dr. Price's pamphlets,
translated and published in Leyden—"Ameringen over den aart der Burgerlyhe
vryheid, over de gronden der Regeering, en over de regveerdigheid en staatkunde
van den vorlog met Amerika." Two pamphlets bear the following titles: "The
Tears of the Foot Guards upon their departure for America," written by an Ensign
of the Provincial Army;" "An Answer to the Tears of the Foot Guards, in which
that respectable Corps are vindicated from the Charges of Puppyism and Cow-
ardice." The foregoing form but a small part of the pamphlets of 1776. We
regret we cannot, for want of space, allude to others.

The same careful collation we must make of the pamphlets for 1777. We
find a copy of the "Articles of Confederation of the Thirteen States," which was
once the property of Hon. Henry Laurens, President of Congress. "Double
Delusion (The); or Faction the Cause of all the Confusion. A Joco-Serious
Review of our American Emboilment." "Essays, Commercial and Political."
The author favors the independence of New England, and would make the most
of Southern colonies. "Letter from an Officer in New York to a Friend in
London." Among other things, the writer says: "Many good families, whom the
army have moved, have come in shivering to us for protection. Many of the
ladies have scarce a petticoat to cover them, being stripped of furniture, apparel,
and every thing that could make a Yankee soldier either a shirt or a pair of
breeches."

Passing on to 1778, we find that the writers of several pamphlets, convinced of
the hopelessness of the struggle, urge the people of the country to give up the une-
qual strife, and secure the best terms of peace they can obtain. A pamphlet of forty-
three pages has this title: "Impartial sketch of the various indulgences granted
by Great Britain to her Colonies, upon which they have founded their presumption
of soaring towards Independence." He gives his estimate of New England char-
acter thus: "During the long New England winter months they have nothing to
do, but cabal with their neighbors, and instruct their children in reading, writing
and praying: for," adds he, "you'll not meet a New England man but has the
Bible by heart, and all the laws of his Province." We would be glad to give the
titles of other pamphlets published this year, but we are limited in the space within
which this article must be compressed.

In 1779 the tone of public sentiment in England as to the successful issue of
the war becomes more discouraging. As an example of the pamphlets of this
year, we find the following: “Observations on American Independency,” in which the writer advocates a recognition of the Independency of this country.

Pamphlets relating to the André affair, and published in 1780, are numerous in the library. The same is true with regard to General Burgoyne, 1779–80, and of Joseph Galloway for the same years, and for 1781. A pamphlet of fifty-nine pages, published in 1780, has this title, “Nathan to Lord North.” The writer does not mince his words in this severe attack on his Lordship. “To shew the arch-fiend in his proper diabolical shape, to procure your removal from the ear of Majesty, where you have been too long squat like a toad, inspiring venom, would give me the greatest pleasure.”

The number of pamphlets for 1781 on American affairs is between thirty and forty, some of them exceedingly curious. There is a Dutch pamphlet, 12mo, 36 pp., the translation of the title of which is as follows: “American Bible, dedicated to Mr. Adams, the Ambassador of the thirteen United States of North America, near the States General of the United Netherlands. To be had everywhere.” There are fifteen chapters in the work, among the titles of which are the following: “Chapter II. The New Republic must not allow any flesh to stick to her arm until she be entirely free;” “Chapter VI. America must bridle the preachers.” “Chapter VII. Banish Hypocrites.” “Chapter XIV. America must guard against Traitors, and banish those suspected of Disloyalty.” Several pamphlets by M. l’Abbé Raynal on “Revolution de l’Amérique,” of which we can make only a bare mention.

The writer has thus briefly alluded to the treasures found in the library of Mr. Brown upon a single topic of interest in American history. Doubtless some of the pamphlets relating to matters pertaining to the Revolutionary war are of very little value, and if destroyed the loss would not be felt. But many of these apparently ephemeral productions contain material which some future American historian may find of great service in throwing new light upon subjects now obscure, or at least of making more vivid and lifelike scenes, which, at the time they were enacted, awakened sentiments and emotions of the most stirring character in thousands of hearts in this and other lands.

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE
LITERARY NOTICES

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)


To the constructor of this massive volume the ablest writers and most learned historical investigators of New England have been called. The work is on a novel plan, one the merit of which has been repeatedly urged in these columns—that of monographic presentation. The special subjects were assigned to those whose previous achievements had given them authority, and under wise arrangement their independent essays have been grouped in a homogeneous whole. The result is a volume charming as well as instructive. The introduction of the editor is a valuable account of the sources of Boston's History. In the Pre-historic period and Natural history branches, there are three chapters on the geology, the fauna and the flora of the locality. In the Early history three on the European voyages, earliest maps and earliest settlement of Massachusetts Bay and Boston Harbor; that upon the maps in Mr. Winsor's thorough manner and felicitous vein. The body of the volume covers the colonial period, to which Robert C. Winthrop contributes an important chapter on the foundation of Boston; George E. Ellis, chapters on the Puritan commonwealth and the Indians of Eastern Massachusetts. No man more clearly than he has understood the nature and the consequences of the policy adopted towards the native tribes. In this department also we notice a study by J. Hammond Trumbull on the Indian tongue and its literature which is an excellent bibliographical guide to the subject. Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, the literary executor of the late Mr. Wyman, who was the most patient and precise searcher into New England records of the last half century, supplies a sketch of Charlestown in the colonial period; Francis S. Drake, of Roxbury and Brighton; and Samuel A. Barrows does a similar service for Dorchester. Chief among the other notabilities whose pens have been called into requisition are Thomas W. Higginson, with an account of Boston from the death of Winthrop to the death of his successor; and Rev. Edward E. Hale, of the connection of the capital with the events of the same period. The literature of the colonial period, as well as its cartography, falls to the pen of Mr. Winsor. Here we learn that from the setting up of the first press in New England to the revolutionary war not more than three hundred separate publications were issued from Boston and Cambridge, and of these nearly two-thirds were upon doctrinal religion. The antiquary will enjoy Edwin L. Byrner's colonial topography and landmarks, and the genealogist the list of Boston families before 1700. Boston has not lacked historians. Every inch of her ground has been gone over repeatedly, and every incident in her history has been investigated and elucidated; but this volume, while drawing from all that has preceded, is fresh in its treatment. The monograph admits of examination from one point of view and a precision of detail which are hindrances to studies on a broader scale. While indispensable to every historical library, the work will be found an agreeable companion in every family that traces its origin to New England. It is edited in the best manner and its pages abound in illustrations of every kind—maps, portraits, pictures of monuments and houses, and the minor articles of household use; fac-similes of deeds, documents and signatures, and of pages of rare volumes, all carefully and well executed in the latest style of reproduction.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, October 29, 1880, 8vo, pp. 43. TUTTLE & CO. Rutland, 1880.

In this publication appears the origin of the society which in 1838 was incorporated as the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society, but was authorized in 1859 to change its name to the Vermont Historical Society and was assigned to the use of a room in the capital of the State. Its constitution divides its labors into three departments: Historical, Natural History and Horticulture; and its annual meetings are prescribed to be held at Montpelier on the Tuesday preceding the third Wednesday in October. The library appears by the report of the Librarian., October 8, 1880, to contain 3769 titles. The address on the occasion of the last annual meeting was upon the history of Fenianism and Fenian raids in Vermont, by the Honorable Edward A. Sowles, of St. Albans.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ST. LOUIS. Nos. II. and III. 8vo, pp. 22. (No imprint) 1880.

The first of these papers, entitled Recollections of a Septuagenarian, was read before the society by William Waldo, of Texas, in March, 1880. It is essentially occupied with a sketch of Silas Bent, who emigrated to Ohio from Mas-
sachusetts in 1788, and removed to St. Louis as deputy surveyor of Rutland, Louisiana, in 1806. He held numerous judicial offices, the last of which was that of presiding Judge of the United States Superior Court, and died in St. Louis in 1827, leaving a numerous issue by his marriage with Martha Kerr, of Virginia. His memoir contains some graphic accounts of the dangers of frontier life. The second of these publications contains two papers, read on the 17th June, 1880; one by Dr. N. de Wyl, describing some Archeological Explorations in Cole County, Missouri. Two mounds were opened near Boggs' Creek, about two miles below Jefferson City, near the Missouri river. The first contained a quantity of charred bones; in the second was found a large cist within which were some twenty-five skeletons deposited irregularly; no pottery, arms, or ornaments of any sort were found. The second paper was read by G. C. Brodhead: the subject, Prehistoric Remains in Misouri, with a record of some discoveries made in the mounds and of interesting wall structures found in Pike and Montgomery Counties, and of a remarkable ruin of an ancient fortification, twenty to forty acres, enclosed by three ridges and three ditches, a few miles distant from Miami, Saline County.

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The first part of this elaborate history was noticed in the April, 1880, number of the Magazine (IV, 318). The second part opens with the History of the French Settlement in the Illinois Country, and the first invasion of this then French territory by the English. The relations of the Indians to both nations are treated in detail, and the hostilities which for a time were closed by the military and diplomatic abilities of Gen. Wayne are related. The final chapter of this part describes the administration of Harrison as Governor of Indiana, the efforts of Tecumseh, the last great chief of the Shawnees, the intrigues of the English, the outbreak of hostilities, and the battle of Tippecanoe, which was the death blow to the Indian confederacy. In the third part is found the story of the evacuation of Fort Dearborn with its attendant horrors. The surrender of Michilimackinac, Chicago and Detroit, cast a gloom over the entire frontier and seemed to assure a long, if not permanent Indian rule. But a new campaign was immediately organized, and with the relief of Fort Wayne by Gen. Harrison, the tide turned. The activity of this enterprising officer saved the Illinois country from British invasion and led to his appointment as commander-in-chief of the northwestern army, a force of ten thousand men, which after hard fighting, carried the war into Canada. The battle of the Thames and the fall of Tecumseh brought a close to the struggle. England had her hands full in the Napoleonic conflict, and the burden had already begun to weigh heavily upon the United States.

Part IV. contains the history of Chicago from its organization in 1833, and of the wonderful change which has since come over the great plateau of northern Illinois.

We notice the organization in 1856 of the Chicago Historical Society. The great fire of 1874 destroyed a vast deal of valuable manuscript materials regarding the great West. In 1877 it took possession of its present quarters, and by the zeal of Mr. Albert D. Hager, its librarian, has already accumulated a large number of books and pamphlets. In another walk, Mr. Charles Randolph, the Secretary of the Chicago Board of Trade, and for many years of the National Board of Trade, has rendered services to commerce which are freely recognized throughout the land.

**RICHMOND HISTORICAL TRACTS,**


This is another of the elegantly printed and well edited volumes of this scholarly publisher. Its base is the pamphlet by Judge Potter in 1837, later reprinted by Henry Phillips, Jr., in his Paper Currency of the Colonies. In the present volume the original matter has been greatly extended and additions made. The excellent fac-similes of the old paper money, some of the originals of which are said to be unique, are of specimens in Mr. Reader's own collection. The first bank consisted of forty thousand pounds issued in 1715. The tenth and last, the memorable bank of 1786, of one hundred thousand pounds. The history of each of these banks is given in detail. Tables are added of the emissions and burnings of bills of credit, with historical notes. There is a letter of Governor Richard Ward to the Board of Trade concerning the colonial emissions. There are curious tables of the prices of merchandise in Providence, 1746 to 1779; Reports of the Committees of the General Assembly on condition of bills of credit follow, and the volume closes with a satisfactory index.
OTHER FOOLS AND THEIR DOINGS; or, LIFE AMONG THE FREEDMEN. By one who has seen it. 12mo., pp. 234. J. S. Ogilvie & Co. New York, 1880.

Although the reader will not find in these pages anything of the vein of fine philosophy or caustic irony, or suggestive food for thought, which distinguishes the volume from which it derives its name, yet this narrative will take its place in the political literature of the dark period which followed reconstruction. Any one familiar with the story of South Carolina will recognize the incidents of the Hamburgh massacre, and in the person described under the name of General Baker, a leading politician of that State. The leader of the Colored party was of mixed blood, had been educated at the North and paid the penalty of his attempt to uphold the rights of his colored kindred with his life.


To the lady who presents these modest pages for the benefit of her co-workers in this branch of domestic art, which is now in great favor with us, as it has long been in Europe, pottery decoration in America owes an infinite service. The visitors to the Exhibition of the Decorative Art Society in New York, two years since, will remember the admirable specimens of her work, in which she was found to have discovered a mode of glazing equal in brilliancy and durability to the best of the foreign factories. By those competent to judge, we are assured that her hints are well worthy of study and adoption.


The young lady, who here takes her flight into the remote skyes of Saga land, is a grand-daughter of De Witt Clinton, the Governor and benefactor of this Empire State. In her preface she claims the right to inquire into the secrets of the Scandinavian hero world as one of a race in whose blood courses the old Viking strain. It has been said of this collection of poems, which are wild as those which Norma of the Fitful Head chanted to lovelorn Minnie and Brenda on the northern cliffs, that they are treated in a somewhat mystic vein.

In the Sagas Miss Jones finds a continuous attempt to evolve mythical truth, to search deep into the scheme of creation, and even holds that they recognized the power of God working in the heart of nature. To this no reasonable objection can be taken. The savage tribes even are rare which do not recognize the power behind the earthquake and the storm, but before the assertion, that through all the Norseland myths there may be detected the creating and protecting Trinity of the Christian system, we pause. There are too many similarities in things dissimilar to analogy to be a safe mode of metaphysical reasoning.

But we forget all this is in the preface. The Valhalla is a collection of spirited poems, in unequal metre often of a rugged strength quite befitting the weird nature of the subject matter, and it is true no doubt to the Norse mythology. The Norsemen are invading us again with a flood of Eddas and Sagas claiming our fair land by right of discovery, and building up villages of their own; and it is well for us to know something of the forbears of our new neighbors, of whom the brilliant young author of these pages gives timely heralding in these chants of praise to their mythical forefathers.


Every political campaign is prolific of biographies. The nomination by a convention of an individual as the standard bearer of one of the great political organizations of the country lifts him at once into a national personage, and thousand of eyes are at once turned upon his career, from the time when he first trodged across the carpet or muddied to the critical hour when his portrait is displayed to the eyes of the delegates, and all hearts are at once converted as by a Damascus miracle. From that moment he is given over to the hands of the campaign biographer, who analyzes his every action, dissect his every motive, searches his lineage through the mists of ages and projects him into the unenviable position of a moral lesson. It is small matter to the successful candidate, but in nine cases out of ten the defeated aspirant has little to congratulate himself upon in the discrimination of his friends, if he recognize himself at all in his portraiture.

Every one is familiar with the story of Hancock's military services. He will live in history as one of the heroes of Gettysburg, though we doubt if he can ever absorb to himself all the glory of that decisive day. But as boy, little was known of him, and as statesman perhaps a little. Therefore, of the four parts into which this biography is divided, the Boy and Man, the
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Soldier, the Patriot and Statesman, the first and last will excite the greatest curiosity. The political purpose of this volume is frankly acknowledged, and would be patent enough without the sketch of William H. English which accompanies it.


This is a step in the right direction. The author justly observes that the principles of political science and the method of their application in our government are a necessary part of a common school education. Every one is called upon to take an indirect part in the making of laws, and, therefore, every one should understand their nature and their intent.

The subject is divided into two parts—Principles of Government and Principles of Law. These again are subdivided into appropriate sections. National, State and Municipal Government and Law are each treated separately. Clear title heads and a good index add to the facility of reference.


The reader is at once struck by the beauty of the typography and the admirable execution of the topographical maps in the atlas appendix.

Soon after the outbreak of the Turko-Russian war Lieutenant Greene was selected by the War Department for the purpose of making personal observation of military operations from the Russian side, and assigned to duty as military attaché to the United States Legation at St. Petersburg. The permission of the emperor was obtained, and on August 5th, 1877, he reached the Imperial headquarters, and thereafter remained continuously with the army until peace was assured in July, 1878.

This work is an authorized reprint of his report to the Government, and aims at a concise description of the Russian army, a narrative of the campaigns in Europe and Asia Minor, and a discussion of the use of field fortifications in connection with the breach-loading musket. The narrative of the campaign is based on official reports of the Russian commanders and his own notes made on the field at the many actions in which he was present, at which times he was usually supplied with copies of the field orders, and on several works relating to the war, a list of which is given.

The work, for convenience of reference, is divided into heads: recruiting, strength and organization of the land forces, equipment, methods of administration, tactics. Part 2, the campaign in Bulgaria. Part 3, that in Armenia. Part 4, the defense and attack of fortified positions. An appendix of plates is in a separate volume. To the military student the work is replete with valuable information, tersely written and clearly expressed in a manner which marks the author as a competent critic.


This volume contains information of every character concerning this new and thriving State. The contents, descriptive, statistical and historical, cover the entire range of its resources, productions and progress. It will serve as a guide to the tourist and as a hand book to the settler. Maps show the mining regions and the routes which lead to each, and carefully prepared tables provide precisely the information most needed by the new settler. Nor is the scenery, which is of the most grand and picturesque character, neglected. Already parties are formed for summer visit to this most beautiful region, to which the drawing room car carries the traveller without an hour of discomfort or a shadow of adventure.

Colorado, admitted to the union in 1876, bears the name of the Centennial State. We heartily commend this practical volume.


In these pages the author presents the results of a minute study into the qualities of what is termed climate and of the observed effect of the peculiar climate of the Rocky Mountain region, of which he is a resident, upon pulmonary disease in its various forms. The report of Dr. Denison on "The Influence of High Altitudes on the Progress of Phthisis," made to the International Medical Congress in 1876, has been extensively plagiarized. The purpose of that report was "to seek through the aid of thorough investigation and study of the attributes
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of climate the generally most successful climatic home for the victims of chronic pulmonary disease."

From these general observations the reader will naturally expect a medical treatment of the subject, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that its interest is confined within purely medical limits. The studies of the effects of altitude upon climate are full of observations of general as well as scientific value, and the text is further illustrated by a climatic map ingeniously arranged and printed in colors.


This society, to which every American student must heartily wish long life, prosperity and effective service, was organized in Boston in May, 1879, by Charles W. Eliot, Alexander Agassiz, Charles E. Norton, Martin Brimmer, and a few other of the solid men of Boston. Its declared purpose is to promote and direct archæological investigation and research by the sending out of expeditions, by aiding the efforts of independent explorers, and by publication of the results of expeditions.

This first annual report shows a fortunate beginning of the praiseworthy work. Among the contributions to science obtained by them is an Essay by Lewis H. Morgan, entitled "A Study of the Houses of the American Aborigines; with suggestions for the exploration of the ruins in New Mexico, Arizona, the Valley of the San Juan, and in Yucatan and Central America, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute." This instructive paper is printed in the report, with a variety of excellent illustrations of the Pueblos in exterior and interior views, with a statement of the hypothesis their remains suggest for further enquiry in cognate structures; and we cannot forbear to add a list of works relating to New Mexico and Arizona. We repeat our often expressed opinion that this, the monographic form, is by its limitation the very best possible for historic or archæologic studies.

Next in order in the volume is a paper on the Ancient Walls of Mount Leione, in the Province of Grosseto, Italy, from the pen of W. J. Stillman, a resident of Florence, who has for many years made a study of the so-called Pelasgic and Cyclopean walls in Italy and elsewhere, and who is the first living authority on this subject. Finally, a chapter entitled Archæological Notes on Greek shores, by Joseph Thacher Clarke, of Boston, whom the society aided with funds to prosecute his studies on Greek sites, which he is now exploring.

The report closes with a recommendation that scholarships of archæology be established at our principal colleges. Long life to the Institute.


D. APPLETON & CO. New York.

Next to Horatio Seymour Senator Bayard is the leading exemplar of the old-fashioned State Sovereignty doctrine which, since the first Tuesday of November last past, may be considered to have passed into the list of dead issues in the United States. No man in the United States is regarded with greater trust than Mr. Bayard, and there is ample reason to believe that he was nominated by the Democratic party in 1876 he would have been elected President of the United States. The old advocates of the States Rights Separatist doctrine had been silent for so long a period, and there was so little conception of the extent to which the Southern States had been solidified, that in the general depression of affairs and the widespread dissatisfaction with the close management of the Republican party, he would surely have had far more than a party support.

The result of the recent election and the census of 1880, have determined beyond peradventure the future tendency of the United States toward a stronger, more compact, more perfect nationality. The controlling West, a composite race, made up of all parts of the Union and modified by a large foreign immigration, will hereafter influence the politics of the sea-board States whose interests depend in great measure upon her favor, and it is not probable that a President will be again selected from any of the States eastward of the Alleghenies. For Mr. Bayard's sound views upon finance the intelligent community has the highest respect, and on that subject he has had the courage of his opinions. But the country is tired of the cry of Beware of Centralization. Any unbiased observer can see that with the rapid growth of the industries of the country, the reduction of the debt and the consequent withdrawal of Customs or other tax from a large number of articles, the number of office holders, and the personal influence of the national administration will diminish, while our extensive territory, our vast population, demand a greater rather than a less centralization of the national power.
REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED


The History of Bristol, R. I. The story of the Mount Hope Lands, from the visit of the North men to the present time. Illustrated. By Wilfred H. Manro. 8vo. J. A. & K. A. Reid. Providence, 1880.


History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors, with a sketch of the civilization which they achieved and imparted to Europe. By Henry Coppée. In two vols. 16mo. Little, Brown & Co. Boston, 1881.


A Brief History of the Chicago Historical Society, together with Constitution and By-Laws, and list of officers and members. 8vo. Fergus Printing Company. Chicago, 1881.


Caro de Baros; or, The Place of Cape Cod in the Old Cartology, with notes on the neighboring coasts. By the Rev. E. F. de Costa. 8vo. Thomas Whittaker. New York, 1881.


LAFAYETTE'S LAST VISIT TO AMERICA

On the 24th of February, 1824, the following letter was written at the Executive Mansion, in Washington:

"My Dear General—

I wrote you a letter about fifteen days since by Mr. Brown, in which I expressed the wish to send, to any port in France you should point out, a frigate to convey you hither, in case you should be able to visit the United States. Since then Congress has passed a resolution on this subject in which the sincere attachment of the whole nation to you is expressed, whose ardent desire is once more to see you among them. The period at which you may yield to this invitation is left entirely at your option, but believe me, whatever may be your decision, it will be sufficient that you should have the goodness to inform me of it, and immediate orders will be given for a government vessel to proceed to any port you will indicate, and convey you thence to the adopted country of your early youth, which has always preserved the most grateful recollection of your important services. I send you herewith the resolution of Congress, and add thereto the assurance of my high consideration and of my sentiments of affection.

JAMES MONROE."

When this letter reached the venerable hero at La Grange, then fast approaching his three score years and ten, it seemed to bridge over the half century that had almost elapsed since he left the attractions of a court and the sweeter ties of home, to fight for the cause of liberty and right in a foreign land. For two and a half decades had Washington now lain in his grave at Mount Vernon, and the French Revolution and the dungeons of Olmutz rose up between the present and the past. But America was America still; the country for which, in his first youth, he had fought and bled, sharing the hardships and dangers of her sons; and this call from over the sea, after the space of years, from living friends and the children of those who were gone, touched a chord in his genial heart which responded warmly to the summons.
Declining the offer of a national vessel, Lafayette, accompanied by his son and his secretary, sailed from Havre on the 13th of July, in the American ship Cadmus, and reached New York on the 16th of August, 1824. The twenty-four States of the Union were fairly wild with joyous anticipation, and prepared to pour out the full vials of American enthusiasm upon the half hero, half god, who seemed second only to Washington. The wear and tear of hand-shaking, feasting, speech-making, and sight-seeing to which the illustrious visitor was exposed for the next year, as well as the endurance, zest and unfailing tact and politeness with which he went through it all, are simply amazing. He traveled east, he traveled west, he traveled north, he traveled south; he embraces and weeps over old comrades by the score; is addressed and sung to by young maidens in white and old veterans in blue; is whisked off from one entertainment to another; braves Siberian cold, and endures tropical heat; is shipwrecked on the Ohio, and has never a moment that he can call his own, yet comes up smiling at the end, with the same expression of enjoyment and delight in everything as at first. The nation's guest seemed thoroughly to appreciate his entertainment.

The papers were full of him from the beginning, chronicling every movement with pre-Raphaelite accuracy; and the following language of one of the dailies is a fair type of them all: "Yesterday was, indeed, a proud day for New York, a proud day for America, a proud day for liberty. The 16th of August, 1824, will be remembered with joyful emotions by all the friends of free principles as long as liberal institutions and free government are cherished, so long as gratitude dwells in the human heart; and by Kings and Princes with fear and trembling till the thrones of monarchs are leveled with the dust."

Even nature itself seemed to smile upon the hero; and Mr. Lavasseur, his secretary, chronicles the auspicious fact: "The day of our arrival at Staten Island, while the General was receiving the congratulations of the people from the balcony of the Vice-President's house, a rainbow, one of whose limbs enveloped and tinged Fort Lafayette with a thousand colors, appeared; the multitude, struck with the beauty and opportuneness of this circumstance, exclaimed that 'heaven was in unison with America in celebrating the happy arrival of the friend of the country.'"

This appellation of General was the subject of much discussion; for as Lafayette had invariably been known throughout the war as "the Marquis," it was not easy for the press to adopt the more democratic
title. "During several days," to quote Mr. Levasseur again, "the newspapers, in giving an account of his movements and of the entertainments given to him, used no other appellation in speaking of him; and they only relinquished it when they learned that the General constantly refused to resume this title since his renunciation of it in the National Assembly. His cotemporaries had a great deal of difficulty in renouncing an old habit which was not without its charms to them, since it reminded them of their youthful days." In Philadelphia, an old lady, who remembered him as he was during the Revolution, pressed toward him, through the crowd, saying: "Let me pass, that I may again see that good young Marquis."

After a while, it became understood that "the title most acceptable to our distinguished visitor is that of General. This has been repeatedly stated; yet some newspapers and official addresses continue to call him Marquis. On his first arrival, a gentleman addressed him by both appellations and then asked him which was most agreeable. He unhesitatingly and emphatically replied: 'I am an American General.'"

The Cadmus reached Staten Island on Sunday, and a deputation from New York requested Lafayette to postpone his entrance into the city till the next day. He was entertained in the meanwhile at the house of the Vice-President, Mr. Tompkins. One of the first persons whom the General saw on landing was his old associate in arms Colonel Platt, whom he immediately recognized at some distance, and the two involuntarily rushed toward each other, while the eager crowd retired on either side as by a common impulse: Colonel Platt hailed his old commander as "only second to the Father of his Country, and the only surviving General of the Revolution." Lafayette was greatly affected at the meeting and at the reminiscences which naturally followed.

"The venerable chieftain of the Revolution and gallant friend of America" was very dear to all those who remained of his old comrades; and one of these, General Philip Van Cortlandt, a member of the Cincinnati, and appointed by that Society at their meeting on the Fourth of July, as one of the Committee to receive and welcome General Lafayette on his arrival, was so anxious to be among the foremost in grasping the hand of his illustrious friend, that he had made arrangements some weeks previously to have an express despatched to his residence on the first signal of the approach of the expected guest. He lived at Croton, forty miles from the city; and in spite of starting at four o'clock in the morning and using all possible expedition for those
days, he did not reach the steamboat wharf in New York until just after the Chancellor Livingston had cast off! "But he was descried from on board, a boat sent for him, and he had the inexpressible satisfaction of embracing his old compatriot immediately on his coming on board at Staten Island. He felt it to be one of the happiest moments of his life."

The Chancellor Livingston had been sent to convey Lafayette from Staten Island to New York; and carried the various deputations of the city, the generals and officers of the militia and of the army and navy, a detachment of infantry, and more than two hundred of the principal citizens of New York, among whom the General recognized many of his old fellow soldiers, who expressed their joy at seeing him once more among them. The West Point Band meanwhile performed the French air, "Where can one be better than in the bosom of his family?" "See, the conquering hero comes," the "Marseillaise," and "Hail, Columbia."

A squadron of boats accompanied the Chancellor Livingston, all provided with bands of music, and presenting a gay appearance with their numerous flags and the crowds of ladies on board of them. On reaching the Quarantine wharf, these boats lay off in a semi-circular form; and nearly all the population of Staten Island seemed to have turned out to see the illustrious visitor embark. "The spectators formed a line opening to the right and left; and the veteran General marched down with his hat in his hand, amidst the cheers of the people; and passing under a triumphal arch formed by the American and French flags, he entered on board of the steamship Chancellor Livingston and was received by the Marines of the United States with Military honors."

The landing at the Battery was a truly magnificent sight; the elegant steamship Robert Fulton, brave with many-colored flags and manned by two hundred sailors from the Constitution," there joined the Chancellor Livingston; and the bay was fairly covered with boats gayly decorated with flags and filled with brave tars. "The Cadmus, which followed us," says one of the party on board the Chancellor Livingston, "appeared rather to be led in triumph than to be towed by the two steamboats which accompanied her. As we advanced, the forts which protect the harbor, and afterwards the houses bordering on the water, became more distinctly visible; soon after, we could distinguish the crowd which everywhere covered the shore, perceive its agitation and hear the shouts of joy. At two o'clock the General landed at the
Battery amid the acclamations of two hundred thousand voices which hailed him with sounds of blessing and welcome. The Lafayette Guards, dressed in an elegant and neat uniform, bearing on their breasts the portrait of the General, escorted him in front of the long line of militia drawn up to receive him. The General, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, marched along the front; as he advanced, each corps presented arms and saluted him with its colors; all were decorated with a ribbon bearing his portrait and the legend 'Welcome, Lafayette,'—words which were everywhere written and repeated by every tongue. During the review the cannon thundered on the shore, in the forts, and from all the vessels of war.”

At Castle Garden a stairway had been prepared for the occasion and richly carpeted, and terminating in an arch decorated with flags and laurel wreaths. As Lafayette passed under the arch, a Major-General’s salute was fired from Fort Columbus, and a national salute in honor of the nation’s guest from a battery of field artillery. The trees at the Battery were laden with human beings who were bent on getting a good view of the Revolutionary hero; and every house along the route where the procession passed was lined with spectators to the roof. From the throats of the assembled multitude issued one long “huza!” from the moment the object of their excited interest left the boat until he disappeared from sight.

Says one, who first caught a glimpse of the veteran as he passed into the Garden, “his countenance beamed with joy and bespoke the feelings of his heart and all that was passing in his mind. His dress was plain and republican in the extreme; nankeen pantaloons, buff vest, and plain, blue coat with covered buttons; and he wore the hat (which, by the way, we did not see upon his head the whole day), that was sent out to him by Mr. H—— of this city—an honor conferred upon the manufacturer which he feelingly appreciates.” This same Mr. H—made a very happy rejoinder when Mr. George Washington Lafayette wished to pay for the hat he had ordered, saying that “all the hats he could supply to the Lafayette family were paid for over forty years ago.”

A barouche drawn by four white horses conveyed Lafayette from Castle Garden to the City Hall; while his son and his secretary, with the committee of the city corporation, followed in carriages. The General was escorted up Broadway by a line of troops; but the crowds of people who thronged on every side to “pay honor to the respected visitor, and to be gratified with a sight of his person,” almost prevented
any advance of the carriages and cavalry, and the noise of their acclamations was deafening. At the City Hall, the guest was conveyed by the committee to the council-chamber, where he was received by the Mayor and Corporation, and appropriately welcomed in the name of the city. In reply to the Mayor's speech, Lafayette said, with great feeling:

"Sir, while I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions no more to be found in this land; the pleasure to see again those who have survived; this immense concourse of a free Republican population who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops; the presence of a corps of the national navy, have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate. You have been pleased, sir, to allude to the happiest times, the unalloyed enjoyments of my public life. It is the pride of my heart to have been one of the first adopted Sons of America. I am proud also to add that upwards of forty years, I have been particularly honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my profound and everlasting gratitude, devotion and respect."

Then followed hand-shaking and presentations by the hundred; for two hours or so, the crowd filed in and out of the City Hall, and the humblest among them could boast to their descendants, "I have shaken hands with Lafayette." Even at five o'clock, the much-welcomed visitor found it no easy matter to escape from the admiring crowd to repair to his quarters at the City Hotel, which had been especially fitted up for his reception. His secretary writes: "The National Standard displayed over the door indicated from afar the residence of 'the Nation's Guest'—the glorious and moving title by which he was greeted with acclamations when he entered. A splendid dinner, at which all the civil and military authorities were present, terminated this day, which alone might be considered as a glorious recompense for the greatest sacrifices; yet which, however, was but the prelude to the unexampled triumph reserved for Lafayette."

During his stay in New York, two hours of each day were devoted to the public in the City Hall, where they rushed in throngs to see him; and where he also received deputations and committees, and endless
invitations to visit every city and village in the United States, and every public building in and around New York. His first stay in this city was of only four days' duration; and one of his most interesting visits during that time was made to the rooms of the New York Historical Society, on the 19th of August, to which he was conducted by the President, Dr. Hosack. General Lafayette and his son, George Washington Lafayette, were made honorary members of the Society; and the President said, in his speech on the occasion:

"In announcing to you the resolution of this Society, permit me to observe that it was the exclusive object in the formation of this institution to collect, preserve, and record, the materials appertaining to the history of our State and country. Among these, none have been so precious as those relating to the Revolution in which you bore a memorable and distinguished part; and to whom, under Providence, our country is signally indebted for its independence, and the prosperity and success that have followed in its train."

Appropriate replies were made by the General and his son; and the day was one of pleasant memories on both sides.

On the 20th of August, the illustrious visitor left New York for Boston, a journey which occupied five days on account of the enthusiastic hospitalities proffered by the way. "Every cottage and farmhouse near enough to the road for the inhabitants to be apprised of his approach was emptied of its inmates, who lined the wayside, their countenances gleaming with the most animated curiosity while they bowed with respect and gratitude. The hardy sons of toil, leaving their ploughs in the half-furrowed field and casting aside their implements of husbandry at the sound of 'The General is coming!' were seen rushing to the roadside waving their hats with enthusiasm, and giving vent to their feelings in shouts and huzzas." And this continued, not for ten nor for twenty miles, but through the whole of the route; bands of music, bells, and everything calculated to add noise and enthusiasm to the reception, being lavishly added.

From Sawpits, the General was escorted by cavalry to Putnam's Mountain at Greenwich, generally called "Horse-neck," in allusion to Putnam's remarkable feat; and here what is characterized as "a heart-uplifting scene" took place. The road is cut through a solid rock about twenty feet high on each side; and a rural arch formed of pine branches and wild brier, intertwined with roses, reached across from side to side. Hanging from the centre of the arch was a shield, with the inscription: "This Arch On The Hill Rendered Memorable By The Brave
General Putnam, Is Erected In Honour Of The Illustrious General Lafayette, The Early And Distinguished Champion Of American Liberty And The Tried Friend Of Washington.” Over the shield waved, an old Revolutionary flag, “mangled and torn in the battle's fiercest rage.”

At New Haven, he was received by the students of Yale College drawn up in two lines on the green; and New London and Providence made grand demonstrations in honor of the distinguished guest. Arriving at the former city in the evening, the inhabitants eagerly improved the opportunity for a brilliant illumination. At Providence, on reaching the State House, the General left his carriage, and “was received in a peculiarly interesting manner. The poplar avenue leading to the building was lined on each side with nearly two hundred misses arrayed in white, protected by a file of soldiers on each side, and holding in their hands bunches of flowers which (as the General proceeded up the avenue supported by the Governor's aids) they strewed in his path, at the same time waving their white handkerchiefs. The General was afterwards pleased to express the peculiar and high satisfaction he took in this simple and touching arrangement.”

Old comrades in arms appeared almost everywhere, and received from Lafayette the most affectionate greeting. His tour was that of a triumphal progress, and everything along the way was placed at his disposal. A story is told in this connection of the shrewdness of an old lady at a Connecticut turnpike, who was accosted by a traveller with the words: “Well, madam, I suppose you are very glad General Lafayette has come, as you must have made oceans of money to-day at the gate?” “Sir,” was the indignant reply, “you must know that the General and his friends go through this gate free of toll, and I should like to have him pass a thousand times!” “O, ho! then your gates are free now?” “Yes,” replied the Connecticut dame, without a moment’s hesitation, “for such men as Lafayette, but not for those who come so far behind him.” This last remark quickly brought a York shilling out of the pocket of the narrator, who “hastened to get out of her sight and the range of her wit.”

Arrived at Boston, the hero was triumphantly conducted to the State House, where the children of the public schools were drawn up in a double row to receive him, all decorated with Lafayette badges and welcoming him with cries of joy. A little girl of five or six approached him with a wreath of evergreens, and was lifted into the barouche to crown Lafayette. This she did so gracefully, addressing him at the same time in French, that the General, transferring the wreath to his
arm, kissed the child with rapture. Fresh triumphs of all sorts awaited him here, and the whole city was in commotion—"drums beating, bugles echoing, horses prancing, and troops marching in all directions." The same open barouche with four white horses was ready at every point; and followed by escorts, cavalcades, and trains of carriages, the veteran was exposed to the admiring gaze of the immense concourse assembled to greet him. "Some leapt up, clapping their hands in an ecstasy of joy; and others burst into tears. From the window we looked down on a multitude extending along the road as far as the eye could reach, and all intent on expressing their respect and gratitude to a public benefactor. Along the whole route, the sidewalks, the piazzas, windows, and even the roofs of houses were thronged with spectators. Over the streets, in at least a dozen places, arches were erected and festoons of flags extended. Banners, bonnets and handkerchiefs waved from every window as the procession passed." It was a fortunate circumstance, as the illustrious visitor's head was uncovered all this time, that "the day was cool, fair and delightful."

On the same day, Lafayette attended the Commencement at Harvard; and was afterward present at a grand dinner in the hall of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at which Judge Story presided, and such kindred spirits as Ware, Everett, Josiah Quincy, Governor Eustis, Governor Brooks, etc., took part. On being asked if he was not fatigued with such extraordinary exertions and such constant excitement, the veteran General replied that he "experienced too much pleasure to find any time for fatigue." Another instance of his great tact is given in the answer made to the gentleman who, while talking with him, observed that "he spoke the English language remarkably well." "And why should I not," was the smiling reply, "being an American just returned from a long visit to Europe?" The next morning, General Lafayette held a reception in the State House; in the throng which welcomed him was an aged colored man who had been for many years a servant in the family of Governor Hancock, and in this capacity waited on Lafayette when he was "the young Marquis." To his great delight he was recognized at once and greeted with peculiar kindness by the General who, for some time, held him by the hand in conversation, while the whole multitude burst forth into loud cheerings.

An escort of cavalry, the civil and military authorities, and a great number of citizens, escorted him to the Navy Yard at Charleston, on the 27th. Here he was received by Commodore Bainbridge; and
was richly carpeted and covered with an awning, while on each side was a bordering of evergreen trees. The lofty arch over the principal entrance was adorned with wreaths and festoons, and lighted by hundreds of lamps, while a colossal statue of Washington, resting upon two pieces of cannon, rose from the centre. The ball-room was a vast amphitheatre, six hundred feet in circumference, with galleries rising one above another to the extreme part of the battlement, and flights of steps leading to them. An eye witness of the scene requests the reader to "imagine a canopy extending over the whole area, the apex of which was seventy feet from the floor, woven of festoons and flags of all colors and descriptions, entirely concealing the triple folds of canvas forming the awning; let him imagine this spacious arch supported by a massive column in the centre, entwined with spiral wreaths of laurel, half concealing the names of Revolutionary patriots, and arms extending from this central pillar hung with thirteen chandeliers blazing with almost painful lustre; let him imagine around the galleries, and rising to support the canopy, thirteen other transparent pillars of huge dimensions, glowing with every hue, their bases surrounded with the arms of the different States, their capitals with those of the nation, and each of them ornamented with a canopy; let him imagine the whole roof and every part of the spacious area hung with chandeliers and lamps, giving an indescribable brilliancy to the decorations of the room; let him imagine six hundred ladies and gentlemen in full dress, dancing, promenading, and moving in all directions to the music of two numerous orchestras in the gallery over the entrance; let him, if he can, combine into one view these splendid images, and he may form some faint idea of the coup d’œil of this spectacle." The authority quoted goes on to explain that the ornamentation of the building was allegorical: the central pillar being designed to represent the centre of the Union; and the thirteen transparent pillars, as well as the thirteen chandeliers, were emblematic of the thirteen original States with which the services of Lafayette were associated. The names of these States were hung in festoons at the summits of the respective columns. The bust of Washington over the entrance was designed to represent him as the presiding spirit of the fête given to his illustrious friend and associate in arms. On one end of the gallery in front was the word, "MONMOUTH," and on the other, "YORKTOWN," in ornamental capitals; in the centre, a large allegorical representation of the genius of America, attended by the eagle, and bearing the inscription: "Gratitude To The Faithful Patriot." A pavilion lined with blue silk and superbly ornamented, had been provided
for the guest of the evening opposite the entrance. A bust of
Hamilton, wreathed in laurel, and several portraits of Revolutionary
heroes and statesmen, were among the decorations. The interior was
handsomely carpeted, and furnished with sofas for the accommodation
of the General and his suite; and upon taking his seat in the pavilion, the
allegorical painting in the front gallery was raised and disclosed a fine
transparency of his residence, La Grange, in France. Beneath the
picture were the words in capitals, “HIS HOME.” “Lafayette,” says
his secretary, “was very much touched with this delicate idea of his
friends, who wished to give to their entertainment, by the presence of
this picture, the character of a family festival.”

At two o’clock in the morning, Lafayette took his departure from
the brilliant scene at Castle Garden, to which the moonlight that fell on
the waters of the Bay, displaying boats of all descriptions, filled with
eager crowds watching for a glimpse of the hero, lent an additional
charm, and embarked on a tour up the Hudson, stopping at West Point,
Newburgh, Poughkeepsie, Albany, &c., large delegations from these
places accompanying him.

At Albany, he was conducted to the Senate Chamber of the Capitol,
and received and addressed by the Mayor, who eloquently expressed
the gratitude of the United States, and especially of the city of Albany.
Lafayette, in his reply, said: “It is not a half century since the town,
then ancient it is true, but still very small, served me for headquarters
upon the frontier of a vast wilderness. I received here, as commandant
of the Northern Department, the renunciation of the royal power, and
the acknowledgment of the more legitimate sovereignty of the people
of the United States.”

At Troy he was invited by the ladies of the city to a reception
at Mrs. Willard’s boarding-school; and we are told that “he accepted
the invitation with eagerness.” The avenues to the establishment were
adorned with green branches and flowers, leading to a triumphal arch,
beneath which he was received by a committee of ladies with a com-
plimentary address, followed by music and singing, in which the whole
school joined.

Sixty-eight veterans of the Revolution, who had collected from
different parts of the country, formed part of the procession at Hudson,
and it happened that a number of them had served under Layfayette.
“Every one had something to say when they grasped his kindly hand,
and each seemed reluctant to release it.” One of them carried a sword
which, he said, was given him by the “Marquis;” and added, with a
the joyful occasion by Mr. Custis. A grand triumphal arch had been erected in the city, and young ladies dressed in white, to represent the States of the Union, received the hero beneath it, with appropriate addresses and songs. Five days were given to the city of monuments, and this time was so skilfully divided that nearly all the invitations received were accepted. A magnificent ball was included in the list, and deputations were daily received from various Southern cities requesting a visit. Baltimore relinquished her guest most unwillingly, and gave him a triumphal departure.

At Washington, Lafayette was received by President Monroe, the Secretaries of the Cabinet, and officers of the Army and Navy. The President, in welcoming him to the Capital, expressed his desire to entertain the General as his own personal guest, but waived this pleasure in behalf of the Nation's right, and requested him to spend as much time at the White House as this claim would allow. A State banquet finished the day, and Lafayette was then conducted with much enthusiasm to the quarters prepared for him.

A visit to the grave of Washington was made at an early day, and this has long been the subject of a popular print. Lafayette's secretary gives his impressions of the scene: "Simple and modest as he was during life, the tomb of the citizen-hero is scarcely perceived amid the sombre cypresses by which it is surrounded; a vault, slightly elevated and sodded over—a wooden door without inscriptions—some withered and some green garlands, indicate to the traveller who visits this spot, the place where rests in peace the puissant arms which broke the chains of his country. As we approached, the door was opened; Lafayette descended alone into the vault, and a few minutes after reappeared with his eyes overflowing with tears. He took his son and me by the hand and led us into the tomb, where by a sign he indicated the coffin of his paternal friend, alongside of which was that of his companion in life, united to him forever in the grave. We knelt reverentially near his coffin, which we respectfully saluted with our lips; rising, we threw ourselves into the arms of Lafayette, and mingled our tears with his."

The Virginia militia had invited Lafayette to be present at the 44th anniversary of the capture of Yorktown, and to this most interesting point he next repaired, and was established in the house where Cornwallis had his quarters nearly half a century before. When the cellar was examined, with a view to the convenient storage of provisions, some servants came upon a large chest in an obscure corner, and upon open-
ing it, it was found to be filled with candles that were blackened by time. An inscription on the lid showed that they were a portion of Cornwallis's stores during the siege. "Shortly after, all the candles were removed, lighted, and arranged in a circle in the centre of the camp, where the ladies and soldiers danced during the evening. A ball in Yorktown, in 1825, by the light of Cornwallis's candles, appeared so pleasant an occurrence to our old Revolutionary soldiers that, notwithstanding their great age and the fatigues of the day, most of them were unwilling to retire until the candles were entirely consumed."

Williamsburgh, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Richmond, were on the way to Petersburg, where it is said that "the twenty-four hours passed by General Lafayette were signalized by a great variety of pleasures." The welcome here was quite out of the common way, for the people thronged in great glee, as he passed through the streets of their substantial-looking town, to thank him for burning it down in 1781!—a measure which was taken to dislodge the British. "At that time," said they, "we had none but miserable wooden houses to receive you in, and now they are large, well-built brick buildings, in which we can offer you all the comforts of life."

Lafayette returned to Richmond to set out for Monticello, and was conducted by Jefferson to the University of Virginia. Here, a rattlesnake, from which the fangs had been extracted, was seen disporting itself on the floor of a small hall, the interesting reptile being intended as a present to George Washington Lafayette, who had expressed a desire for one.

At Charleston, where the General spent three happy days, he was delighted with the brilliancy and refinement of the entertainment; "but of all the delicate attentions that were paid him, the most touching, perhaps, was the gift made him by the city of a beautiful portrait of his friend, Colonel Huger." It was said to be a perfect likeness, admirably executed. It was done by a Charleston artist of great reputation, who was thought to have "surpassed himself in this work;" and as the miniature of a friend, then dead, at whose hospitable house the young Marquis passed the first days of his first sojourn in America, it was doubly valuable. The son now had the pleasure of entertaining the veteran who had been his father's companion in arms, and Lafayette's stay in Charleston was thoroughly enjoyed in every sense.

On the 21st of March, 1826, the Nation's guest is in Savannah, laying
the corner stone of the monuments to Generals Greene and Pulaski; and at New Orleans, he has the inevitable public ball, and the usual accompaniments of deputations, and a Masonic dinner.

At the latter place, Lafayette received such clamorous invitations to visit the French and the American theatre on the same evening, that he concluded to decide the matter by lot; and fate was in favor of the American, where the performances were as absurd as at the "Siege of Yorktown" in New York. After an enthusiastic welcome, "they gave," says one of the party, "an appropriate piece, of which neither he nor the audience could appreciate the merit, as every eye was attracted to the hero of Yorktown, who completely withdrew all attention from the representation of the Prisoner of Olmutz." He afterwards went to the French theatre, where the repeated cries of "Vive Lafayette!" completely suspended the performance. The crowd rose to him, and it was some time before order could be restored.

Among the hero's adventures in the United States was a shipwreck on the Ohio River, while on his way from Nashville to Louisville; but Lafayette apparently preserved his equanimity much better than the captain, who, poor man, was "very much depressed, not from the loss of the vessel, nor that of $1,200 he had on board, or even from any fear of not finding employment—his grief arose from having shipwrecked the guest of the nation. 'Never,' said he, 'will my fellow-citizens pardon me for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night.'" To comfort him, the whole party drew up and signed a declaration, to the effect that Captain Hall had done all that skill and prudence could do to avert the catastrophe, and that his courage and disinterestedness had been manifest from the first.

The General conscientiously visited every place in the United States where it seemed possible for him to go; and after a tour among the Southwestern cities and towns, he took his way from Cincinnati to Braddock's Field, Lake Erie to Niagara, Western and Central New York to Albany a second time; again to Boston for the fiftieth anniversary of Bunker Hill, then to Maine, thence to New York for the fourth time, and finally, to Washington, whence he sailed on his homeward voyage on the 7th of December, 1826.

"The Mount Vernon" carried him from Washington to the frigate "Brandywine," which waited for him at the mouth of the Potomac, and conveyed him safely to his native land, followed by the heartfelt regrets of the nation that had so enthusiastically received him as its guest more than a year before, and to whom he had endeared himself
all the more by his undisguised pleasure in his reception and his warm sympathy of manner.

Again, is the natural illumination recorded, that spanned the heavens on his arrival; and the Brandywine entered the Chesapeake on the 8th of December, "under full sail, traversing the centre of a brilliant rainbow, one of whose limbs appeared to rest on the Maryland shore, and the other on that of Virginia. Thus the same sign that appeared in the heavens on the day on which Lafayette landed on the American soil, appeared when he left it, as if Nature had reserved to herself the erection of the first and the last of the numerous triumphal arches dedicated to him during his extraordinary journey."

ELLA RODMAN CHURCH

THE TOMPKINS HOUSE, STATEN ISLAND
LAFAIETTE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN

1781

The military relations of Virginia to the whole theatre of war, during the struggle for American Independence, have rarely received due attention. A single statement will so define those relations, that the operations of General Lafayette, after he assumed command in that department, in May, 1781, will have fresh interest, and take their right place as determining factors in the capture of the army of Earl Cornwallis.

The British cabinet had a keener perception of the military methods which were necessary to subjugate the colonies than most of the officers successively in command. They rightly assumed, that from New York, as a base, the British army might isolate New England from the center; and that by operations in Chesapeake Bay, they would, in like manner, separate the south. The success of this strategy would make it impossible for New England, or the South, to aid the center or receive aid from it. As early as 1775 Lord Dartmouth announced this policy, and Lord Germain repeatedly urged it. The ultimate movement of Burgoyne from Canada, and the occupation of Newport, R. I., were parts in the development of the first movement; while the early occupation of Norfolk, and repeated demonstrations in Virginia, harmonized with the second element of anticipated success. The blow at Philadelphia, in the center, was to crown the others with restored British supremacy.

The persistency with which Washington held New Jersey, and by impregnable camps kept his army in hand, alike enabled him to support New England, command the Hudson, threaten New York, and maintain communications with Philadelphia and the South. By this strategy he was enabled, eventually, to defeat all British combinations and insure the redemption of Virginia.

After the battle of Monmouth, when British operations were chiefly limited to the Southern Department, and the garrison of New York was put on the defensive, the full importance of the conquest of Virginia became more clearly defined. While Lord Germain realized all this, Sir Henry Clinton had confidence in the ability of Cornwallis, Rawdon and Stewart to overrun the Carolinas and Georgia, to subjugate those sections in detail, without regard to their relations to the center; and
obstinately insisted, that the southern people would return to their allegiance, if these generals were successful against the small American commands then in the field. He also retained his purpose again to capture Philadelphia, repeating the error of Howe, who held, regardless of Washington's movements, that "to hold the capital was to insure ultimate success." The faith of Clinton in the acquisition of Pennsylvania, rather than of Virginia, rested on an opinion similar to that which Charles Lee gave to General and Admiral Howe, that, "in Pennsylvania, and on both sides of the Susquehanna, and between the Delaware and Chesapeake, the friends of the King were believed to be numerous, while Virginia had been looked upon as universally hostile."

There was one British officer who thoroughly believed in the strategic policy which Lord Dartmouth and Lord Germain so persistently maintained. The battle of Guilford Court House had been fought, and Earl Cornwallis retired to Wilmington. He had the nerve to let Greene pass him to the south, and the wisdom to ignore his movements. His own force had not been reinforced from the colonists, neither could he command their sympathy. They rose in his rear and on his flanks, as soon as his army passed, and in the contingency of a victory by Greene over Rawdon, he thus stated his own probable condition: "He, Greene, will have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry and every horse in the army." He, therefore, marched directly for Virginia, sending couriers to General Phillips to meet him at Petersburg, "most firmly persuaded that until Virginia was reduced, the more southern provinces could not be held, but that after its reduction they would fall without much difficulty."

On the 10th of April he wrote to General Clinton, "I cannot help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeake may become the seat of war, even (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York. Until Virginia is in a measure subdued, our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious." He enforced his views thus practically. The rivers of Virginia are advantageous to an invading army; but North Carolina is, of all the provinces in North America, the most difficult to attack (unless material assistance could be got from the inhabitants, the contrary of which I have sufficiently experienced) on account of its great extent, of the numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of interior navigation." On the 18th of April, in a letter to Lord Germain, he signified his appreciation of the strength of Virginia and the necessity of making it the first and chief objective of the war at the
South. He writes, "The great reinforcements sent by Virginia to General Greene whilst General Arnold was in the Chesapeake, are convincing proofs that small expeditions do not frighten that powerful province." While General Clinton opposed the conduct of the war at the South on the theory thus advanced, Lord Germain as persistently supported Cornwallis, and at last very graciously advised General Clinton "to avail himself of leave to come home if there was not full confidence between the generals and the minister."

It was with such impressions of the gravity of the crisis that Earl Cornwallis resolved to conquer the South, by the conquest of Virginia, and thus restore to British supremacy the left or southern zone in the general theatre of war. On the 25th of April, 1787, Lee left Wilmington and reached Petersburg on the 20th of May. General Phillips, who had been ordered to report to and act with him, had gained the designated rendezvous in advance, but his death, on the 13th had left his division to Arnold. That officer promptly assumed command and opened a correspondence with Lafayette, then in Virginia. Lafayette resented the presumption, and declined to respond, although Arnold threatened severe measures with the prisoners in his hands. In a letter of May 31st, Washington, then advised of his action, thus wrote, "Your conduct upon every occasion meets my approbation; but in none more than in your refusing to correspond with Arnold."

Lafayette had already courted a conflict with the gallant Earl. As soon as the expedition to Portsmouth failed, he proposed "to take the fast vessels of the French fleet, and go by sea to Wilmington and take Cornwallis in the rear or in the neighborhood of General Greene." The arrival of General Phillips, with reinforcements to the British army in Virginia, rendered such a movement impracticable. Upon advice soon in April, that Phillips had begun offensive operations and burned Chesterfield C. H., and that Arnold had destroyed property only thirteen miles below Richmond, Lafayette made a forced march from Baltimore, reaching Richmond on the 29th of April, just in time to witness the destruction of warehouses at Manchester, on the opposite bank of the James, but without transportation for an attempt to punish the marauders.

It is worthy of notice in connection with this state of affairs, and the opinion of Cornwallis already cited, that, as early as March 18th, in anticipation of Lafayette's detail to a southern command, General Greene wrote, "Could the Marquis join us at that moment, we should have a most glorious campaign. It would put Lord Cornwallis and his whole army into our hands."
Of that forced march of two hundred miles, Lafayette thus wrote, "I left everything that would impede our march." "Leaving the artillery behind might seem a strange whim, but it saved Richmond." His force was less than one thousand men, and few of these were mounted. On the 8th of May he wrote: "There is no fighting here, unless you have a naval superiority, or an army mounted on race horses. Phillips' plan against Richmond has been defeated. Now it appears I have business to transact with two armies, which is rather too much. Each is more than double the superior of me. We have no boats, few militia and less arms. I will try to do the best." As soon as Lafayette was advised of the march of Cornwallis northward, he resolved to intercept him, if reinforced in time, and prevent the junction of his column with that of Phillips. But the latter officer took post at Brandon, on the river, with ample water transportation, and the hazard of the enterprise was too great for the force in hand. Washington had started eight hundred good troops under Wayne, to his support, and Baron Steuben was hurrying forward recruits and general supplies; but in view of the urgent demand of Greene for troops at the South, Lafayette resolved to permit Wayne to join Greene, so that operations in Virginia might not detract from Greene's ability to advance against Rawdon. He rightly judged, that "Whenever Greene should become equal to offensive operations, it would relieve Virginia." He wrote to Wayne to hasten his march, but "unless very hard pressed" he would operate without his aid. He wrote to Washington that "he was marching, perhaps to get beaten by both British armies, or each of them separately; but if he must, it would be with as much loss to them as he could possibly inflict; but he would avoid a general engagement as long as possible." To this Washington replied: "Your determination to an engagement is certainly judicious. I hope the Pennsylvanians have begun their march before this. General Wayne has been pressed by Congress and the Board of War to make as much expedition as possible, and extraordinary powers are given him to enable him to procure provisions."

On the 9th of May Lafayette was at Wilton, ten miles below Richmond. The daily demands upon his force exacted the most constant attention, in order not to be overwhelmed by superior numbers, and still hold a position which would enable him to co-operate with Greene. In order to meet a call upon him for ammunition, he was obliged to send Gen. Muhlenberg with an escort of five hundred men to escort it beyond the Appomattox. "Their place was supplied by Col. Gimat's battalion and four guns, to prevent discovery of the absence of so large
a detachment.” The orders of Lafayette are found to have been made with careful regard to the details of his own command, and at the same time with view to the plan of the general southern campaign.

On the 18th of May he was ordered by Greene to assume command in Virginia, but to “send all reports directly to the commander-in-chief.” He describes his position as “between the Pamunky and Chickahominy rivers, which equally covered Richmond and other interesting points of the State.” He also sent General Nelson with militia toward Williamsburg, having previously established a line of express which kept him advised of British movements as far as Petersburg. On the 23d of May he thus advised Colonel Hamilton of his situation: “Both armies (Phillips and Cornwallis) have formed their junction. Their infantry is nearly five to one, their cavalry ten to one. We have no Continentals. Is it not strange that General Wayne’s detachment cannot be heard of; They are to go to Carolina, but should I have them for a few days, I am at liberty to keep them. This permission I will improve so far as to receive one blow that I may be beaten with some decency.” In full recognition of the gravity of affairs, the responsibility of his position and his own enthusiastic spirit, he continues: “The command of the waters, the superiority in cavalry and the great disproportion of our force, give the enemy such advantages that I durst not venture out and listen to my fondness for enterprise. To speak the truth, I was afraid of myself as much as of the enemy. Independence has rendered me the more cautious; but if the Pennsylvanians come, Lord Cornwallis shall pay something for his victory.”

On the 25th of May, General Leslie joined Cornwallis with two thousand two hundred and seventy-eight men, and the latter wrote to Clinton that “he should proceed to dislodge Lafayette from Richmond.” Cornwallis had already learned that the temper of the southern people was irritated by the wholesale destruction of private property, which marked minor operations in Virginia, and upon giving Arnold leave of absence to report to General Clinton at New York, he made him bearer of a letter which contained the following appeal: “He” (Arnold) “will represent the horrid enormities which are committed by our privateers in Chesapeake Bay, and I must join my earnest wish that some remedy may be applied to an evil which is so very prejudicial to his majesty’s service.” It appears from letters of Clinton to Phillips, opened after his death, that the former officer wrote early as March 24th to have Arnold sent to New York “if Phillips did not have particular occasion for his services.” With the departure of Arnold soon after the arrival of Cornwallis, the army took the offensive.
The struggle between the young French officer, not yet twenty-four years of age, and the English soldier, then forty-three years old, was fully inaugurated. The British army with Leslie’s column exhibited on its muster roll a force of seven thousand veteran troops, while that of Lafayette, with all additions received during May, was less than three thousand, with hardly one hundred reliable cavalry. Until the arrival of Wayne Lafayette had few with whom he could advise, and yet he fully understood that the campaign had for its desirable and possible objective the final overthrow of Cornwallis. As if imbued with the spirit and wisdom of his commander-in-chief, he shaped all movements with view to harass his foe, avoid unequal battles and wear him out, until a hand to hand conflict should be within the means at his disposal. It was just at this time that the British scouts captured one of his patriots with letters addressed by him to Governor Jefferson, Generals Greene, Steuben and others. One to Jefferson exhorted him “to turn out the militia,” asserting, with strong faith, that “The British success in Virginia resembled the recent French invasion and possession of Hanover, and was likely to have similar consequences, if the government and the country would exert themselves at the present juncture.”

Earl Cornwallis entered upon the campaign with the consciousness that Clinton wished him so to limit his operations in Virginia as to make an attack upon Philadelphia practicable. He did not, however, suspend his advance upon Lafayette, but wrote to General Clinton, thus frankly: “In regard to taking possession of Philadelphia by an incursion, even if practicable, without an intention of keeping or burning it (neither of which appears to be practicable) I should apprehend it would do more harm than good to the cause of Great Britain. If offensive war is intended, Virginia appears to me to be the only province in which there is a stake.” In view of the suggested detachment of troops from his command, he expresses the “doubt whether a proper army for the attempt can be found, for, to reduce this province (Virginia) and keep possession of the country, a considerable army would be necessary.” “With a small force the business would probably terminate unfavorably, though the beginning might be successful.” Lord Cornwallis therefore began the campaign, not only knowing that he had all the troops which would be placed at his disposal, but that the withdrawal of a portion by his superior officer was highly probable. He also reaffirmed the opinion which he formed before he left Wilmington, that in Virginia there would be developed the critical issue of the war.

Lafayette began the campaign with a similar opinion of the contest;
but with the belief that ability to keep the field would so revive hope and inspire the people that his army would gain the strength for active operation and decisive victory. He at once removed the most valuable stores from Richmond, crossed the South Anna, then the North Anna (see map) and moved toward the Rapid Anna, to put himself in communication with Wayne and effect the earliest possible junction with his advancing command. His march was made with such deliberation that he was fully advised of his enemy’s movements, and harassed his flank with skirmishers. His loss was inconsiderable.

On the 24th of May the General Assembly adjourned to Charlottesville, in anticipation of a British attack upon Richmond. The advance guard of the army of Cornwallis moved May 25th, crossed James River at Westover, and established headquarters at Bird’s plantation. The entire army, including infantry, cavalry and artillery, swimming all the horses but the best, completed the passage in less than three days, using boats which Arnold had previously built. On the 27th Cornwallis encamped at White Oak Swamp, with the intention of taking Richmond in the rear; but Lafayette, fully advised by his scouts, had already moved northward, leading the British column more than twenty miles. Cornwallis at once crossed the Chickahominy (see map) passed Hanover Court House, crossed the Pamunky, and then its North Fork, (the North Anna) above New Found Creek, to head off the column of the American commander. But on the 29th that officer still held the lead, crossed the North Anna and was on his march toward Spottsylvania Court House, in the supposed direction of Wayne’s approach. Upon striking the fresh trail of the American column Cornwallis sent light troops to threaten its rear and make a show of pursuit. He then moved with his army to the southwest in the direction of Byrd’s Creek and James river, where Baron Steuben commanded the American ordnance and supply depot, making this the rendezvous for his entire force. Tarleton was dispatched with a flying column of dragoons, all but seventy-six of them being his own men, to attempt the capture of Governor Jefferson and the General Assembly at Charlottesville. The prisoners made at Saratoga, and previously located at that place, had been removed; but no doubt was entertained of the value of the expedition. The march of Tarleton was at a gallop, “A halt at noon,” June 3d, “just long enough to rest men and horses,” left time to bring the command to Louisa Court House by eleven at night. Another short halt was made, and at two in the morning the march was resumed at full speed. Before daylight a wagon train with supplies of arms and clothing for
the American southern army was captured and "destroyed, to save time and avoid a detail for their escort." Several captures were made at private mansions, including Colonel John Simms and two brothers of General Nelson. Still, and at full speed, the dragoons charged through the little Rivanna, which runs at the foot of the hill on which Charlottesville is situated. The small resisting force was dispersed. General Scott, a few officers, and seven members of the Assembly became prisoners. A thousand stand of arms with some powder and tobacco were destroyed. Tarleton very dryly said of this exploit that "He imagined that a march of seventy miles in twenty-four hours might perhaps give him the advantages of a surprise," but the expedition was a substantial failure. On that very night he started down the Rivanna toward Point of Rock, to rejoin Cornwallis, and join Col. Simcoe who had previously been sent to reconnoiter the post held by Baron Steuben. General Steuben, although in a position of great natural strength, hastily assumed that the well deployed column of Simcoe was the real advance of the British army, neglected to make a stand, threw his ordnance into the river and avoided battle. The army of Cornwallis, again united, moved eastward toward Richmond.

Meanwhile Lafayette had not been idle, nor unadvised of these movements, which were wearing out his adversary by hard marching, and not impairing his own effective command. On the 4th of June he crossed the Rapid Anna, found that Wayne had not passed southward, recrossed the river higher up at Raccoon Ford on the 6th, was joined by Wayne on the 7th, passed near Orange Court House on the 10th to gain intelligence as to the demonstration against Charlottesville, and on the 12th turned eastward, in a line parallel with the return march of Cornwallis. Already the pursuer had become the pursued. On the 13th his scouts captured the dispatch of Tarleton to Cornwallis reporting his operations at Charlottesville. This was at once published that the people might be warned as to the depredations they might expect by the tolerance of British troops in Virginia. It is an interesting fact that at the time Wayne joined Lafayette, General Clinton was engaged in writing to Cornwallis the information that "the Pennsylvanians, under Wayne, had revolted."

On the 18th Tarleton made a forced march to cut off General Muhlenberg's command; but Wayne went to the rescue, and Tarleton returned without prisoners, plunder or laurels. On the 19th Baron Steuben joined Lafayette, and the march was continued with increased vigor. Tarleton thus describes this movement: "The Marquis de
Lafayette, who had previously practised defensive manoeuvres with skill and security, being now reinforced by General Wayne and about eight hundred continental and some detachments of militia, followed the British as they proceeded down James river. This design," says Tarleton, "being arranged and executed with extreme caution, allowed opportunity for the junction of Baron Steuben, confined the small detachments of the king's troops, and both saved the property and raised the drooping spirits of the Virginians." In view of the small force of light horse at Lafayette's command, his comprehension of the British movements was soldierly. His little body of scouts was kept by night and day on the British flank. No straggler or small party was safe. Such became the aggressiveness of the American skirmishers, that the seventy-sixth British foot was mounted to assist the Queen's Rangers in protecting the rear and flank of the retiring army of Cornwallis.

Already Lafayette began to reap the benefit of his original policy, and the daily arrivals of militia encouraged his march. It was his purpose to pass Richmond, and thus gain a position between Cornwallis and his base of supplies; but on the 20th that officer abandoned Richmond, crossed at Bottom Bridge and moved by New Kent Court House directly for Williamsburg. The direction taken by Cornwallis, via New Kent Court House, was so closely watched by Lafayette that he took an interior shorter line toward Williamsburg. Tarleton, in speaking of this movement says: "At the time the royal army quitted New Kent, the main body of the Americans approached within twelve miles of that place, which circumstance nearly occasioned Earl Cornwallis to counter-march; but, upon reflection, he pursued his design of moving to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth of June." The American army was between the British army and the Chickahominy, the right flank and rear of the latter force being still covered by the Queen's Rangers. So closely was this command pursued, or pressed by Butler, supported by Wayne's continental, that when within six miles of Williamsburg it became necessary for Cornwallis to move to their rescue. Lafayette says, "The whole British army came out to save Simcoe." Tarleton says, "Before the horses were unbridled, the sound of musketry and cannon announced the commencement of an action at the outpost; and Lord Chewton soon afterwards delivered Earl Cornwallis' orders for the cavalry and mounted infantry to repair with expedition to the army who were already moving to the relief of Lieut. Colonel Simcoe. The loss in this affair was nearly equal, upwards of thirty being killed and wounded on each side."
A reference to the map will show how successfully the campaign had been converted from the defensive to the offensive by Lafayette, and that there was no alternative for Cornwallis but to keep on the coast and abandon the conquest of Virginia. Letters still came from General Clinton suggesting a dash at Philadelphia; but on the last of June Cornwallis was summoned to hold troops in readiness to move to New York, as that city, according to these letters, "was threatened with a siege." Such conflicting instructions embarrassed the British commander, but the field operations in Virginia were practically at an end.

On the 23d of June Lafayette wrote to Washington, "The enemy have been so kind as to retire before us. Twice I gave them a chance of fighting (taking care not to engage them farther than I pleased) but they continued their retrograde movement. Our numbers are I think exaggerated to them, and our seeming boldness confirms the opinion. Our force is almost his, but only one thousand five hundred regulars and fifty dragoons. One little action more particularly marks the retreat of the enemy. From the place where he first began to retire, to Williamsburg, is upwards of one hundred miles. The old arms at the Point of Fork have been taken out of the water. His lordship did us no harm of consequence, but lost an immense part of his former conquest, and did not make any in this State. General Greene only demanded of me to hold my ground in Virginia. I don't know but we shall in our turn become the pursuing army."

On the 4th of July Cornwallis sent the Queen’s Rangers across James river and began the removal of heavy baggage preparatory to retreat to Portsmouth and the formal abandonment of the Virginia campaign. He was already on the defensive. His retreat was not fully effected, however, before a more serious engagement took place than had before attended the operations of the two armies. The main body of the British army remained at Jamestown while the effort was made to draw Lafayette into an action upon ground of its own selection, well adapted for defense. He had already advanced to Green Spring and actively menaced the British rear guard. The British main body occupied a position covered by swamps, only approached by narrow causeways, and proper efforts had been made to put its force under cover, and invite attack. The 43d regiment, which began its American service at Bunker Hill, with the 23d, 33d, and 71st, which had long been favorite regiments with Cornwallis, were a part of the command. Lafayette, misinformed of the strength of his opponent, briskly drove in the pickets supporting the advance by his small body of cavalry, the light infantry
and a few small guns. The entire British reserve was brought into action. The American left and then the entire first line gave way under the pressure of a superior force, falling back upon Wayne, who, with fixed bayonets, interposed his veterans, and covered their retreat. When the action became general, Lafayette appeared in person, entering into the thickest of the fight. His horse was shot and his personal gallantry was highly applauded. The courage and firmness of Wayne and the Pennsylvania troops, who proved themselves to be the equals of their best disciplined adversaries, saved the army from more serious loss. The British casualties were seventy-five, and the Americans one hundred and eighteen. Cornwallis crossed the James and Lafayette took post at Malvern Hill to rest his command. Of this action Tarleton says, that “he hired a negro and a dragoon and charged them to feign desertion and give false intelligence, and to represent that the body of the king’s troops had crossed James river; and he supposed it most probable that Lafayette acted upon this false intelligence rather than through too great ardor, for it is the only instance of this officer committing himself during a very difficult campaign.” With the exception of Baron Steuben’s militia, which held the camp, the entire American force was engaged. On the 9th of July Tarleton started from Cobham and spent twenty days in an expedition by Amelia Court House, and Prince Edward Court House to New London, in Bedford County, to destroy supplies. He admits in his journal that a “march of four hundred miles only wore out his horses,” and did not divert Lafayette from his plans against Earl Cornwallis. (See map).

On the 4th of August Cornwallis took post at Yorktown. He was joined by Tarleton on the 7th; and by the 22d the whole British force was at that post and Gloucester. On the 8th, satisfied that his position must confine Cornwallis to the peninsula, Lafayette wrote to Washington that “he would avoid being drawn into a false movement,” adding as to Cornwallis, “His lordship plays so well that no blunder can be hoped from him to recover a bad step of ours. Should a fleet come in at this moment our affairs would take a very happy turn.” On the 13th he sent light troops to the rear of Gloucester and skirmished actively with Tarleton and Simcoe, and also dispatched Wayne across the James to demonstrate toward Portsmouth and cut off the retreat from Cornwallis into North Carolina as well as to be able promptly to co-operate with French troops on the arrival of the fleet. Daily skirmishing took place, and on the 21st, when urging Washington to come in person and take command, he declares that “the British
army must be forced to surrender,” thus closing: “I heartily thank you for having ordered me to remain in Virginia. It is to your goodness that I am indebted for the most beautiful prospect which I may ever behold.”

On the 30th of August the Count de Grasse arrived. On the 3d of September the Count de St. Simon joined Lafayette with his division of three thousand two hundred men at Green Spring. On the 5th the Allies occupied Williamsburg. At no period of Lafayette’s service in America was there so strong an appeal to his enthusiasm as at this juncture. Count de Grasse united with Count de St. Simon in urging an immediate attack upon Yorktown, the latter waiving rank and consenting to serve under Lafayette. Confident of ultimate success, Lafayette however resolved to wait until fully prepared. He thus clearly gives his views in a letter to Washington: “I am not so hasty as the Count de Grasse, and think that, having so sure a game to play, it would be madness by the risk of an attack to give anything to chance. Unless matters are very different from what I think they are, my opinion is that we ought to be contented with preventing the enemy’s forages, with militia, without committing our regulars. Whatever the Marquis de St. Simon has been pleased to express to Colonel Gimat respecting his being under me, I shall do nothing without paying that deference which is due to age, talents and experience; but would rather incline to the cautious line of conduct I have of late adopted. I hope you will find we have taken the best precaution to lessen his lordship’s escape. I hardly believe he will make the attempt. If he does he must give up ships, artillery, baggage, part of the horses, all the negroes; must be certain to lose the third of his army, and run the greatest risk of losing the whole, without gaining that glory which he may desire from a brilliant defense.” The judgment of Lafayette was accepted by the French officers as sound; for on the 8th he wrote to Washington; “We will try, if not dangerous, upon a large scale to form a good idea of the works; but unless I am greatly deceived, there will be madness in attacking them now with our force. Marquis de St. Simon, Count de Grasse and General Du Portail agree with me in opinion; but should Lord Cornwallis come out against such a position as we have, everybody thinks that he cannot but repent it, and should he beat us, he must soon prepare for another battle.” The reply of Washington, made on the 15th of August, fully endorsed the wisdom of the policy thus enforced by Lafayette.

General Washington reached Philadelphia on the 30th of August;
the very day of the appearance of Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake. Dispatches received at this place from Lafayette informed him that the British were fortifying Gloucester as well as Yorktown, and indicated the additional precautions which he had taken to prevent the escape of Cornwallis. The sixth of September was the twenty-fourth birthday of Lafayette, and he found time in the midst of public duty to write home to France with full assurance that the entire British army would soon be captured.

On the 14th Washington reached Lafayette's headquarters. On the 19th Cornwallis surrendered.

In this rapid review of an eventful campaign which culminated in the capture of Yorktown and the British army, there is plainly evident a just appreciation by Cornwallis of the task he had undertaken, and the great skill with which he made the best of his force under the limitations imposed upon him by General Clinton. The value to Great Britain, of the conquest of Virginia, was absolute. The force at his disposal was unequal to the duty. Failure was fatal. The die had been cast. Lafayette won.

But what shall be said of his adversary who entered Virginia with less than a thousand men, but so judiciously handled his force that it grew in numbers until it equalled that of Cornwallis; who so well combined the columns of Steuben, Muhlenberg and Wayne, as well as the gathering militia, that he enclosed Cornwallis, ready for capture; and who not only commanded the confidence of Washington and Greene, but in camp, on the march, and in the face of the enemy, so mastered the hot ambition of youth and bent it to the sway of sound judgment, that even the wily Tarleton could not believe that even in the doubtful issue of Jamestown he had yielded to rash impulses, but was for the first time mistaken in the numbers of his foe?

The reports from his own pen, the record of his movements, the confidence of his superiors, the obedience of his subordinates, and the faithfulness of his troops, alike testify of a generalship which enhances our confidence in Washington's choice of an antagonist to Cornwallis, and must ever endear to the people of the United States the name and memory of Lafayette.

HENRY B. CARRINGTON
LAfAYETTE'S LETTERS FROM PRISON

MAGDEBURG—1793

During his long retirement from public affairs Lafayette, in his retreat at La Grange, set in order the papers which had escaped the vicissitudes of his career. These were published after his death by his family, under the supervision of his son, George Washington Lafayette, Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits du General Lafayette publiés par sa famille, Société Belge de Librairie Bruxelles, 1837–39). A chapter in the second volume, entitled Correspondance de prison, contains a number of letters written by the illustrious prisoner, by Madame de Lafayette, who shared his confinement in its later years, by his companions in captivity, and a few other documents of relative importance. The major part, however, are those written by Lafayette himself. These interesting papers do not appear to have been as yet presented to the public in an English translation.

Nothing that concerns this heroic character, who delighted to call himself an officer of the United States, a son of Washington and the friend of Liberty, can ever be deemed foreign by an American; certainly nothing relating to a confinement which the American nation regarded with the deepest solicitude, and through its Congress, its diplomatic agents and the direct interposition of its first citizens, spared no effort to mitigate, if it could not bring to a close. But the interest of the collection is greatly enhanced to the American reader by the knowledge that there exists in this country a number of letters written by Lafayette from his Magdeburg prison which, with two exceptions, do not seem to have been known to the family at the time of the publication referred to. These, with some others of a later date referring to the same subject, were purchased at Hamburg, some three years since, by Mr. Jeremiah Colburn of Boston, and are in his possession. A translation of those written from prison is now published in chronological order.

A short narrative will recall to the reader the main facts connected with the long and distressing captivity of Lafayette, and some details gathered from the notes to his published memoirs will introduce the dramatis persona of this delightful piece of individual history. A letter written by Lafayette on the 16th June, 1792, from his camp
at Maubeuge to the National Assembly, denouncing the Jacobins and
demanding the dispersion of the clubs and the support of the constitu-
tional monarchy established by the national pact, was the first step
in the rapid decline of the popularity of the young general of the
National Guard, until then the idol of the people. Hearing a few
days later of the insults and danger to which the King was exposed
on the 2d June, when the Tuileries were invaded by a riotous mob,
he hastened in person to Paris, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and
on the 28th June presented himself before the bar of the Assembly to
renew his demands. Coldly received by the Assembly, he attempted to
secure the aid of the National Guard, an organization he had himself
created, intending to take advantage of a review ordered for the
next day, but the King and Queen, whom he sought to save, lured by
false hopes and ill-advised, themselves interposed to defeat his inter-
vention, and the review was postponed. His personal efforts to arouse
the more patriotic officers of the Guard had but a momentary influ-
ence, and on the 30th he returned, sad and dispirited, to his army. A
change in the command of the two army corps requiring Lafayette to
pass within sixty miles of the royal chateau of Compiègne, he resolved
to take advantage of the circumstance to effect the escape of the King
from Paris. The vacillating monarch, then master of his actions, had
but to go to the chateau, declare his adherence to the constitution and
secure the protection of the army. Determined, however, to accept
no favor from Lafayette, and relying upon other combinations which
it was supposed would result from the intervention of the foreign pow-
ers, the Court refused this last chance of safety. The retreat of the
French armies from the northern frontier before the Austrian and
Prussian forces, and the arrival of the King of Prussia himself at Cobl-
entz with a powerful army, were the natural precursors of a revolution
which shook France to the centre, alarmed the Assembly and exas-
perated the people, who in mingled terror and indignation turned
instinctively to the boldest of their leaders. On the 10th of August
the Tuileries was stormed, and the royal family sought refuge in the
National Assembly. In the tumult of the conflict, and interrupted by
the noise of cannon and the crash of balls piercing the windows of the
hall, where the Assembly was deliberating, occurred the memorable
scene on which the historian loves to dwell. Rising in a body, the
members took solemn oath to defend liberty and equality with their
lives, proceeded to pronounce the suspension of the King from
authority, and assigned the royal family an apartment in the Luxem-
bourg for their residence. Later resolutions made them the hostages of the nation, and on the demand of the Commune their persons were entrusted to its keeping, and the Temple became first their home and then their prison house.

Meanwhile Lafayette had been denounced to the Jacobin Club by Robespierre, and a formal accusation presented against him in the Assembly by Collot d'Herbois. This was set aside by large majority, but the insults offered to those who had voted in his favor, and the destruction of his statue at the Palais Royal, were definitive evidence of his loss of hold upon the popular mind. The news of the revolution of the 10th at Paris reached Lafayette in his entrenched camp at Sedan on the 12th August. With his accustomed decision he made an effort to arrange a meeting of a congress of the departments to redress the old or establish a new order of government. The department of Ardennes, in which his camp lay, adhered to his scheme, and even arrested the Commissioners sent by the Assembly; but the folly of resistance to the rising flood of popular indignation was soon evident. New commissioners arrived, who deprived Lafayette of his command. Aware that the next step would be his arrest, he determined to take refuge in neutral territory. His troops were attached to him, and might have been influenced to resist the authority of the Assembly, but Lafayette was not the man to excite dissensions in the camp when armed enemies were threatening the frontier of the country he loved and the very existence of the liberty he adored. After taking every measure necessary for the order and safety of his army, on the 19th of August he left his camp, and, accompanied by General Latour-Maubourg and his two brothers, General Bureaux de Pusy, his Aide-de-camp, the members of his staff as General of the Paris National Guard, his chief of staff, the patriotic Colonel in charge of the Commissioners of the Assembly, and fifteen officers of different grades, he rode to the frontier.

From Bouillon, which is on the extreme border of France, he sent instructions to the army for their government in case of attack, or until the arrival of Dumouriez; and in order to cover the magistrates of Sedan and others who were compromised in the temporary resistance to the National Assembly, he sent to them an antedated requisition, by which it might appear that they had acted under restraint. Dismissing his escort at Bouillon, he pushed on with his companions to Rochefort, a little village in the Duchy of Luxembourg, occupied by an Austrian post. The demand of the French officers to pass the neutral territory
was refused by the officer in charge, General Moitelle, who commanded at Namur. Instead of granting the permission sought, the general, delighted at the prize which had fallen into his hands, sent dispatches with the information to the French princes, and ordered the transfer of Lafayette and his companions to Namur, where they arrived the next day under a strong escort of hussars. Here they signed a declaration that they were no longer French officers, therefore not to be considered by the allied forces as enemies, and claimed as strangers free passage to the territory of the nearest nation not at war with their own.

From Namur the twenty-three prisoners were taken to Nivelle, where they were separated into three grades. Those who had not served in the national guard were released with a warning to leave the country, the other officers, including those who had served as aids to Lafayette during the revolution, were imprisoned in the Citadel of Antwerp, where they were held two months; and the four deputies of the Constituent Assembly were carried to Luxembourg. Here they were separated, and a week later conducted to Wesel by a Prussian detachment. At a council held by a committee of the coalition, which followed the allied army, the Baron de Breteuil, assisting as the ambassador of Louis XVI, it had been agreed that the existence of Lafayette was incompatible with the safety of the governments of Europe. For three months the prisoners were kept at Wesel under close surveillance, separated from each other and denied permission to communicate even with their nearest relatives.

From Wesel the four prisoners were taken to Magdeburg, where they were closely confined for more than a year; Lafayette was then transferred to Neisse, and Latour-Maubourg to Glatz, where he was soon followed by Bureaux de Pusy. Alexandre Lameth, more fortunate than either, was first allowed his liberty on parole and finally released. In May, 1794, the three companions were delivered up to the Emperor of Austria and taken to the famous fortress of Olmutz, where they were again separately confined and denied all communication with each other. Here, subjected to every privation and indignity, Lafayette remained until the autumn of 1797; a captivity of five years. His liberty then was a consequence of the triumphs of Bonaparte, and immediately resulted from a demand made by him and General Clarke at the instance of the French Directory to the Austrian Government, in the treaty signed at Leoben in April of that year.

The fate of Madame de Lafayette was scarcely less pitiable. Arrested on the 2d September, 1792, at her residence at Chavaniac, by
an order of the Committee of Public Safety of the 10th August she was released and transported to Puy, whence she was permitted to return to her home as a prisoner on parole. Here she remained until the passage of the law of 17th September, 1793, regarding suspected persons (contre les suspects), when she was again confined at Brioude, and in June, 1794, transferred to the prison at Paris. Soon after, on the 4th Thermidor (22d July, 1794), her grandmother (the Maréchale de Noailles), her mother (the Duchesse d’Ayen), and her sister (the Vicomtesse de Noailles), perished on the same scaffold. On the 15th Thermidor, after the fall of Robespierre, although the prisoners of state were set at liberty, Madame de Lafayette was retained and only finally freed from prison in the month of February, 1795. Her first step was to send her son, George Washington, to the United States, to the care of Washington; then passing to Hamburg by sea she obtained, through the assistance of Mr. Parish, the American Consul, a passport, under the name of “Madame Motier,” an American, with which she reached Vienna, and by the aid of the Grand Chamberlain, the Prince de Rosenberg, a friend of her family, obtained, unknown to the Ministers, an audience of the Emperor, who granted her permission to share the captivity of her husband in the castle of Olmutz. In a letter written to her aunt, Madame de Tessé, dated Olmutz, 10th May, 1796, she recites, in a touching narrative and charming style, the incidents of her own success in her project and the story of her husband’s captivity, from his departure from France until her arrival. She speaks of his excessive attenuation and broken health. She says of him, that he demands that in no occasion and on no account whatever shall his friends intercede for him, save in a manner becoming his character and his principles, and adds that he pushes what may be called “la faiblesse d’une grande passion” to excess. Yet, with a nobility of soul equal to his own, she justifies him in his course, and bears witness to the serenity of his mind, exposed though it was to petty irritations which embitter more feeble characters. Nor was hers cast in less heroic mould. Refused permission for a visit to Vienna to consult physicians on the condition of her health, seriously affected by imprisonment, except on the condition not to return to the prison, she said, with the quiet dignity of the ancien régime, that “she and her children preferred, at any sacrifice of health, to profit by the goodness of his imperial majesty, which permitted them to share the captivity in every respect.” Nor were they separated.

It was his old aide-de-camp, Louis Romeuf, who announced to
Lafayette the success of the demand of Bonaparte. The prisoners were set free on the 19th September, 1797, and journeyed to Hamburg by way of Dresden, Leipzic and Halle, everywhere greeted with sympathy by the friends of liberty. At Hamburg they were welcomed by the Consul of the United States on board of the American man-of-war, whence they were conducted by the Austrian officer, who accompanied them, to the residence of Mr. Parish, former Consul of the United States, who engaged, on behalf of Lafayette, that he should leave the town within twelve days. They then visited the Minister of the French Republic, and Lafayette shortly after retired to the little town of Wittmold in Holstein with his wife and two daughters.

Of the three companions of Lafayette, Bureaux de Pusy had been three times President of the Constituent Assembly, and was proscribed for his energetic resistance to the aggressions of the Jacobins. Latour-Maubourg had been from childhood the companion and friend of Lafayette. No higher praise could be given him than that which Lafayette himself pays in a note to his memoirs: "He shared with la Rochefoucauld the glory of the most disinterested sacrifices of an unalterable devotion to the national cause, of a courageous opposition to the aristocracy and Jacobinism; these perhaps are the only two patriots whom envy has never dared to assail." Alexandre de Lameth was the commandant of Mezières and proscribed as one of the friends of Lafayette; he had made the American campaign on the general staff and was at Yorktown with Rochambeau.

The Princess d'Hénin was then living in London. The family of Lafayette has not failed to place on record their affectionate gratitude for the devotion of this admirable friend, who, while he was confined in the Austrian dungeon, and his wife and family languished in the prison of the Terror, was the medium of their correspondence and a consoling angel.

Mr. Archenholz, the author of a work on the Seven Years War, was at this time engaged in editing a newspaper at Hamburg called La Minerve. Letters written to him by Lafayette long after his release show how warmly he continued to appreciate his disinterested friendship.

The Hanoverian doctor, whose name is not mentioned in the letters, was the same Erich Bollman who, with Mr. Huger of Charleston, made the well-known unsuccessful attempt to deliver Lafayette from the Olmutz dungeon in November, 1794.

It is impossible to read this correspondence without admiration, not
only for the equanimity of Lafayette, who justly found strength to meet
his martyrdom in the thought that he was the personal representative of
true liberty, but for that of the companions of his captivity. Together
they are examples of the high sentiment of the age of ideas in which they
lived; an age in which the individual delighted to subordinate his own
personality to the general weal; an age of great achievement and great
failure, in which human greatness and human error touched their utmost
limits; the age of Washington and Robespierre. Where in the range of
authentic history or poetic fancy may higher types of thorough man-
hood and perfect womanhood be found than those which appear in this
simple relation of the physical sufferings, and the moral triumphs of the
prisoners of Olmutz?

EDITOR

1 This paper was signed by Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg, Alexandre Lameth, Laumoy, Duroure,
A. Masson, Sicard, Bureaux de Pusy, Victor Latour-Maubourg, Victor Gouvion, Langlois, Sionville,
A. Romeuf, Dagrain, L. Romeuf, Curmer, Pillet, La Colombe, V. Romeuf, C. Latour-Maubourg,
M. d'Arblay, Soubeyran, Ch. Cadignan.

ARMS OF LAFAYETTE
TRANSLATION

LAFAYETTE’S LETTERS FROM PRISON

MAGDEBURG

1793

From the originals in the possession of Jeremiah Colburn

I

The original is in English.

MAGDEBURG, March the 15th, 1793

Sir:—Having been informed of an American Consul being in Hamborough I will, upon the claim of a fellow citizen, and with the confidence of a friend, entreat your assistance—you know, sir, the preparations, beginning and progress of the French Revolution down to the time when I thought it inconsistent with the rights of the people at large, the sentiments of the majority of their representatives, and the true notions of liberty, to unite with partial acts of violence, and was of course obliged momentarily to seek for a neutral ground. You also have heard of my falling in with an Austrian detachment, whereby I was made a prey to the governing powers on this side of the Rhine. By what principle, profession, and acts, I have from my early youth to this period deserved their animadversion it is my boast to remember, their’s to resent—let it suffice to say that I have (with three companions, Mons. Latour Maubourg, Lameth and Pusy) been dragged through horrid confinement to a most unpleasant, narrow hole, digged under the ramparts of this citadel, which for wholesomeness may compare to a New York prison ship, but where I am shut up from all company, all kinds of news, and every means to hear from or write to my friends.

Under these circumstances I have had the unhoped-for good fortune to smuggle a letter out of my den to be forwarded to you, which I the more earnestly beg you to keep a secret, as the fortune and life of some good folks depend on your circumspection.

Now, sir, I am to beg you will forward by a private and safe hand (not by post) the letters which will be delivered to you—the Princess d’Henin at London will pay the charges and give back the answer of my family, to whom I don’t directly write, not knowing where they are.

You may, with entire confidence, consult with the ingenious, enlightened and philanthropic author of the renowned performance, the Minerva—a gentleman whose exertions in the cause of liberty have been, and will, prove most useful, and for whose integrity, as well as abilities, I have great regard.

I earnestly request, sir, you will please by a safe return to let me hear of the situation of affairs in America, the blessed land of true liberty, and particularly every thing that relates to my paternal friend General Washington.

Whether I may live to thank you in person is a matter very doubtful, I might add not very probable to me; but this I do most heartily say, that as long as I breathe I will remain, Sir,

Your obliged and grateful servant,

LAFAYETTE

The only person whose name I can remember to hear of the lodgings let by the Princess d’Henin is Lord Sheffield, whose direction she had sent to me. But I don’t wish, for reasons obvious to every true American, to correspond nor to have anything to do with his lordship.
II
This letter is included in the Mémoires, Correspondance, etc., de Lafayette. The original is in the collection of Jeremiah Colburn.

MAGDEBOURG, 27th March, 1793

Since my captivity, sir, only one piece of political news has reached me, and this your No. of February. You will admit that when fortune favors me with such kindness she could not have done more; I have enjoyed with profound satisfaction the justice you do to my feeling and the appreciation you express for my conduct. Your praise is incomparably beyond my deserts, but this kind exaggeration at the present time is so generous that I can but thank you for having enabled me to hear the voice of liberty honoring my tomb.

My situation is truly strange. I had sacrificed my republican inclinations to circumstances and to the will of the Nation; I served its sovereignty in the constitution which sprung from it; my popularity was great, the legislative corps protected me better the 8th of August than it protected itself, but I had displeased the Jacobins by blaming their aristocracy which usurped to itself the legitimate authority; the priests of all classes, by asserting religious liberty in opposition to them all; the anarchists, by repressing them; the conspirators, by refusing their offers; such were the enemies who united with those whom foreign powers, the anti-revolutionists, and even the court, subsidized against me.

Remember, sir, the premeditated agitation of the 10th of August; the force called out in the name of the law murdered in the name of the people; the citizens without distinction of age or sex massacred in the streets, thrown into the flames, dragged to prison and there assassinated in cold blood, the king’s life only saved by his illegal suspension; the national guard disarmed; the earliest and most faithful friends of liberty and equality, among whom la Rochefoucauld, denounced to the murderers; the constitutional act converted into an engine of proscription; the press chained; opinion punished by death; letters violated and falsified; juries replaced by cut-throats, and the courts of justice given to their chief; the administrative and municipal corps at Paris broken up and reconstructed by a riot; the National Assembly compelled, the dagger at its throat, to give sanction to this madness; in a word, natural, civil, religious and political liberty stifled in blood—what could the man think or do who had never drawn breath except for it, who first in Europe had proclaimed the declaration of rights, had pronounced on the altar of the federation in the name of all Frenchmen the civic oath, and who looked then upon the constitution as, notwithstanding its defects, the best rallying point against our enemies?

Although the national sovereignty was violated in the formation of the new representative body, as well as in the special commissions appointed, I was not willing that the army should fail in its obedience, and it was of the civil authorities within reach of the camp that I asked for orders; assuredly, I eagerly desired that a general protest should re-establish public liberty, that of constituted authority; and if while assuring the independence of elections and deliberations, the nation had desired to revise the
plots against the revolution, mingled with those vile, bloodthirsty wretches who have so often defiled it; what chiefs are those for a free nation! May its legislators restore to it a constitution and legal order! May its generals prove incorruptible! If, however, after the convulsions of license there yet exist a spot where liberty still struggles, how I should curse my chains! I have abandoned all thought of living with my countrymen, but not of dying for them; but is it possible to escape from so many barriers, guards and chains? Why not? already a toothpick, a little lamplblack, a scrap of paper, have deceived my jailers; already, at the peril of life, this letter shall have been carried to you; it is true that to the danger of getting out are to be added those of the voyage and delay. From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kamschatka to Amsterdam (for I am not on good terms with the House of Orange) every Bastile awaits me. The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled with my friends; the despots of Europe and their courts, these to me are the savages. Although at St. James I am not loved, there at least is a nation and laws, but I would avoid a country at war with my own. America, the country of my heart, would receive me with joy, yet my solicitude for news from France would incline me to Switzerland for a while.

But I have dwelt too much on this idea; instead of my thanks I have written a long letter, and I pray of you, sir, to receive with my adieu the expression of my gratitude and of my attachment.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

LAFAYETTE

III

MAGDEBOURG, 22d June, 1793

The first expressions of my gratitude should have reached you, sir, long ago. I am at the moment informed that I am under new obligations to you, and that I should in a few days receive from you the replies of my friends. The annexed letter, which I beg of you to seal and remit by a sure conveyance, will give you the few details that can go out from a sad dungeon. It is needless to observe how important it is that the crowned horde who detain us should have no suspicion that we correspond with the outside.

You will soon receive, sir, a visit, with a much more important letter from me. I hasten to close this in renewing to you the expression of the gratitude and attachment with which my heart is filled.

LAFAYETTE

If the Holland patriots are not yet advised of the horrible story of the list of the proscribed, I conjure you to make it known to them. Although the woman to whom I write, without being what is termed an aristocrat, has ideas of liberty greatly different from mine, you can count on her attachment for me, her fidelity, and consequently her discretion.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

IV

MAGDEBOURG, July 9th, 1793

Although my despatches are carried to you, sir, by a lieutenant of this garrison, you must not, therefore, consider me as reconciled to the King of Prussia, and the liberty I take to send you one of his officers is a pure usurpation on my part.
I thank you with all my heart for your letter of the 29th June, and that from London which was annexed to it. You should by this time have received another express from here; but this means of correspondence, although placed in very sure hands, is different from that which I am to-day using, and hangs by another thread. You have rendered us great and generous services, and without endeavoring to express the gratitude with which I am filled, I am about to-day to show you a confidence worthy of you.

Even while tyranny multiplied its cruelties and precautions against us, you are aware that even here in this dungeon of six feet by four liberty formed a party of its own, and her friends became indignant at our captivity. The most attached, the most devoted of all, carries this letter to you. He will show you his instructions; he will tell you what we have arranged, what we are able to do, what we ask of your friendship, and your interview will decide my fate.

To escape the vengeance of despots; to serve a family and friends dear to my heart; to write some observations useful to the defenders of mankind—such seem to me sufficient motives for not dying here; but from what has reached me concerning the state of public affairs, it seems to me that I may yet actively serve the cause of liberty, and I have never been so eager to break my bonds.

I learn, sir, that the United States claim me; that General Washington has written to the King of England; the written appeals and efforts in our favor, yours particularly, have been of a nature to impress the King of Prussia and the other powers conspiring against humanity. But America is very distant, and European politics very tortuous. But beside that, I would not care that my friend and myself should be under obligations to George the Third. I doubt very much whether he would in good faith oblige the two men whom he the most detests. I further look upon kings in general as being possessed of more instinct than reason, and believe they will never scent me without barking at me. I believe, therefore, that modifications of our imprisonment may be obtained, but not our liberty, and this very liberty for a thousand reasons of every kind we should incomparably prefer to take than to receive from them.

You also know that in this very improbable case conditions will be imposed, less obligatory in fact than that which the lower class of brigands would impose in the corner of a thicket, but it would result, perhaps, from the discussion, that our quadruple doors would close again upon us.

Although family considerations would decide M. de G. not to follow us, he has given us his word that if we do not have the captain, of whom we are almost sure, but to whom we shall not say the final word until his return, he will waive all the reasons which restrain him, and leave with us.

I do not urge you, sir. I know your sentiments. I have experienced your generosity. I appreciate the evidences of your friendship, and I leave all to it. I shall consider as impossible every
Mr. Short or myself may demand an account. It is only therefore as a guarantee that I have made this draft which can not be presented before my escape, and I observe that the sum diminishes a little every day.

Moreover, it seems to me that our pecuniary resources greatly exceed the expenditure requisite for our project, and I pray you to arrange with any friend the use to be made of it in the plan of campaign you may have arranged. Permit me to add, not only in the impatience of a prisoner, but because of the numberless inconveniences to which delay gives rise, that it is of the utmost importance that the day of its execution should not be deferred. M. L. B. will give you many reasons for it; the more I reflect on this subject the more I feel that it is from delay we have the most danger to apprehend.

I close this scribble, and it is not we that can arrange the details of the plan. They can only be determined upon in the conference between M. L. B. and yourself. Adieu, my generous friend; thanks to you we are about to be released from the freedom of the German Empire, and the day is not distant when I may express to you in person my tender and grateful friendship.

LAFAYETTE

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

VII

MAGDEBOURG, 30th Aug. [1793]

Here you are again compromised, my dear Le Blanc, and although the difficulties in which Mayer was involved required this signature, I cannot think without the deepest anxiety of the number of persons whose indiscretion or timidity may cause your destruction. It is a strong reason the more for hastening the execution of my plan; but if unfortunately it be discovered, and you find yourself in danger, do not hesitate, my dear friend, to put yourself in a place of safety at once. Your horse and the four thousand livres will be sufficient in the first instance, and you will seek M. A——z and, through him, my friends in England, where you will await with them the events which may still reunite us. I hope, however, that by not losing any time we may yet leave together, because delays in this class of enterprises are excessively dangerous.

You will understand from these ideas that I approve of the journey contemplated for to-morrow. I shall not decide whether you should ask a leave of absence, and you are better situated than I to judge of the attending difficulties. I think, however, that upon reflection you have already come to a decision, and I confine myself to wishing you success in whichever of the two ways you may have chosen.

I received yesterday a letter from Münche, no less negative than the first he wrote me, since which he had almost engaged to aid us, and by an infinite number of small circumstances had left no doubt on the subject. You are aware that success seemed to him sure; that he looked upon it as to the advantage both of his family and himself; that he declared that he had not the shadow of a scruple on this point, neither as an officer nor, as they say in this country, the king's subject; and that
his only concern was not to be suspected of acting from interested motives. He was waiting a reply from his brother-in-law; but he sends word that he had not succeeded in this the only way possible, and that nothing could now induce him to leave; and it is impossible not to detect, in this mysterious tone, pecuniary considerations, which I hope our first conference may remove.

However this may be, I am thankful that I did not confide to him any of our plans, and his absolute ignorance of our correspondence with M. A—z and of our different projects for escape leaves us in the free possession of all our resources, except those which we expected from his assistance. You are sufficiently acquainted with his character to know that even these are not absolutely lost to us; but in any event we must nevertheless make and hasten our arrangements.

You are aware in fact, my dear Le Blanc, that besides the egress with the captain, or through the connivance of the captain, by following out my old seven-o’clock plan, we have many ways open to us—that of the chimney of the interior cell, which on thorough inspection seems to be quite practicable, and which, therefore, becomes the most certain of all. But only my neighbor and myself can profit by it, and you will find that this circumstance is very unfortunate for me, although if every other expedient should fail, I should certainly avail of this with the less scruple, because besides my duties towards all my friends (and, perhaps I may add, to the public good), it is clear to me that my presence is a great obstacle to the deliverance of my companions, and, moreover, you cannot long remain here.

In view of all these considerations, we should hasten all the purchases and all preparations that may be necessary for the four prisoners and the two officers, and you must feel that in such a matter no question of economy should stand in the way. You will bring back with you every thing that may be necessary for leaving Magdebourg, adding to those mentioned in the instructions and letters what you may think have been forgotten. Each of us should have at least one pistol; as for swords, each should have surely one. You will, therefore, return prepared with everything that may be necessary for our departure from this place, and you will not forget to arrive at some plan for the crossing of the water.

As for the assistance which we should look for near Helmstat and to carry us afterwards to a place of safety, you will arrange all the details with our generous friend, so that I will only have to give information of the hours fixed for the different rendezvous; and I again repeat that every thing should be immediately purchased and prepared, as it is impossible to defer the execution of the plan without loss of every chance.

I hear them unfastening my first locks, and have only time to embrace you with my whole heart.

Lafayette

Maubourg will seal this letter, and add to it what may have been forgotten.

[In another hand]—If I add one word, it is only to agree with M. de La F. that you should not hesitate one instant to
make use of the four thousand livres, if our ill fortune will it that your generous devotion be discovered. It is at least a slight consolation for us to feel that though you run some risk you have the means to escape. If M. Münche persist in his refusal, I see no other way but that of the chimney, which can only serve for my neighbor and myself. But to be frank with you, the important point is that he should escape, in the first place, for the public good, and also because, were he free, we should not long be detained. You know that on this ground I desire his personal escape. I urge you, therefore, to make all your arrangements for the 4th, even though he only should profit by them.

If you go to H——r, do not forget to bring with you on your return the letter we expect from England. Arrange that we be well armed, for should we be overtaken, the struggle will be to the death. I am sure that M. A——z will agree with me that the essential thing is the liberty of my neighbor, and that we should all remain here if by leaving we take away even one probability of success. Adieu. La T. Mgr

If you can send us a piece of sealing-wax by one of your friends, you will do us a great service.

[M. Le Blanc]

VIII

Magdebourg, 21st Sept., 1793

Information must have been sent to Mr. Pinkney, to Madame d’Henin, and by them to La Colombe, Boinville, etc., of a plan, the most important part of which is arranged, and which only needs their pecuniary aid.

I can not doubt but that after having sent word to me that I shall not want for bail, they can find a way to get this money to the hands of the friend who sends them my note. Mr. Pinkney certainly well knows that the United States will not blame him.

But in case, by I know not what reasoning upon my situation, I know not what hope as to my fate, my friends may be dissuaded from aiding in this plan, I warn them that by assuming to themselves the strange responsibility of declining to accede to my wishes, they are laying up for themselves bitter regrets, and all the more certain since the affair is already brought to a point where the only alternatives are a success, if they hasten to aid me, or the most serious disasters if they lose time.

I will observe that in a letter of Lally it is suggested that this bank be drawn upon to send funds to Chavaniac. This measure can not be necessary, because the very minute calculation sent by Madame de Maubourg to her husband entirely satisfies me on this point, and also because it is impossible that other resources will not be forthcoming.

This plan is pernicious for us, because by a correspondence almost public here, it seems to announce that I shall not find bail, which may give rise to a most unfortunate error, and we can not account to ourselves for the phrase of Lally except that its intention is to cause our keepers to believe that our friends do not think of sending us any money, or that there is a project to send some person to us under this pretext.

But we have no need of it, and it is only necessary to satisfy the demand of
the friend charged with this note, and with the execution of that part of our plan which has reference to it.

As for the letter of Lally, to the King of Prussia, it is a new proof of his friendship for us, but we can not reasonably expect it to succeed. The feelings entertained towards me by the coalition have been unchanged for many years, and moreover it is probable that Lally says "that in the conduct which my obligations to the constitution imposed upon me, I was particularly called upon to defend the authority with which the nation had invested the king; he says that I had often saved his life, as also that of the queen when the factions wished to strike them down," and he is not informed of a fact of which I have been assured within the last three days; namely, that we were delivered up to the King of Prussia on the requisition of the Baron de Breteuil, in the name of the king and of the queen; a requisition which was confirmed by a note from her, and that we have in consequence been held prisoners in order that our trial might be in due parliamentary form.

Since Mme. de Lameth came to see her son we have new motives for the project, of which my friends have been informed.

I should feel that I was wronging them by dwelling upon this point, but I warn them that they have not a moment to lose, and I renew to them the expressions of my tender attachment.

[M. ARCHENHOLZ]

L. F.

IX

[MAGDEBOURG] 24th Oct. [1793]

At last, my dear L. B., thanks to your perseverance, you are about to bring our adventure to a close, and I no longer doubt its success. You have already so many notes on this subject that I shall add but little. I must, however, tell you that the commandant has permitted the letters of Madame d'Henin to reach my hands, the entirely too open style of which led me to suspect there was a concealed passage within. It soon displayed itself in red letters, and as this chemical process left it fit only for the fire, it was necessary to persuade the commandant that he himself had lost it. Madame d'Henin informs me that the Hanoverian doctor is the same who brought M. de Narbonne out from Paris; that she has assured him a pension of four thousand livres for my deliverance; that it is only necessary for me to send him instructions to London; and that I can count upon the friend who will cause the letters to reach me.

You are already aware that M. Giotanner has simply written me by General Hüken, and that but for the stupidity of our commandant, joined to a little address on my part, this imprudence would have ruined every thing. I have sent word by my friend of Baden to M. Giotanner to entreat him not to write either through the Government or yet by the post, and by the same opportunity I entreated Madame d'Henin to abandon all such useless and dangerous projects, and only to regard those which I had concerted with M. A——z, concerning which he must have written to her. This letter was sealed, and although I had asked M. Giotanner to send it forward by a sure opportunity, I employed a hieroglyphic style, and with care not to name M. A——z nor the
place of his residence, but in styling him my generous friend, I am quite sure that Madame d'Henin would not be deceived as to the person to whom she should send the doctor.

My answers by the commandant were confined to explaining in the most natural manner that was possible the double meaning of Madame d'Henin, and to assure him of my exclusive confidence in my generous friend. I hope that the Ministers may not see that of the two letters which I have not burned, and I have impressed upon the poor commandant that he should keep the package that his oversight might not be discovered. I must observe that the views of my friends are of the month of May, and consequently prior to the overtures which M. A—z made to them for me. I have, therefore, reason to believe that the young doctor or some other persons are now with him, and although the facilities are quite insufficient for the principal object, they can be utilized on the journey. This advice may be sent to Madame d'Henin, and you will make use of it with every person who may act in her behalf. But as all the additions which we may secure to our plan are in no way so advantageous, as delay may prove fatal, I conjure M. A—z and yourself to abandon every thing which delays its execution, and to look upon your return here as the decisive period for my departure.

And now, my dear friend, I will repeat for the last time the various parts of our scheme.

You have all the necessary directions concerning the arms and means of disguise which you should bring from H—g. It will be necessary for me to pass for an Englishman, calling myself, if necessary, an American, and the mixture of English words to the little German which I will mumble will aid in the deception. But I should prefer not to be stopped, and I trust entirely to all the arrangements which M. A—z will inform us of, as well as the way to reach A—a without being exposed to the requisition which, in case of unforeseen discovery, a courier from Magdebourg or from B—k might make on the road by anticipating us at some point.

It seems to me that to get to the Helmstat rendezvous will require the best horses that can be had, and that from Helmstadt I should gain the Hanoverian frontier on horseback, where your light carriage and swift horses will be in waiting. Would it not be well, if you remain here, that some one who can speak French or English (the second would be better) and German should be with this carriage while the Jew gets the horses ready. For that matter it is for M. A—z and yourself to arrange all these details of my journey, by placing more or less relays, carriages or horses to remove suspicion, while at the same time hastening my movements. Although a sojourn of fourteen months in the prisons of their Majesties has not contributed to my health, yet I have a strong constitution, and my early habits of life, added to the recollection of my fetters, will enable me to make a very rapid journey. I believe that quite a long time will pass before my absence is per-
TRANSLATION

ceived; but as it is not impossible that it may be known at the end of two hours, it will be necessary to provide against accidents even, and to get beyond pursuit.

We now come to the mode of egress. We will make another examination of the chimney, which can be better done, doubtless, if your friend B—r should be on guard and, supported by an order from you, should come to assist us in this examination. But in any event we will prepare the brick wall, which separates my dungeon from the inner cellar, so that in an hour a hole may be made, either, actually, to reach this chimney, even though my doors should be closed, or to persuade all the commanders and all the commanded of Magdebourg that it is through it that I escaped, when consequently no reproach will fall upon either the officers or the sentinels.

Thus I will go out after seven o'clock after the posts have been relieved, either by the chimney or through the palisade with the officer, which is all the more easy, because my neighbors shut their blinds at night. The sentinels will not have seen whether the officer came in alone, and the arrival of the gazettes, and sometimes even of the doctor, have accustomed them to see our doors opened at this hour. The Captain, if M—o consents, and if he be not willing, a lieutenant, who is a friend of yours, will conduct me without the doors, and will, in the first arrangement, place me near the spot where you are, and in the second, in your own hands. You will lead me by a door, the lieutenant in charge of which will be favorable, to the rendezvous where the horses and the Jew will be in waiting, and you will return quietly to bed.

During this time Maubourg, safe under cover of my lock, will complete the demolition of the bricks, will put my coat in the chimney after he has blackened it well, to appear as though I had thrown it down from the top, and will put a mannequin in my bed with my night-cap on, and so hidden under the bed-clothes as to deceive the commandant, even though he should go in (remark that even then a cloak will conceal the hole at the end of the wall). But he will not come in, because my servant will tell him that I am sick and asleep. I will make the experiment to-night, and not close my letter without informing you of its success, of which I have no doubt.

The next morning it will be easy for my servant to go in before the hired man, and even to stop him. Thus by stopping him at the door, he will have time to undo the mannequin; and we have the choice either of prolonging this comedy until one or two o'clock, or of having my astounding disappearance announced by my servant to M. de Maubourg, the officers and all who may have the curiosity to see the hole, and the chimney which will have enabled me to reach the ditch, the river and the plain, while the commandant slept on his bunch of keys.

In fact, my servant will say, “I saw him go to bed.” Maubourg, whom my departure will have put in a bad humor, will say that “I heard his voice at half-past eight.” The officers will say, “We saw him near the light at eight o'clock.” The Major himself will believe that he
saw me in my bed, and no one can blame either the officers of the guard or
the sentinels for my having escaped in the
middle of the night while the command-
and had the keys, and at a point which
had not been brought to the notice of the
guard either by the commandant or the
foresight of the engineers. And even
if the chimney be too narrow or too
steep, it is a very little matter, as M. de
Maubourg will bear witness that I climb
like a cat and swim like a fish. It will
be all the more impossible to discover
the truth, since the connivance of de
Maubourg in my escape without going
himself shows on his part a friendship
too delicate and affectionate for Gov-
ernments to suspect its existence.

It is perhaps fortunate even that your
groom is a Jew. This nation owes
to me its equality before the law in
France, and it will be thought that the
gratitude of the Hebrews has conspired
to my deliverance.

As for Captain M——o, his last guard
duty has enabled me to learn further de-
tails upon the return of the capital which
he demanded of his father-in-law, from
whom he expects a reply Monday;
upon the letter which he wrote to the
King, by M. de Rietz, to obtain a com-
pany of foot; upon his determination to
quit his regiment. And although he
has repeated to me that he would never
consent to leave, he has given me to
understand that he was desirous of re-
newing his arrangement with me. He
has made it evident to me that he wishes
to know our plans, either to betray us
for money or to serve us for his profit.

In this uncertainty I have sought to
deceive him concerning anything which
concerns our plan, and particularly with
regard to you. I have persuaded him
that I had faith in him only, that I should
distrust any other confidant but himself,
that it was useless to open the subject
to lieutenants, because all the lieutenants
of the garrison were powerless without a
captain, and that I had observed that
two officers, M. de Kleist, of the Regi-
ment of Baden, and yourself, both of
whom speak French very well, having
been very kind to me, had in turn
avoided me, and that I could attribute
their coolness to nothing but their fear
to compromise themselves. We accord-
ingly agreed to keep our secret to our-
selves, and I trust I have greatly dimin-
ished the suspicions which rested on
you.

But since you are of opinion that I
should make use of him, I will approach
him Saturday or Sunday (unless you ad-
vise me to abstain) with a formal pro-
position. In order to soothe his vanity, I
will tell him that I no longer insist on his
leaving with me, but not doubting his in-
tention to join me in France, I should
advance the means to arrange his affairs
here; that if he will give me his word to
place me outside of the citadel while
taking means to protect himself from
suspicion, I will engage on my part to
send him within a month a thousand
louis in several letters of exchange, and
I think that it will be necessary to have
one or two hundred louis to give him as
I go out. The vanity of M——o is the
only obstacle that my proposition can
meet with; if you approve make no
answer; in contrary case I expect a word
from you.

If, however, the instability of his char-
acter and his ambitious dreams cause him to refuse my offer or give us reason to think that he would only make use of it to betray us, some other plan must be found, and I believe that your friend in particular, if he avoid certain captains, such as Kalligan, would run no risk in placing me outside. Such would not be your case, because you are suspected, and if you go outside of the citadel with me we must leave Magdebourg together, or at least you must depart before my absence is suspected, but any other officer would run no risk, particularly of those who, like your friend, do not speak French, and could not even be accused of having arranged a plot with M. de Maubourg by which I should escape without him.

You see, my dear friend, that I lend myself as far as possible to your desire to remain here, much pain as it gives me, but at least hold yourself always in readiness to leave at the first alarm, and as soon as your marriage is concluded persuade your wife to quit this accursed country and to join a family which will impatiently await its deliverers. In the contrary case, if by the necessity of your being obliged to open the door in person, it become impossible for you to escape the suspicion of the government, I accept with the liveliest gratitude the fulness of your generous sacrifice, and in that case we shall leave together.

But except yourself, who are already much suspected, there is not a single lieutenant who, in the guard duty under certain difficult captains, such as Shukman and Kalligan, might not easily put me outside without exposing himself to the least danger. We are even of opinion that the chimney, in consequence of the necessary preparations, is more dangerous than the simple egress at quarter-past seven o'clock, even at six, provided I had returned from the promenade before five o'clock relief, that the sentinels may not know whether the lieutenant has come in alone with me, and as it is not to be doubted that a chimney of fourteen inches can be passed, and as a sweep of my size said to us the other day that he went up the chimneys of the citadel which are not divided by gratings, we look upon this as an infinitely precious resource by which to deceive as to my real mode of egress, and save from any trouble whichever one of your good friends shall render me this service.

All the more attention must be paid to the passports, as, if I have not a Prussian officer with me, they will be examined with all the more particularity. I need not add that you should assure the Jew groom of a fortune from me. I do not say greater than that which he has, which is not a difficult matter I suppose, but infinitely beyond his expectations. This man in the preparations and on the journey will be the absolute master of my fate; and it is just that the recompense be in proportion to such a service.

You will greatly oblige me by assuring me that your voyage will be rapid and your return very prompt. The absence of the moon is a precious circumstance; the dangers of delay are great; let us hasten to put our plan in execution.

Your seal was unbroken; your letter is burned; I add here a word for M. A——z, and another for Madame
d'Henin. I do not think, however, that this letter should be sent, for nothing should be thought of that you do not find all ready on your arrival at H——g. But if any messenger of Madame d'Henin should be there you will show him this new proof that my two liberators, and our facilities alone, can bring success, and that everything should be subordinated to them; but if we only have what we already possess the plan must nevertheless be put in execution, for soon it will be too late.

Adieu, my dear friend, I need not say to you with what impatience I await your return, and it would be still more difficult for me to express to you with what gratitude my heart responds to all that it owes to you.

LAFAYETTE

[In another hand], I have only time to say one word. My neighbor feigned illness last evening; the major did not look into the room, which gives assurance that when he puts his departure in execution it will not be known till the next morning. I insist on a perfectly regular passport. We know that M. de Lameth was demanded nearly everywhere, and especially in those places where there are troops, which should be avoided as far as possible in the journey you will agree upon with M. A——z. I leave it to you to seal his package, which contains a letter for him and one for Madame d'Henin. Believe each of you that though I am not included in the escape of my friend, I nevertheless share all of his feelings of gratitude.

[LATOUR MAUBOURG]
in lue of them. I pray favour me with a copy of that clause in Brother's will to which I shall only add my due regards to Sister and all your Family, to Sister Rensselaer and our cousins her children, with my hearty thanks for the care of my son, from. Dear Brother, your affectionate Brother and humble Servt. W. Nicoll

Iapip Jan'y 9th 1720-21.

This letter was written to his brother-in-law Hendrick Van Rensalaer at Claverack, son of Jeremias and Maria Van Courtlandt. Rensselaer Nicoll was the writer’s third son, an ancestor of the Sill family of Albany Co.—“Aunt Schuyler” was Maria Van R. Rensselaer, sister to Anna Nicoll, and wife of Peter Schuyler. Anna received 1600 acres on the North River at Bethlehem Flats, 8 miles below Albany and part of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck. “Brother’s will” was of Kilian Van Rensselaer, eldest brother to Anna. W. H.

Elisabeth

MISSTAKEN PSEUDONYM OF LONGFELLOW—A singular mistake is made in a “Handbook for Fictitious Names,” by Olphar Hamst, Esq., which was published in London thirteen years ago. It is there said (page 35) that Joshua Coffin is a pseudonym of Henry W. Longfellow, who appears, according to the handbook, as the author of the History of Newbury, Massachusetts. I never understood how this blunder was made, but an entry in Allibone’s “Critical Dictionary” seems to explain the whole matter. It is as follows: “COFFIN, JOSHUA. See LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH,” and then under LONG-
fellow there is a reference to Coffin’s history. It was a misapprehension of this cross-reference, which I grant was rather obscure, that misled the writer of the London publication. Olphar Hamst is an anagram of Ralph Thomas, the real name of the author of the “Handbook.”

SAMUEL A. GREEN

Boston

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES IN NEW ENGLAND—Sewall, in his Diary for April 6, 1688, writes: “The Exposition of the Church of England Catechise,” by the Bishop of Bath and Wells [Ken], comes out printed by Richard Pierce with the 39 articles.

IULUS

HISTORY OF FLAGS—In a somewhat scarce book, which I have, the full title of which is:

| LA CONNOISSANCE | DES | PAVILIONS, | OU | BANNIÈRES, | QUE LA PLÔ | PART DES | NATIONS | ARBORENT EN | MER, | COMME SONT CEUX. |
| D'ANGLETERRE, d'ECOSSE ET D'IRLANDE, | DES | PROVINCES - UNIS, | DES | PAYS BAS, | DE L'ESPAGNE, | DE PORTUGAL, | DE L'ITALIE, | DE FRANCE, | DU | DANEMARC, | DE LA SUÈDE, | DE LA POLOGNE, | DE PRUSSE, | D'ALLEMAGNE, | DE MOSCOVIE, | DE | TURQUIE, | DE BARBARIE, & DES INDES ORIENTALES, &C. |

(Devise.)

| A LA HAYE. |

CHEZ JAQUES VAN DEN KILBROM.

MD. CC. XXXVII.

The following English flags are engraved and described, viz:

1. Pavillon De George I., d'Angleterre.
2. Grand pavillon d'Angleterre and pennant—containing on its white field the Royal Arms and Supports and over them the motto: "For the Protestant religion and the Liberty of England." Underneath "Je Maintiendrai."


4. Nouveau Pavillon de L'Union: a red flag with the Union Jack of 1707, bearing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.

5. Pavillon Particulier des Anglais: a white flag with the red cross of St. George across the field, and a small red St. George's cross in the upper centre next the staff.


7. Pavillon Particulier d'Angleterre: a red flag with a white centre, bearing a red St. George's cross—and in the fly of the flag a small white saltière or St. Andrew's cross.

8. Pavillon de Rang ou de Division d'une Escadre: a flag of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, commencing with a red stripe at the top and a white centre or Jack bearing a red St. George's cross. The Jack rests on the 6th—a white stripe.


10. Pavillon du Peuple D'Angleterre: a red burgee, with a broad white heading top to bottom blazoned with a red St. George's cross. In the centre of this flag, on a red shield bordered with white, are three yellow or golden leopards, passant guardant.

11. Pavillon de Beaupré d'un Jacht D'Angleterre: a blue flag, with the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.

12. Pavillon Nouveau D'Amiral D'Angleterre: a red flag, with a golden anchor horizon, with a foul cable above and below the shank.

13. Pavillon de la Companie des Indes Orientales D'Angleterre: a flag of 9 alternate red and white stripes; red stripe topmost and a white centre, with red cross of St. George resting on the fifth—a red stripe.

14. Pavillon de la Nouvelle d'Angleterre en Amerique: a blue flag with white canton and red St. George cross, with a globe or hemisphere on stand in the upper square of the canton.

15. Pavillon de Bugie, Ville Capitale du Royaume près d'Alger: a red flag or ensign, with the English Jack of 1707.

16. Pavillon Anglois d'un Jacht d Guinée: a red square flag, with a white square, blazoned with red St. George cross in the centre of the field. Red borders of the flag and of the white square surrounded with small white squares or blocks.

17. Pavillon de St. George: a white square flag, with the red latter cross stretched across it.

18. Pavillon de l'Isle de Man: a red flag, with a white St. George Jack or Union, and in the fly of the three yellow legs joined at the hips.

19. Pavillon des Indes Orientales D'Ecosse: a red flag with a blue-
white—blue stripes at the base and resting on the upper blue stripe a golden half sun with rays.

20. Pavillon de Escadre de Division des Vaisseaux Ecossois: a flag with eleven alternate red and white stripes, red on top. White union with red St. George cross.


22. Pavillon Rouge d'Ecosse: a red flag, with a blue union, bearing the white saltière of St. Andrew.

23. Pavillon d'Irlande: a white flag with a red saltière.

24. Pavillon Particulier d'Irlande: a green flag with a white St. George canton or union, and a golden harp in the fly.

Brookline, Mass. G. H. P.

THE HARVARD OBSERVATORY.—In "Harvard Book," Cambridge, 1875, Vol. I., page 156, it is stated in a biography of President Everett, that "the Harvard Observatory was established on its present site in his administration." This is a mistake. In 1839 Mr. W. C. Bond was appointed Astronomical Observer to Harvard University, and took possession of a house in Cambridge, prepared by President Quincy for a rudimentary Observatory. In 1842-43, the munificence of President Quincy's friends among the capitalists, chiefly of Boston, enabled him to purchase several acres of land in Cambridge, and to found thereon the Sears Tower and a house for the observer, and to order a great Equatorial Telescope. In September, 1844, Mr. Bond removed to the new Observatory, and May 8, 1845, there, assisted by his son, G. P. Bond, observed a transit of Mercury. Before President Quincy resigned the office of president, in August, 1845, he completed the purchase of the Equatorial Telescope, and, although it was not finished, paid for it. It arrived in Cambridge early in 1846. During these years Mr. Everett was United States Minister in England, and had no part in these arrangements. The Observatory and the Equatorial Telescope belong to the administration of President Quincy. These facts are shown in the annual reports of the Treasurer of Harvard College.

Wollaston, Mass.

E. S. Q.

PIERSON GENEALOGY.—I wish to know whether a genealogical history of the Pierson family was published as contemplated by Rev. John Pearson, President of Union College, several years ago, and if so, where a copy of the book can be obtained.

R. W. PERSONS

Providence, R. I.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—Affixed to the number of this Magazine for April, 1875, was the following notice:

"To the Binder: There are no numbers bearing date from April, 1874, to March, 1875, both inclusive; and this number dated April, 1875, follows that dated March, 1874, in the same volume, as it would were it dated 1874, instead of 1875.

The perfect Volume III, therefore, will consist of numbers dated January, 1874; February, 1874; March, 1874; Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II;
Extra No. III.; Extra No. IV.; April, 1875; Extra No. V.; May, 1875; June, 1875; Extra No. VI. Those referred to in italics are not yet issued, but will be in due course.

Henry B. Dawson, Publisher

I have Extra No. V.; were the numbers for May and June, 1875, and Extra No. VI. issued? A. MUNGO

Hudson, N. Y.

The Battle of King’s Mountain.—
The Rev. James B. Finley, in his autobiography, gives the following verse of a song composed on the battle of King’s Mountain as he recollects hearing from his mother:

“Proud Ferguson, he placed himself,
All with his ragged race, man;
He most defied the living God,
To take him from that place, man;
But brave Campbell did him there surround,
And beat him on his chosen ground,
And gave him there a deadly wound.
With pell and merr the Tories fell;
It’s hard to tell how bad a smell
They left upon the place, man.”

Does any reader recollect the rest of the song? ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

The Queen of the Mischianza.—
Watson, the annalist, is said to have obtained many particulars concerning the famous Philadelphia Tory pageant from “Mrs. L—, the Queen of the Mischianza.”

“The Queen,” says Sargent, “is said to have been a lady, who, in describing it afterwards, represented André as the charm of the company.”

Who was “The Queen of the Mischianza?” C.

The Historical Magazine—[V. 454, VI. 226] The following list, it is believed, includes all the issues of volumes or parts of volumes of the late “Historical Magazine.”

The Magazine was issued in monthly parts, beginning with January, 1857. For the first ten volumes, or the first series, twelve numbers formed one volume. The first series was, therefore, completed in December, 1866. Mr. Dawson now appears to have become connected with the Magazine, as editor and proprietor, beginning with the July number of the last volume of this series.

In 1859, the year in which Vol. III. was issued, the publishers sent out a “Prescott Memorial” of 32 pp. It was advertised on the cover of the March number to appear in March. It contained matter not in the Magazine, and was entitled on the cover “Historical Magazine—Extra,” and to be sold for 25c. a number. This extra number will sometimes be found bound up with vol. III.

In the early part of the year 1860 the publishers issued a pamphlet of 64 pages, entitled “Irvingiana,” with a portrait of Irving and a fac-simile page of the Sketch Book. It was intended to be bound in with Vol. IV. of the Magazine.

There will sometimes be found bound at the end of Vol. V., issued in 1861, two pamphlets, each separately paged, and not indexed with the volume—namely, one on the “Early Editions of King James’ Bible in Folio,” 12 pp.; and the other on “Shakespeare’s Plays in Folio,” 5 pp.—understood to have been written by the late James Lenox.

At the end of vol. IX. will sometimes
be found six leaves separately paged, entitled "Organization of the Militia." Vol. X. has six supplements of 200 pp., separately paged, but indexed as a part of the Magazine.

Of the second series, beginning with January, 1867, six numbers constituted a volume, so that two volumes were issued in a year instead of one as formerly. All the numbers of the Magazine bear date as if issued in proper order, up to and including the August number, 1871—the first series entire, and the second series lacking four numbers to complete the tenth volume. This hiatus was never supplied, and the two numbers for July and August, 1871, should be bound up as constituting all that were ever published of Vol. X., second series.

It may be added that Vol. II. of this series contained seven numbers, there being an extra number, "VI," issued in November, and paged with the volume. It was merely an advertising number, and headed, "What our neighbors say of us." The numbers for September and October of Vol. VI. were issued in one cover.

The next issue was dated January, 1872, being number one of the third series (the publisher intending apparently all the while to bring up the arrears of the last series, which was never accomplished), followed by the numbers for February and March. Then came a long cessation of issues, so that the next number sent out was dated April, 1873. One whole year was jumped over, and this number was paged so as to join on to that of March, 1872. Then followed the numbers for May and June, 1873, completing Vol. I., third series. It may be added that, sometime between the issues of March and April of this volume, the editor sent out an unpaged sheet of some half dozen leaves, dated "July, 1872, Extra Number." This was merely an advertising number, like that noticed above. The numbers for Vol. II. of this series appear in regular order, and conclude the year 1873. Of the numbers forming Vol. III., there were issued those for January, February and March, 1874, when there came another long cessation, during which "Extra" numbers, containing notices of books, were occasionally sent out. There was an extra dated "March, 1874," pp. 197-212; another for "December, 1874," or "Extra No. II.," pp. 397-408; one for "January, 1875," or "Extra No. III.," pp. 409-413; and one for "March, 1875," or Extra No. IV.," pp., 231-246. Then followed a regular number for April, 1875, leaping over again another year, followed by "Extra No. V.," pp. 311-326. And this is the end.

Owing in part to the ill health of the editor and proprietor of the Magazine, a great part of the numbers forming the second and third series fell in arrears, and there was a constant struggle to bring up the back numbers, and to keep the work in progress, so that few of the numbers probably were really issued according to the dates which they bear. There is also a want of uniformity in the paging of some of the "Extra" numbers, which are intended by the editor to be preserved as parts of the Magazine.

On a slip of paper pasted on to the cover of the number for April, 1875, the editor says: "The perfect Vol. III.
[third series] will consist of numbers dated January, 1874; February, 1874; March, 1874; Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II.; Extra No. III.; Extra No. IV.; April, 1875; Extra No. V.; May, 1875; June, 1875; Extra No. VI. Those referred to in italic are not yet issued, but will be in due course."

Of those referred to as not then issued, but forthcoming "in due course," the "Extra No. V.," it is believed, is the only one published.

Besides these "Extras" mentioned above as having been issued and forming part of Vol. III., third series, extra copies have sometimes been struck off of articles already printed in the Magazine; but these form no part of a complete set of the work.

It is now about six years, as we have seen, since the last number of the Magazine was issued.

Cambridge

*Vol. I., first series, was edited by J. W. Dean; vol. II., by George Folsom; vols. III. to IX. inc., by J. G. Shea; vol. X., Jan. to June, by H. R. Styles; vol. X., July to Dec., by H. B. Dawson, who was editor and proprietor of the Magazine thenceforward during its existence.

— [V. 454, VI. 226] In answer to an application to Mr. Henry B. Dawson made in November, 1876, as to what constituted a complete set of the Historical Magazine, I received the following from him:

"In reply to your inquiry:

First Series.—10 volumes, 1837–1866, including the Magazine, proper; the Irvingiana, the Prescott Memorial, and my Supplement to Volume X.

Second Series.—9 volumes, 1857–1867; July and August numbers of Volume X; extras, containing separate copies of my Reply to Gov. Hall on Vermont History, and of my review of C. F. Adams's address on American Neutrality.

Third Series.—Volumes I. and II.; January, February, March, Extra for March, 1874; Extra No. II.; Extra No. III; Extra No. IV; April, 1875; Extra No. V., (May was nearly one-half in type when [my son] Henry died. It is as it was when he left it.)"

Henry T. Drowne

New York

F. F. V.—VI. 221 The young Virginians at Princeton College to whom Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Smith referred in his essay on "The variety of the complexion of the human species," were John Randolph, of Roanoke, and his elder brother Theodorick Bland Randolph. Both were students at Nassau Hall for a few months only in the latter part of 1787. Sawyer in his Life of Randolph says that the latter, in a published letter many years afterward, corrected the statement of President Smith that he was but four degrees removed from Pocahontas—he claiming to be seventh in descent, and summing up his genealogy as follows: Pocahontas; Thomas Rolfe; Jane Bolling; John Bolling, Sr.; John Bolling, Jr.; Jane Randolph; John Randolph, Sr.; John Randolph, of Roanoke.

J. C. H.

Match coats [VI 60, 225] is correct; although the conjecture that "Watch Coats" were meant is a very common error. Washington, in his journal of 1753, mentions that on his visit to Queen Alliquippa, at the mouth of Youghiogheny,
he "made her a present of match coat and a bottle of rum." *Sparks, Irving, Rupp, Albach* and other historians supposing match coat was meant so printed it; yet, had they referred to *Webster's Dictionary* (not the first edition) they would have read: "Match-cloth, n., a coarse kind of woolen cloth. Matchcoat, n., a coat made of match-cloth." Match-coats are frequently mentioned by Indian traders, and at Indian treaties in the last century. Isaac Craig

*Alleghany, Pa.

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**The Roger Morris House**—[VI. 96]

In the article on Washington's Headquarters at the Roger Morris House on Harlem Heights, the author, following previous historians, says that Howe was at the Apthorpe House at the time of the battle of Harlem. Conclusive evidence has since been procured from an unpublished letter of a British officer that Howe had his headquarters at the Beekman House overlooking Turtle Bay, and that the British advance post was at McGowns. Iulus

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**Kosciusko [IV. 221, V. 378]—**Both Kosciusko and Niemcewicz were in Elizabethtown, N. J., about the beginning of the present century. Of the former, when stopping at one of the old taverns, on his first visit, two or three years perhaps before this, it is related that meeting there incidentally a little son of Col. Shepard Kollock, the founder and proprietor of the New Jersey Journal—who was named after him, the noble-hearted man was so pleased that he took the little fellow up in his arms and kissed him, placed around his neck or fastened to his coat a gold ornament (a cross if I remember aright) which is still tenderly preserved in the family. This anecdote we received from a daughter of the late Rev. Shepard Kosciusko Kollock, of Philadelphia, who was the little boy.

Count Julian Niemcewicz, on the 2d of July, 1800, married Mrs. Susan Kean, of Elizabethtown, whose first husband was the Hon. John Kean, member of Congress from South Carolina in 1786-7, and who was the daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, of New York. This eminent foreigner was a resident here until 1804, when he was summoned to the Diet, and returned to Poland, never revisiting America. He is said to have been Secretary of State at a much later date in the history of that ill-fated country, and to have then drawn from England for a large sum on his wealthy and excellent wife a draft, which was duly honored. This Polish nobleman, as heard from a venerated lady who was his contemporary in Elizabethtown, was a man of very unassuming character and appearance. Shortly after becoming a resident he called at the house of a respectable family near Liberty Hall, then his wife's stately mansion, formerly that of her uncle, Governor Livingston, with a pail in his hand, and applied at the front door for some butter. The good lady in charge, noticing his plain appearance, directed him to the kitchen door, where, weekly complying, he received the butter and departed. Shortly after Miss H. learned the name of her visitor, and was much chagrined at the mistake. W. H.

*Elizabeth.*
An author wanted—[V. 376, VI. 64] I have in my possession a volume, entitled "Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse," by Lydia Huntley. Hartford. Sheldon & Goodwin, Printers. 1815. It contains 267 pages. Lydia Huntley was afterwards Mrs. Sigourney. This edition was issued to subscribers, the whole number of which was a few over 900; among which may be found the names of Samuel G. Goodrich, Joseph Trumbull, John Trumbull, Nathaniel Terry, John A. Hillhouse, Benjamin Silliman, David Humphreys, Richard Alsop, Abel Holmes, Daniel Waldo, and many other noted persons.

Worcester    CLARK JILLSON

The first American flag raised in the British Channel—[V. 220, 459] Never having seen Commodore Preble's work on the United States Flag I know not what he says about Gustavus Conyngham's "Stripes." I infer that he is silent from the fact that Dr. Wm. H. Egle, in his valuable Notes and Queries, p. 130, asks the same question as G. H. P. "whether the flag contained the rattlesnake emblem or the stars?" I am satisfied that it contained neither. Conyngham raised the Stars and Stripes in the privateer Revenge after the capture or seizure by France of the Surprise. It was on the Revenge that the English captain, pointing to the flag, asked Conyngham contemptuously, "What do you mean by those stars and stripes?" Conyngham replied, "the stars are emblematical of my country, but the stripes are for her enemies." But that the flag which was flying at the mast-head of the Surprise when she captured the Harwich packet was simply what D. H. Conyngham calls "the Flag or Stripes," is corroborated by two singular witnesses. When the packet was captured England became vocal with the cry of "Pirates," and Conyngham was lampooned and caricatured all over the kingdom as a pirate.

The most hideous prints and engravings of "the pirate Cuninham" were made in England and Holland. One of these represents him in his vessel amid the smoke of battle with an enormous cutlass in his hand and six large pistols in his belt—himself a giant in stature. One is a half length picture with Captain Conyngham's flag as a background. The flag consists of simply thirteen stripes of red and thirteen of white. Under the portrait is this inscription, "Engraved from the original sketch which was taken by an artist of eminence and stuck up in the English Coffee House at Dunkirk."

Another represents the "Surprise" with an ensign of thirteen stripes each of red and white, flying from the gaff. Under this engraving occurs this inscription in Dutch, "Een Engelsche Paket boot door een Americaansche kaaper genoomen den 2 Maij A' 1777. A Fokke simooy Excudit." These prints are very rare. A set of them is in the possession of Mr. John S. Barnes, of New York City.

They evidently settle the character of the flag which the Surprise bore. At least until the flag itself is discovered, and found to be other than the stripes.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

Wilkes Barre, Pa.
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

At the March meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical Society the Librarian reported numerous additions to the collections, including a complete set of the Boston Daily Advertiser, from 1851 to 1875. The paper read was by Rev. Charles E. Lord on the Huguenots. Assistance was requested by the Eliot Memorial Association to complete the memorial to John Eliot.

The Massachusetts Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting on the 15th March. The deaths were reported of two of the most venerable of its members, John Chipman Gray and George Barrell Emerson, and interesting memoirs of each were verbally presented by the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Mr. Gray is known in literature as the author of a volume published in 1856, containing essays on Dante and Demosthenes, which originally appeared in the North American Review, and several papers on horticulture, which was his favorite study. Mr. Emerson also was deeply interested in natural history, and was one of the founders, and at one time the president of, the Boston Natural History Society. In conjunction with Professor Dewey, he prepared the report on the shrubs and trees of Massachusetts, which he revised and published in two sumptuous volumes in 1875. He served the cause of education in many capacities, and held high reputation as an instructor. Both of these gentlemen were graduates of Harvard; Mr. Gray of the class of 1811 and Mr. Emerson of that of 1817.

The chief feature of the meeting was the reading of a paper by the reverend Dr. George E. Ellis, suggested by Whittier's poem, The King's Missive, which has been the occasion of a graceful controversy between the critic and the poet in the columns of the Boston Daily Advertiser, the subject being the treatment of the Quakers by the Puritans. We presume these papers will appear in a connected form, when they will receive further consideration.

The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology held its fourteenth annual meeting in March. The 8th of October next will be the fifteenth anniversary of Mr. Peabody's munificent bequest. The principal, $150,000, is untouched. The museum, which contains twenty-five thousand objects, most of which are arranged and cased, is free to the public. President Eliot of Harvard has made an appeal for $100,000, as an additional endowment for this admirable institution.

The Dedham, Mass., Historical Society held its annual meeting March 2d, and elected officers for the current year. President, Henry O. Hildreth; Secretary, Rev. Carlos Slafter.

At the regular monthly meeting of the New York Historical Society, held March 1st, an extremely interesting and amusing paper was read by the Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, late President of Cumberland College, Princeton, Kentucky, entitled "Candidating; or, Old Time Methods and Humors of Office-seeking in the Southwest." We heartily commend this lecture, which will be
found attractive to any class of audience, and should be repeated. Societies, desiring an entertaining paper, will do well to call this gentleman to their halls. A letter was also read from Dr. A. Fischell of Amsterdam, formerly resident of New York, presenting to the Society a Dutch pamphlet explaining the Dutch side of the Transvaal controversy.

The Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society met, at their rooms in the Westmoreland Club-house, March 7th, when a mould was authorized to be made of the bust of James Madison, presented to the Society some years since by John Willis of Orange. It was taken from life in 1821 by one Brauer, who in the same year executed a bust of Thomas Jefferson. That of Madison has been pronounced to be an excellent likeness, and the mould is intended for copies in plaster for the purpose of exchange by the Society.

The Georgia Historical Society held its monthly meeting in Hodgson Hall, Savannah, March 7th, when an instructive essay was read by Capt. W. G. Waller of the editorial staff of the Savannah Morning News, entitled "One Hour in Costa Rica." At the meeting it was resolved to sell the Society's house in Bryan street. We trust that this does not imply that the Historical Society of the Empire State of the South is to be without a home of its own.

At the March meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., called the attention of the Society to the discovery of an early Pennsylvania printer, Tiberius Johnson. An almanac for the year 1705, of sixteen leaves, numbered and without signatures, bears his name; probably a unique copy. Johnson is supposed to have been the son of Renier Jansen, who took the place of William Bradford during the latter's residence in New York.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society held its twenty-second annual meeting at its library in Wilkesbarre on the 11th February, and elected officers; President, Charles A. Miner; Secretary, E. L. Dana. A paper was read by Steuben Jenkins on the Troubles between the Pennamites and Yankees in their dispute for the possession of Wyoming Valley in 1783 and 1784.

The Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, has issued a circular note to correct the exaggerated accounts of the damage done its library and museum by the burning of the capitol. In fact the greater part of the library, 9,000 bound and 1,300 unbound volumes, was saved.
by the personal energy of its friends; all the archaeological cabinet also; and the valuable manuscripts passed the ordeal safely. The losses were fully covered by insurance, and are of a class of books which can be replaced. The assistance of kindred societies is requested to aid in making new sets of their respective publications.

The Yorktown Centennial Association has been recently incorporated under the laws of Virginia. Its object is to assist in the celebration of the surrender. Among the incorporators are some of the most distinguished gentlemen in the country. Its purpose is first to arrange for a proper representation from each of the old thirteen States, and secondly to secure the ground of the surrender, which has been selected for the site of the monument ordered by Congress as a perpetual park, the property to be vested in the United States. There is, we understand, an alternate plan on the model of the Mount Vernon Association. We suggest that the most feasible manner of reaching the desired end is to organize a popular subscription limited to five dollars, for which a certificate of perpetual membership might be given to each subscriber.

A highly finished head of Washington by Gilbert Stuart, painted in 1810, for a Bostonian, is for sale at the Art Museum, Boston, price $1,500. We shall be happy to supply any further information.

The limited edition of Dr. John Gilmary Shea’s Description of Louisiana, by Father Louis Hennepin, recently announced in these pages, has been entirely taken up by Western buyers. This learned scholar now proposes to publish, by subscription, a translation of Le Clerq’s Establishment de la Foi, one of the very rarest Americana, never reprinted or hitherto translated. It relates in great part to La Salle’s exploration of the Mississippi, and gives an account of the Franciscans in Canada. The edition is limited to 250 copies.

In an address upon the Centennial of the Siege of Yorktown Dr. Du Hamel, of Washington, D. C., says: “On the last day, as the last line of the works were stormed, Colonel de Lameth, the Adjutant-General to Lafayette, was the first to mount the parapet. He received a volley from the Hessians who defended it, and was shot through both knees; he fell back and was conveyed away by his friend Colonel Dumas and Surgeon Du Hamel, a surgeon of the French navy.”

A new Prime Meridian for the world, 180 degrees from Greenwich, proposed by Sanford Fleming, late chief engineer of the Canada Pacific Railway, and the adoption of a standard time of reckoning, have been endorsed by the Russian Imperial Academy of Science, but the English and Scotch Astronomers Royal object on the ground of the long usage of the Greenwich Meridian.

In the Notes and Queries, published in the Harrisburgh Daily Telegraph, there is a sharp protest against the numerous errors and omissions in Hamersley’s Late Army Register of the United States from 1775 to 1879. We
have called attention to errors in names of Revolutionary officers. Mr. Egle complains justly that in this respect the Pennsylvania line has been hardly used.

In January last, Speaker Randall laid before the House of Representatives a communication from the Secretary of State with the information that the department had been tendered by Benjamin F. Stevens, dispatch agent of the United States, at London, "Henry Stevens' Franklin Collection of manuscripts and books." This is chiefly composed of the original manuscripts bequeathed by Benjamin Franklin to his grandson, William Temple Franklin. The price set is £3,000. Mr. John Bigelow, in his autobiography of Franklin, describes the manner in which part of Franklin's manuscripts were mutilated by his legatee. These now offered are the suppressed portion.

In the Notes and Queries published by the Richmond Standard, the question as to whether Sally or Molly Cary was the object of Washington's early love, is discussed by J. D. M. Richmond. As Washington was but sixteen in 1748, when Sally Cary was married to George William Fairfax, Mr Richmond inclines to the belief that it was Mary, married to Edward Ambler in 1754, who inspired the ardent passion in Washington's breast. Washington married the widow Custis subsequent to that date.

Josiah Calef Bartlett of Taunton, Mass., has presented to the Dartmouth College Gallery a portrait of his great grandfather, Josiah Bartlett, signer of the Declaration of Independence, last President and first Governor of New Hampshire. The original painting by Trumbull is at Stratford, N. H., in the possession of the Bartlett family.

Dr. Delafield Dwight celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday in Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., on the 14th January last. He is a descendant of John Dwight, who, in 1634 or 1635, emigrated from Oldham, England, and settled in Dedham, Mass. Seven years ago over eight thousand lineal descendants from this first settler were reckoned. None had reached the age of the venerable doctor.

A general catalogue of Dartmouth College has been issued. This famous institution was chartered in 1769. In its first class of four pupils was graduated in 1771. Since then, 4,275 young men have received diplomas. Its rolls abound in names of men who have held high posts of honor in the country.

Hannibal Brown, an old negro, brought to the United States from Africa about 1820, was frozen to death in his cabin near Warrenton Junction last week. He always claimed that his father was a King, who wore many jewels and owned many men. True to his ancestry, he sided with the slave-holders during the war and was at one time imprisoned in the old capitol at Washington.

The expenses of the White House for the past year are summed up in a grand total, including all salaries from that of
the President downward to the furnace keeper, at $119,964. It is high time that the President were provided with an Executive office in the neighborhood of the departments, and the uses of the White House confined to that of personal residence. This double use of the same building as an executive mansion and a private residence, with its consequent confusion of public officials and private domestics, is out of all keeping with the spirit of our institutions; to say nothing of the backstairs and female influence which it necessarily involves. If women are to take part in politics let them come in by the front door. Let us have a President’s home and an Executive bureau. The question is not one of cost, but of principle.

A financial writer in the New York Tribune asserts that “no stock, or bond, or government pledge of any nature was ever made by any nation on earth at three per cent. that the public bought at par, or that was ever maintained at par, nor will such stock or bond ever be issued until the accumulated wealth of the world be increased by many fold.” We shall see. It is after all a mere question of demand and supply. With a rapidly reducing volume and the demand consequent upon the enormous accumulation of savings in the United States, the time is not distant when the United States three per cents will stand invariably above par.

The Lenox Library has issued a complete annotated catalogue of its Shakespeare and Shakespeareiana. It contains six hundred and twenty-six numbers.

The admirable critic of the Boston Daily Advertiser notices the strange fact Dr. Allibone’s catalogue discloses “that Mr. Lenox had to content himself with a set of the first American Shakespeare, deficient in one of its eight volumes.” The curious in Shakespeare bibliography will do well to consult the Boston review (Daily Advertiser, Jan. 26th).

Mother Shipton’s prophecy that about this time the world is to come to an end. again published and corroborated by the alarming statements that the Newton comet is close at hand, rushing towards the sun at the rate of two hundred miles a second, was thoroughly exploded before the press had fairly got wind of it. The official astronomers of the national observatory see no signs of a comet, and Mother Shipton is shown to have been quite innocent in the matter, the prediction in question having been fraudulently ascribed to her by one Hindley, of Brighton, England, in 1873. The end is not yet.

The house in which President James Monroe died, July 4th, 1831, a small two-story building in Prince Street, New York, east of Crosby Street, is still standing. A reminder of the suffering of the brave old man, who for fifty years had served his country in camp and council, may stimulate our legislators to make suitable provision for retired Presidents.

The statue of Farragut, intended for Madison Square, New York, is approaching completion. A pedestal is nearly finished. It is said to be a creditable work of art.
There is a dispute between the Puritans and Quakers as to which were the first brewers of beer in America. The Philadelphians claim that in 1690 they had three brewers. The records of New Amsterdam show that its brewers resisted the enforcement of a tax upon beer laid by Keith, in 1644, when the beverage of the complainants was confiscated for the use of the soldiers.

Baltimore has a monument near a century old to Christopher Columbus. It is on the property known as Belmont. Nothing definite is known of it, but the legend is that it was built by the French Consul, Charles Francis Adrien de Paulmier, who occupied the estate from 1789 to 1796. It is a shaft fifty feet high, of brick plastered, and bearing the date of 1792.

The powder horn found on the body of Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the President, who was killed by Indians, has been presented to the Lincoln Memorial Association of Springfield, Illinois. It bears the owner’s name, and an eagle with spread wings carved in bold relief. The Kentucky stream, which was the scene of the massacre, has been known ever since as Linkhorn’s Run.

A controversy has arisen in Rhode Island concerning certain lands conveyed by deed by Ninegrete, chief Sachem of the Narragansett tribe, to the colony of Providence Plantations in 1709. Certain persons now appear, claiming a lineal descent from Ninegrete, who declare themselves the owners of a part of the land reserved in the original sale. They say that the Indian council recognized their claim to these lands sometime since; but they cannot yet show a proper title because they were not “turfed and twigged.” It seems that the Indian ceremony of confirmation of title consisted in placing on the owners’ head a crown made of turf, ornamented with twigs and flowers, the owner standing at the time on the land claimed. The subject is now before the Indian commission.

The Newburyport Herald repudiates the old story that Lord Timothy Dexter made his fortune by sending warming pans to the West Indies, and says, “upon the authority of a Boston antiquarian, that it was stated by Dexter himself to be a hoax in his Pickle for the Knowing Ones. The fact is said to be that he made his fortune by buying up Continental money. One Joseph Wilson, a ship carver, turned Dexter’s personal vanity to account by making wooden images of the eccentric lord, for which he received from him a hundred dollars each. As many as seventy-five are said to have been made. Dexter died in 1806.

The census shows a total population of the United States and Territories of 50,152,554. The bill before Congress for apportionment of the number of representatives fixes the number at 301. New York leads with 31, Pennsylvania follows with 26, and Ohio with 19. Of the cities, New York shows a population of 1,206,590; Philadelphia, 846,984, Brooklyn, 566,689, and Chicago, 503,304. No other city reaches 400,000.
LITERARY NOTICES

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)


This is the third edition of Bishop White's memoirs of the Church. What it contains of new interest will be found in the characteristic sketch of the colonial church by the learned antiquary in secular and ecclesiastical history, the Rev. Mr. de Costa, whose varied contributions have, since the beginning of this magazine, enriched its pages. To follow the train of thought of this argument our analysis must be divided into two distinct parts, its history by sea and land. The Church of England was identified, we are told, with the progress of the national marine from the earliest times. To sketch its outline of its rise in America, it is therefore necessary to trace the early history of English maritime enterprise. This no one is more competent to do than Mr. de Costa. In Greenland, he tells us, the church was maintained with a line of Bishops for about three hundred years. Through Iceland, where there is evidence of early precise information of occurrences which affected the church in England, Greenland is held to have had some knowledge on this subject. Cabot, who discovered the American mainland on St John's Bay, 1497, is supposed to have had some chaplain, and an entry is found in King Henry's private purse to the effect that two pounds were paid to a priest going to the island. One of the earliest recorded cases of the administration of the Holy Communion was upon the death of the Licentiate Ayllon in the Carolinas in 1526. Weymouth, who made a voyage to New England, and discovered Pentecost Harbor, Maine, 1605, had church services regularly performed on board his ship, at which "the natives were often in attendance, being deeply impressed." Crosses also were set up. From 1605 the agency of churchmen in colonization appears more plainly. There is no doubt that the colonists of Sir John Popham and of Sir Ferdinando Gorges were of the English faith, and the honor of having preached the first sermon in New England belongs to the Rev. Richard Seymour, minister of the English Church. Hudson also, who discovered Hudson's River, N. Y., in 1609, was an Englishman and a communicant of the church. Hakluyt and Purchase, conspicuous in the advocacy of colonization, were both Church of England worthies. Hakluyt declares his prime object to be "to plant Christian religion," and in 1622, near Massachusetts Bay, churchmen were the first colonists; Thomas Morton at Merrymount, as early as 1622. Even Winthrop's company of 1630, on leaving England, disavowed all designs of separation, and declared that they esteemed it "an honor to call the Church of England Dear Mother," and the settlement at Boston the same year was largely aided by the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the rector of Dorchester. The bishop said that he would emigrate and engage in the work personally, but for his advanced age. In this argument, which is here briefly stated, and as nearly as possibly in Mr. de Costa's own words, he endeavors to prove that New England owes her origin to the church. The puritans, however, soon got the better of the strict conformists, and set the mark of Calvinism on American institutions. It was not till 1662, up to which time churchmen enjoyed no favor, and to use Mr. de Costa's words "intolerance reigned within the limits of the Massachusetts Government," that a royal proclamation secured liberty of worship according to the English form. In 1640 the first regular church of England organization was organized in the New Hampshire patent. In 1684 King's Chapel was built at Boston. So much for New England. We cannot follow Mr. de Costa through the history of the church in the southern colonies. In New York, under the Dutch rule, religious freedom prevailed; in 1700, the English legislated against Jesuits and all Roman ecclesiastics, and their services were forbidden by law until the adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York in 1777. The establishment of the Church of England in New York has long been a matter of dispute among the doctors. Those who would see the Presbyterian view, in which our judgment accords, will find it conclusively stated in Dr. Baird's Status of the Presbyterians printed in this magazine (111, 507). The chapter closes with a short sketch of Bishop White, a native of Philadelphia, born in 1747 [o.s.]. Graduated from the College of Philadelphia at the age of 17, he adopted the sacred profession. After preliminary theological study under the guidance of Drs. Peters and Mr. Duché, he sailed for England, and in 1770 was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Norwich. In 1772 he was ordained to the priesthood and returned to Philadelphia, where he was elected assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peters. On the outbreak of the revolution, faithful among the faith-
less of his denomination, he sided with the colonists. In 1777 he was appointed Chaplain of the Continental Congress. Fortune for the Episcopal Church in America was his patriotism. At the peace he was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania; he was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, London, 1787. Returning to America he arrived in New York on Easter Sunday of the same year. Easter Day, 1787, therefore, will, in the words of Mr. de Costa, possess a peculiar significance as marking the renaissance of the American Episcopal Church. Yet how a new birth can be properly ascribed to an organization which is not proven to have previously existed is not clear. Bishop White died July 17, 1836. He is recognized, and justly, as the father of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.


This is an extract of a paper read before the third Congress of the Americanists, held at Brussels in 1879, by one of its presidents, a gentleman distinguished for his original researches in this dim but interesting field. Some idea has been entertained by the Americanists, not perhaps generally shared, that three colonies were founded in the new world before Columbus made his first voyage. The oldest of these, Great Ireland, or the Country of the White Men, was already inhabited towards the close of the tenth century by the Papas or Scotch Irish Monks, and was continued at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century, when it was visited by a shipwrecked Friulander, who made a report of it which was preserved by the Zeni; neither its origin or situation was determined. M. Beauvois treated this subject in two papers read before the first and second sessions of Congress. The second colony was Greenland, where the Icelanders settled themselves in 980, three years after the discovery of the country; it is well known to the Scandinavians. It was the subject of an essay by the same learned archaeologist. The third colony—that of Vinland to the northeast of the United States, is best known by the picturesque reports made of it. Some light may, it is hoped, be thrown upon the history of this colony by a study of the natives of the Armuruchiquois, who were indigenous to this part of the United States.

M. Beauvois now claims to have discovered the distance of a fourth sedentary settlement in Norumbega—where, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reminiscences of Christianity and ancient crosses were found, and also the remains of the old language of the Northmen (Norrain); the air of the song of a Northman and a fable of a monster which belongs to Scandinavian mythology; these facts are the subject of the present memoir. Now the mysterious name of Norumbega appears and disappears in the course of the sixteenth century, but no voyager has left any account of the fortified city. Those curious on this subject will do well to recur to the article on the Lost City published in the Magazine of American History, January, 1877, [1, 14].

Champlain says that the existence of the country of Norumbega rests upon tradition. He sought for it in vain and doubted its existence, yet M. Beauvois finds in the old cross which the navigator saw on the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy, a positive proof of the belief which he discredited, and another more striking proof in the Scandinavian tradition which Champlain himself transmits as perpetuated at the time of his visit among the indigenous natives of Acadia. We cannot follow the learned essayist through his line of argument, but we add that by an examination of the writers and geographers of the sixteenth century he finds the name of Norumbega to have been written in twelve different ways. The Scandinavian traditions appear among the Acadians. The fable of Gongon has no precise counterpart in Scandinavia, but M. Beauvois considers that it may yet be found one of the innumerable mythic tales of northern Europe.

The field which he marks out for American investigation is the relation between Greenland and Markland; he appeals to American archaeologists to discover, classify and study the remains of bygone ages which lie beneath the soil of Scotland, New Brunswick and Maine, until when the European cannot undertake a comparison of Scandinavian and Acadian antiquities.


Excellent as is this translation, we almost regret that Kosuth had not written his memories in the English tongue. Those whose privilege it was to hear his glowing appeals for American aid in the Hungarian struggle for nationality, will never forget the novel and peculiar uses of
what may be termed English root language. His reminiscences begin with the surrender at Világos, when, crossing the frontier, he gave up his sword to a Turkish official. His touching description of his feelings as he stood on the eastern banks of the Danube, prepare one for the glowing chapters which follow. He considers the sphere of the exertion of Hungarian refugees, was to convince Europe that the independence of Hungary was necessary to the liberties of Europe, and he holds that the rapid victory of Prussia over Austria was the immediate cause of Austro-Hungarian dualism. He confesses that the nation has decided against him, but with the tenacity of his character still maintains that he was right. His chapters begin with the Italian war of 1859, and an account is given of the diplomatic campaign, the chief feature of which was the meeting at Plombières of Napoleon and Cavour in 1858. This was the prologue of the drama enacted on Italian soil, the closing scene in which was the peace of Villafranca. In the war which followed the memorable interview, the attitude of Hungary, over whom the Hungarian refugees exercised a controlling influence, was of vast importance, and their leaders were approached by both belligerents. But their action was counteracted by the diplomatic influence and the coldness of England. Travelling incognito under the name of George Brown, Kossuth visited Paris in May, 1859, and had a preliminary conference with Prince Napoleon, and an interview with the Emperor on the night of the 5th of May. It is interesting here to note the self-confidence of Kossuth in his own statement to the Emperor that he would take upon himself to overthrow the administration of Lord Derby on the question of the foreign policy. At the close of this meeting Kossuth, Teleki and Klapsa constituted themselves into the National Hungarian Directory. On his return to England, Kossuth began a series of speeches at public meetings all over the kingdom. At their close the Tory ministry was overthrown, a new cabinet was formed by Lord Palmerston, and the neutrality of England was secured. A Hungarian legion was formed in the Sardinian army, which in a general order of June 17, received the name of the Hungarian army of Italy. It consisted of a thousand men in two battalions under the command of Ihasz. On the 3d of July, 1859, Kossuth had another interview with the Emperor, in which Napoleon declared that any victory in Italy would be incomplete without the assurance of the independence of Hungary. Kossuth made it an indispensable preliminary of an Hungarian rising, that a French army should be sent to Hungary. On the 22d the Hungarian committee sent to his colleagues in Hungary to prepare them for an active participation in the war. On the 3d of July, after the battle of Solferino, Kossuth had a further meeting with the Emperor, when it was agreed that should Napoleon be compelled to make peace, he would either send an army to Hungary and call the nation to arms or refrain from any attempt to foment an insurrection. The treaty of Villafranca secured an amnesty to all, on either side, compromised by the war with their respective governments. The Hungarian army in Italy was dissolved, and with a bleeding heart Kossuth returned to England. His letter of gratitude to his English and Scotch friends of the 24th of Sept., 1859, closes the volume, which is an authoritative addition to the historic literature of this exciting period.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ANDOVER

We find here a comprehensive history of this ancient academy town of the commonwealth, beginning with the prehistoric period, of which some glimpses remain in rock records, and brought down to the present day. The locality in which it is built has been known since 1604 as the valley of the Merrimac (place of swift water), or of Shawshir (the great spring), and the story of its founders has its beginning in the town Agawam or Ipswich, 1639. Its first deed is dated in 1643; with the neighboring settlement of Haverhill, it is mentioned in “Good News” from New England. The first formal description of it is found in Captain Edward Johnson’s wonder-working Providence of Zion’s Saviour in New England, published in London, 1654. It was incorporated, however, in 1646, and took its name from the town of Andover, Hants County, England, the home of its principal settlers. Simon Bradstreet, the husband of Ann Dudley Bradstreet, was the most influential citizen in the early settlement, and his son, Col. Dudley Bradstreet, followed in his footsteps. Among the other earlier settlers were John Osgood, John Stevens and George Abbot, all founders of large and respected families. The chapters on Andover in the earlier Indian wars, in the witchcraft excitement, and in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, are full of material which the historian will do well to consult. In the later chapters may be found sketches of her churches and ministers, her public schools and libraries, her academies and theological seminaries, and passing to material things, a sketch of her mills and manufactures. The volume is prefaced by a steel engraved portrait of Simon Bradstreet, and some heliotype sketches of the houses of noted inhabitants, among which the old Bradstreet house; Abbot’s tavern, where Washington breakfasted in 1789; the home of Col. Samuel John-
son, of the 4th Mass. Regiment; the birthplace of Samuel Osgood, first Postmaster-General; of Col. James Frye, of the French and Indian wars. The Phillips manse, the home of the widely known family of this name, is the richest in relics of colonial grandeur. This family descend from the Rev. George Phillips, who settled here as the pastor of the old South Church in 1710, and with a careful eye to his temporal interests obtained large grants of land in the neighboring townships, which were the foundation of the fortunes of the family. Coming down to later days we find the picture of the birth-place of the late Major General Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, an old colonial building remodeled. The chapter on the Theological Seminary is illustrated with seven portraits of the Phillips family, all founders or benefactors of institutions of learning and religion. The influence of the Andover Theological Seminary, orthodox of the orthodox, has been second to none upon the religious thought of the country.

The illustrations show a marked advance in the heliotype process. The volume is in every way worthy of the attention of students, and should find a place in every historical collection.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS,
No. 9. A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF THE PLAN FORMED AT ALBANY IN 1754 FOR UNITING ALL THE BRITISH NORTHERN COLONIES IN ORDER TO THEIR COMMON SAFETY AND DEFENCE. By STEPHEN HOPKINS. With introduction and notes by SIDNEY S. RIDER. Small 4to, pp. 65. SIDNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1885.

"The True Representation" was first published at Providence on the 29th of March, 1755, and was at once answered in a paper entitled "A Short Reply by an Anonymous Writer," under the name "Philolethes," on the 10th April of the same year. Both pamphlets are here textually reproduced. They are among the earliest, if not the very earliest, political pamphlets issued in Rhode Island. The introduction of Mr. Rider is a brief memoir of the Rhode Island Commissioner, whom he styles the ablest man of his time within her borders.

The necessity of a mutual accord among the northern colonies for the defence of their extended frontier from the incursions of the numerous and powerful savage tribes which dwelt beyond them, suggested a meeting of this first Congress, which was the forerunner of all of those more memorable which followed it and finally achieved the idea then crudely conceived. Albany was the natural meeting place for such a body; from the earliest colonial period it had been the place of conference and of treaties between the European settlements and the Indian tribes, and it lay just below the natural strategic point of defence and the great carrying place or natural bridge between the water communication of Canada and the then western frontier. It was at this meeting of the commissioners from eight colonies that Franklin submitted the plan of union for the mutual defence and security of the colonies and for the extending the British settlements in North America. This phrase it may be here remarked is significant of the strong national spirit and tendency which even then actuated the minds and directed the action of the colonies. The plan included one general government to be formed in America for the whole, within and under which each to retain its existing constitution, except so far as altered by the act of a legislature which should establish such general government. A President-General to be appointed and supported by the crown, a Grand Council to be chosen by the General Assemblies in each colony. The proportion of members for the Grand Council, 24 in number, shows the relative strength of the colonies: Massachusetts, 7; New Hampshire, 2; Connecticut, 5; Rhode Island, 2; New York, 4; New Jersey, 3; Pennsylvania, 6; Maryland, 4; Virginia, 7; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 4. This plan in its details mainly accords with the present form of the government of the United States. It was transmitted to the English Government, but was never so much as reported to the British colonies.


Only fifty copies of these three elegantly printed and bound little volumes were printed for our munificent bibliopolist, Mr. S. Whitney Phoenix. BY FRANCIS HART & CO., from a copy of the original edition for private distribution. They contain information of value in genealogic inquiry.

This history originated in an order given in town meeting, 1865. In its compilation Jackson's manual and other published material, with the Jackson and Ward manuscripts, and numerous genealogical tables, have been used. It is impossible to give even an analysis of the fifty-nine chapters which make up this solid volume. Newton numbers nine or ten villages, which for two centuries were as distinct as separate towns. In each of these stages its history was intimately connected with that of Boston. It made part of Cambridge until 1689, but was called New Cambridge in some of the deeds as early as 1679. In 1691 the name Newton was given to it by the General Court, or rather restored to it, as it appears to have been so called in the court record in 1631. It was not till 1760 that the w was dropped, and the present spelling adopted. Every possible scrap of information connected with its history is packed within those pages, from the stories of the first settlers to those of its present solid citizens, prominent among whom were two Governors of the Commonwealth, William Claflin, a resident, and Alexander H. Rice, a native of Newton Lower Falls. The Rev. S. F. Smith is best known to the country as the author of the popular song America.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CIVIL LIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE COLONY AND STATE OF NEW YORK. By Stephen P. Hutchins. 8vo, pp. 128.

Weed, Parsons & Co. Albany, 1879.

This pamphlet is comprised of selections from the work the title of which it indicates. In this Civil List the growth of each department of the government is traced; the changes and development of the constitution of New York shown; and in the words of the author the fact is demonstrated that the government of the State of New York "is the model system of organic liberty in the world." The present introduction is an examination into the progress of human liberty from the time of the earliest Aryan communities down to the present day. The chapter on the Constitution of the Colony shows the close analogy between the conflicts of Parliament with the crown and those of the colonial assemblies with their Royal Government. The charter of liberties passed by the General Assembly of 1691 declared the right and privileges of the colonies of New York. Though vetoed in 1697 because of what were termed "its great and unreasonable privileges" and its "large and doubtful expressions," and never acknowledged by the crown, its spirit was closely adhered to throughout the long struggle which terminated in independence, and the despotism attempted over the province was effectually curbed by the obstinate resistance of the Assembly and its continuous refusal to vote supplies unless on each occasion a fresh recognition of popular rights was obtained. A chapter on Colonial Confederacies correctly assigns the Pequot War of 1637 to be the origin of the union of the Eastern colonies. This first confederacy included Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven; Providence and Rhode Island were excepted because of their want of accord with the religious and civil administration of the rest. In 1690 a convention met in New York to agree on a plan for the invasion of Canada. Delegates were present from Massachusetts, Plymouth and New York. In 1745 a conference with Indians was held at Albany; present, commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. In 1754 a convention assembled at Albany to renew a treaty with the six nations to unite upon a scheme of defence against the French. There were delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. The Stamp Act Congress met in New York in 1765. The chapter on the constitution of New York is a succinct account of its changes from the time of its substantial recognition, although not secure establishment, until the revision of the organic law by the convention of 1807. An account of the changes in the elective franchise, and of the safeguards set around it by the registration and inspection laws, concludes the succinct and lucid narrative.


The proceedings of this meeting are full of interest in their reminiscences of the patriotic action of the gentlemen of New York, who in this effective manner demonstrated the loyalty of the higher classes of society, called in question even at home, to the Union and the Government. Addresses were made by Mr. Jay, for a long time its President; Dr. Bellows; Mr. Charles J. Stille, author of the famous pamphlet, How a Great Nation Carries on a Long War; the Secretaries of War and Navy, and numerous New York gentlemen. We note here the error of the claim made or repeated by Mr. Stillé,
that the Union League Club was the parent of
the Union League. The Loyal National League
was the first to apply the league principle in pub-
lic affairs. The first pledge of unconditional
loyalty to the Government, and to maintain the
national integrity, was drawn by the writer of
these lines, and posted for public signature on
the bulletins of the Evening Post and New
York Tribune, where it was signed by thou-
ands of people, who, on summons, met at
the Cooper Institute, and organized The Loyal
National League. Its purpose was to dem-
strate the loyalty of the citizens of New York,
and put an end to temporizing schemes. It
was an open body. The Union League, which
succeeded it, was a political organization with
closed doors. The Union League Club, a social
organization, independent of either. Each did
good service, but the idea originated as has been
stated.

NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER WRITERS IN NEW ENGLAND, 1787 TO 1815. Read
before the New England Historical Genealo-
gical Society, February 4, 1880, by DELANO
A. GODDARD. 8vo, pp. 39. A. WILLIAMS
& CO. Boston, 1880.

In this beautifully printed monograph may be
found an intelligible record of the political contro-
versies which followed the adoption of the con-
stitution of 1789, and continued with a virulence
without parallel in our later history, unless in the
struggle from which the country has just emerged.
The story must be found in the newspapers from the middle
of the last century and well into the present. Public
opinion in England and America was expressed
in the columns of newspapers by the ablest
writers. Enough to mention Sir Philip Francis
and Wilkes in England, Hamilton and Madison
in the United States. Mr. Goddard opened his
sketch with the stately epitaph on the Death of the
Federal Administration, printed in the Colum-
bian Centinel, 4th of March, 1801, when Jeffer-
son took his seat in the Presidential chair, and
the federal party, which had given a constitution
to the nation, fell in the house of its friends. In
this, as in all the recitals of the controversy, the
natural animosity of the middle class to Great
Britain does not receive sufficient weight. The Co-
mbian Centinel, established June, 1784, was a
marked advance over the stately but prosey jour-
nal which preceded it. Benjamin Russell, its
founder and editor, fought the battles of the
Constitution with aggressive spirit, and was
aided by Higginson, Ames and Cabot with vigor
and ability. Contemporary with the Centinel, and
equally extreme, were the old Boston Gazette,
founded in 1719, and the pillar of the Whigs
during the Revolution, and the Independent
Chronicle, which, after opposing the institution
of the Society of the Cincinnati, resisted the
Constitution because of its aristocratic tendency,
and became the leading organ in New England
of the democratic school of politics. The Spy,
published at Worcester by Isaiah Thomas, was
of a different order, controlled by the sedate and
tempered wisdom of his well-balanced mind.
The Boston Patriot, directed by David Everett,
supported Madison, opposed the Federalist, and
in its columns John Adams published the series
of letters in vindication of his public life; in
them appeared bitter reviews of the work of that
most graceful of New England orators, Fisher
Amen. In 1791 Philip Freneau, a devoted ser-
vant of Jefferson, who supplied the sinews of war
by employing him in the State Department,
made a brief sensation in the National Gazette,
and spared not even Washington himself in his
esposal of the anemities of his chief. Mr. Goddard’s sympathies are with the Federal party.
Neither the Federal nor the Democratic party
deserve the invective which were heaped upon
them. The Constitution of 1789 has been proved
by the test of time to be strong enough for self-
preservation, and sufficiently pliable for every
emergency.

ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE
STATUE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON IN CEN-
TRAL PARK, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 20, 1880.
By Hon. CHAUNCY M. DEPEW. 8vo, pp.

In this brilliant tribute to the Founder of the
Republic, as Hamilton is appropriately termed,
there is nothing of appreciation or of eulogy
with which we are not in fullest sympathy. To
his wonderful power of original organization,
and his clear understanding of the details of ad-
ministration, the smooth working of the co-ordi-
nate branches of our government are chiefly due.
But the charge of neglect of this, her greatest,
citizen does not justly lie at the door of New
York. No name is spoken with greater pride,
none commands a higher respect. Twice our
citizens have shown their estimate of his inval-
able services, first in the procurement of a full-
length portrait by Colonel Trumbull, which,
purchased by public subscription, may still be
seen in the Halls of the Chamber of Commerce.
the noblest effort of the artist’s pencil, and
among the very best of historical portraits;
again in the beautiful statue which adorned the
old Merchants’ Exchange, but perished in the
flames of the great fire of 1835. Moreover, all
the monuments of the Central Park have been
gifts, as is this statue, which a son of Ham-
ilton presents to the city, and in the deed erects
a memorial to the founder of his family. Nor
is it in a spirit of animadversion that we notice
a repetition of the traditional anecdotes of Hamilton's youthful power and influence over men, of which the pages of sober history contain no corroboration. On occasions of this character the flight of oratory will ill bear the burden of references and authority, but as such addresses are themselves history, the accuracy of every statement should be sifted of the dross of doubt till only the pure ore of truth remains.


The sketches included in this volume, originally printed in the Daily Saratogian, under the title of "Saratoga in ye Olden Time," were published in book form in 1875. This is a reprint from the old plates. Its interest is in the sketches it presents of the great summer watering place in its earlier days. Mr. Stone is familiar with this entire section of country, its legends and traditions, and had personal acquaintance with many of the notables who have made it their temporary or permanent residence. The student of history will find most of value in the earlier chapters which relate the visit of Sir William Johnson in 1767, of Washington, Hamilton and Clinton in 1783, and of Mrs. Dwight, a resident of Saratoga, to the battle ground in 1789, whose narrative is given in her own words. Mr. Stone, as his well-known father before him, has devoted a great deal of labor and time to the study of this section of the country, which leads us to express regret that in this he has not corrected the error which appeared in the first edition, viz. that Arnold was not alluded to by Gates in his dispatches to Congress, giving an account of the battle of the 7th of October. On the contrary, Gates mentioned his gallantry on the field with a most praiseworthy magnanimity.


A commendatory preface by Mr. Seymour is enough to secure a careful reading of this study of our system of election. The purpose of the volume is to suggest a plan for a reconstruction of the Caucus and provide an avenue of escape for the "monster" characterized as "The machine." No satisfactory plan for a proper freedom of the primaries has yet been suggested. Their doors are more firmly closed against outside influences than ever. The campaign club, which proves so effectual in arousing popular enthusiasm at election periods, seems to be rather an obstacle to than a means for reform. The election over, the gentlemen whose personal efforts have been enlisted and whose purses have been taxed for election purposes, are quietly relegated to the second plane, and "the machine" moves on regardless of their wishes or their protests. Without this device the leaders who assume to themselves the distribution of office, if not the assertion of party doctrine, would be compelled to widen the primary organizations and bring themselves under the direct influence of the popular will. A still more difficult question is that of the distribution of offices if the division of parties be limited. If there were but the party of administration and the party of opposition, the general State, city and minor local governments might properly assume the entire legitimate election expenses, and thus the claims of the contributors of money be nullified. But with what justice can such limitation be made? By what right could a participation in such government election fund be denied to a third party? And if to a third, then to how many? It was the complaint of Mr. Webster of the old Whig party that there were too many leaders, or, perhaps more correctly, too many aspirants for leadership. The complaint to-day more justly is, that the leaders are beyond the influence of the best minds of their party. Reform is hardly possible either in administration or in party. So long as a great overruling principle is at stake, minor issues are and must be subordinate. We are of those who believe that our political form has within itself the power and the way to correct its abuses; that no radical changes are necessary; and that, with the assured undisputed triumph of the American principle, of which by turns each and all parties have claimed to be the only true expounders, will come the necessary but less important reform in government administration and party construction.


This, if ever there were one, is an historic question. Mr. Canning, in his famous acceptance of the claims put forth by President Monroe in his message of 1823, which asserted as a principle that the American Continents were not thereafter to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, vindicated his policy by saying that he had called "the new world into existence to address the balance of the old." This claim of national protection over all American territory, northern or southern, was practically asserted by the resolution of Con-
gless, which in 1864 declared the presence of French troops on Mexican soil to be incompatible with the interests of the United States. A scheme of such vast importance as the blending of the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific in a channel for the interchange of the products of the two hemispheres could hardly fail to find rivals for its construction; on the one hand, De Lesseps, the successful constructor of the Suez Canal, backed by the surplus capital of the European continent; on the other, American enterprise with less money power, but relying upon the national spirit to hold the control of this new highway of the world under American control.

The pamphlet is a strong argument in favor of this latter policy. The anonymous author justly considers public sentiment in the United States to look forward to the final absorption of the North American Continent within the bounds of the United States. Nay, more, it is safe to prophesy that there are those now living who will see the Northern and Southern American continents united in an acknowledged bond of general policy. The sentiment of the Burnside resolution, that the United States should alone control the Inter-Oceanic Canal is that of the American people.

THE ONE HUNDRED PRIZE QUESTIONS IN CANADIAN HISTORY AND THE ANSWER OF HERMES. HENRY MILES, JR., Montreal, the winner of the first prize. With an appendix containing notes and comments. 12mo, pp. 123. DAWSON BROTHERS. Montreal, 1880.

This pamphlet is an admirable assistance to the student of Canadian History. The answers to the questions propounded in the Canadian Spectator of Montreal in March, 1879, have finally disposed of many debatable questions. Mr. Miles was the winner of the first prize. An appendix contains some critical and illustrated notes on his answers, some addenda and an excellent index of names, persons and places, with an alphabetical list of writers and authorities.


Mr. Depew, the most graceful of our New York orators, lucid in style, rich in imagery with a perfect understanding of the sympathies of his audience, appears at his best on the days of Centennial commemoration, when largest latitude of patriotic expression is in best accord with the spirit of the mass. The story of André was happily told to admiring thousands on the hundredth anniversary of his capture. But it is a matter of regret that, in his zeal to praise the captors of André, he revived on this occasion the memory of the charge made by Major Talmaige against the purity of their motives. It is incredible Talmaige could not have been actuated by other than purest motives in his opposition as a Congressman to the increase of the pension of the captors.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. HAWTHORNE by HENRY JAMES, Jr. 16mo. pp. 177. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1880.

Mr. James has deservedly earned the reputation of a graceful and polished writer in the field of essay, criticism and fiction, if the last term may be used in regard to his latest literary effort, to which reference will presently be made. American admirers of Hawthorne, among whom may probably be classed all his readers, with the exception of Mr. James and his school and followers, if he have any, will be painfully surprised to learn from this elaborate critique that their judgment of his excellencies is crude and confused, that he is lacking in imagination; given to bathos, and at times barely escaping the antithesis of the sublime, notably in the Scarlet Letter. While Mr. James is unwilling but not absolutely that Hawthorne had to a certain extent an exuberance of fancy, a fluency of diction and minor felicity of phrase and expression, he pipes his own little lay of gentle disparagement, and with the airy grace of a Harold Skimpole waves aside all claims that have heretofore been put forward on behalf of the writer to rank as a first-class literary artist. It is alleged that his characters are not characters but portraits carefully and fastidiously drawn; mere portraits more or less nebulous, tenuous or flimsy. Mr. James' reason for the shortcomings of the writer is given at page 42. It is that he was an American, and because of the barrenness of American life, that he failed. No king, no court, no old Norman churches, etc., as sources of inspiration, is the lament of Mr. James. One is tempted to an involuntary contrast of the two men, and to speculation as to which of them will ultimately cast the broadest shadow—the American Hawthorne or his Anglican analyst; which book will be the most widely read, the Scarlet Letter or Confidence. We are irresistibly reminded of the lament of a Methodist who, speaking of De Quincy, said if he had never been addicted to the use of opium, he might have produced works worthy of admiration.

If Hawthorne had only had the advantages of James, what might he not have done.

W. C. S.
REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

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Revised, enlarged, etc. 16mo. J. B. Lippinc-

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THE SORTIE FROM FORT ERIE

1814

The sortie from Fort Erie was made on the 17th day of September, 1814. Its record is an illuminated page of our national history. Nevertheless, that important facts concerning it are still unknown to the public or only wrongly known, it is proposed, herein, to demonstrate. It is necessary to speak of individuals, and if one individual is made more prominent in this narrative than others, it will be because of a desire, not to praise him, but to state facts; not to portray the adventures of a fictitious hero, but to recite the deeds of a real one. And in order to give the event its proper historical setting, it is necessary to review, briefly as may be, some of the military operations which preceded it.

It will be remembered that the Congress of the United States declared war against Great Britain on the 12th of June, 1812. Our military operations during the first eighteen months of the war were, on the whole, unsuccessful, and some of them disreputable. On the water—the ocean and the lakes—we had won some unexpected and brilliant naval triumphs. Our armies, under General Harrison on the western and General Jackson on the southwestern frontier, had gained only a few not very important, but very useful successes; useful in that the campaigns in which they were won had been good schools for the training of our soldiers.

Great expectations were founded upon the double-headed campaign of Generals Wilkinson and Hampton in the summer of 1813. They were expected to invade Canada; the former from Sackett's Harbor, the latter from Plattsburgh. But after sundry sporadic and miscellaneous operations on the part of both commanders, the campaign was brought to an inglorious termination after General Wilkinson had reached St. Regis, and General Hampton Chaugenay, in an advance upon Montreal.
General Hampton refusing for some petty reasons to co-operate with General Wilkinson, the latter decided not to attack the city, notwithstanding he had positive information that there were less than two hundred troops defending it, while his own army was six thousand strong. The two armies were therefore put into winter quarters about the middle of November, General Wilkinson at French Mills, and General Hampton at Plattsburgh.

A month later the tide of disaster reached its flood. When Generals Armstrong and Wilkinson withdrew the troops from the Niagara frontier, General Harrison was ordered to move from Detroit down to Sackett's Harbor, in order to defend that port after they should leave it. He halted a day or two at Fort George, on the Canada side, and there embarked for his destination, leaving General McClure, of the New York State militia, to garrison it. As the enemy had been reinforced after Generals Wilkinson and Hampton had snugly burrowed their armies in winter quarters, General McClure was compelled, after asking in vain for reinforcements, to evacuate the fort after setting on fire, as he claimed by orders from the war department, the adjacent village of Newark. Crossing the river, he gathered as best he could about 160 men, whom he placed in garrison at Fort Niagara under the command of Capt. Leonard, and then left for Buffalo to look after the stores gathered in that vicinity.

A few days after, on the 19th of December, by the treachery of its commander, as seems most probable from such facts as are known, Fort Niagara fell into the hands of the enemy, and most of the garrison were cruelly slaughtered. The small detachments of soldiers left at Sewerton and the Falls, dreading a similar fate, precipitately fled into the interior. The whole line from lake Ontario to Buffalo being thus left unprotected, the inhabitants were plundered, their buildings burnt, many of them killed, and the whole region devastated. The few demoralized militia with General McClure could not prevent the enemy from crossing at Black Rock and Buffalo, which, with a large quantity of stores and munitions, they sacked and burned, together with three small vessels which had formed a part of Commodore Perry’s victorious fleet. The desolation of the frontier having been completed, the enemy returned into Canada, except that they continued to hold Fort Niagara, which was only finally relinquished at the close of the war. General Prevost, in a proclamation issued soon afterward, justified his burnings on the ground that they were in retaliation for the burning of Newark.

On the water matters were not more encouraging. British cruisers
still continued to annoy the cities and towns along the coast, and a new blockade was declared extending from Montauk Point to the westernmost mouth of the Mississippi River. When Congress assembled new restrictive enactments were passed, so that the commerce of the country seemed to be in danger of complete annihilation.

In January, 1814, news was brought by a British schooner under flag of truce, of the great defeat of Bonaparte at Leipsic, and the advance of Wellington into the south of France. The fact that England was engaged in a war with France had no slight influence in bringing about the declaration of war on our part, and it was natural that disaster to Napoleon should be reflected unpleasantly upon us. In the month of April following the blockade was extended to the New England coast so that the whole eastern coast of the United States was now declared to be under blockade, and British war vessels were already in Massachusetts Bay. Just at this time also arrived the news of further disaster to Napoleon and of his exile. The British authorities, who had, not long previously, manifested a desire to negotiate for peace, seemed now indifferent, if not indisposed, to enter upon such negotiations, and clouds and darkness were gathering around the country.

Such was the state of affairs when, by the earnest solicitation of General Brown—who sent General Scott to Washington to enforce his views—another advance into Canada was decided upon. This was to be undertaken by two brigades of regular troops, five companies of artillery, two of dragoons and General Peter B. Porter's brigade of volunteers, numbering in all three thousand five hundred men. They crossed from Buffalo on the night of July 2d, and the British garrison at Fort Erie, one hundred and forty strong, at once surrendered. The day following, the battle of Chippewa was fought, and it proved so unfortunate for the enemy that he retreated to Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara River, losing in the operations about five hundred men, while Brown's loss was about three hundred. General Brown advanced to Queenston, but could not proceed to the attack of Fort George, for lack of a siege train. After vainly seeking aid from General Gaines at Sackett's Harbor, and from Commodore Chauncey on Lake Ontario—the latter having only guns enough to serve his fleet, with which he professed to be willing to co-operate with the land forces—General Brown retired behind the Chippewa on the 24th of July, notwithstanding his promise to conquer all Upper Canada in two months, provided he could have such co-operation. The next day he received the unwelcome intelligence that General Drummond, with large rein-
forcements, had arrived at Fort George, and that he was about to send a force across the river at Queenston, and then move up the river to capture his stores at Schlopee. To divert the enemy from this enterprise, General Brown ordered an advance to Queenston. This advance, led by General Scott, encountered the enemy soon after noon at Bridgewater or Lundy's Lane, as the location is generally called. The enemy was strongly posted on a hill sloping towards the Falls of Niagara and the river below. The narrow road or lane that gave the name to the battlefield crossed this hill a little to the north of its summit, along which the British batteries were erected. The country west and south was mostly covered with woods which concealed the British forces under General Riall, who had followed General Brown as he retreated, and, as was afterward ascertained, had intended to attack the Americans at Chippewa the next day.

General Scott sent a courier back to General Brown for reinforcements, and then boldly attacked the enemy with his single brigade. Major Jessup was detached with one regiment to demonstrate against, and, if possible, turn the enemy's left. Coming in contact with a detachment of Canadian militia, his veterans soon routed them, capturing many prisoners who were despatched toward the camp, but the guard being necessarily small, most of them escaped. Among the prisoners secured was General Riall, who had been wounded, and was retiring from the front; also, an aid of General Drummond, from whom Major Jessup learned that his chief was hastening from York to reinforce General Riall. The attack in front had been maintained with unaltering bravery, although the column suffered much from the fire of the enemy's artillery, until General Ripley arrived with reinforcements, and orders to relieve Scott's blood-and-dust-covered veterans, and push the attack on the enemy's fortified line. A battery near the British left proved very destructive to our men. General Ripley, irritated at the loss of so many brave fellows, rather impatiently asked Colonel Miller if he could not take that battery, and received the modest reply, since become familiar as a household word, "I'll try, sir." Bringing the battalion to which his regiment had been reduced to arms at trail, and ordering that no man should fire a gun, he quietly led them circuitously up the hill until he reached the left flank of the battery, then rushed upon the artillerists and drove them from their guns at the point of the bayonet. It was now dark, and General Brown, wounded soon afterward, gathered all the remnants of his force for the final charge on the centre and the left, General Porter at the same time
THE SORTIE FROM FORT ERIE

pushing the attack through the woods on the right. The batteries were all captured and the enemy driven from the field.

But meantime, General Drummond's reinforcements, of which the captured aid had given information, had arrived, and the retreating infantry were rallied with them for an effort to recover their lost guns and the field. They met a line of lead and a belt of flame, before which they soon recoiled. Again they rallied and advanced to meet the same destructive fire, and were again repulsed. But the newly arrived troops were not yet disheartened, nor were their officers yet ready to submit to defeat. Fortified by strength of nerve and resolution, the grim inspiration of English obstinacy and Scotch tenacity, they rallied and advanced for another attack. It was made with desperate energy with both bullets and bayonets, the latter being often crossed under the ghastly sheets of flame that fitfully illuminated the thick darkness that enveloped them. But neither obstinate courage nor tenacious endurance availed them. The fierceness of the struggle made it short, and when it ceased, our war-grimed soldiers, after twelve hours of incessant and desperate fighting, found themselves masters of the field. It was midnight when the din of the battle ceased. The hour was made still more impressive by the deep diapason of the great cataract, which sounded a ghostly dirge for the dead and a solemn chorus to the groans of the wounded and-dying.

Having no horses, and the men being weary with their long and hot fight, General Ripley, who was left in charge of the field, could not carry off the captured guns when he withdrew the troops to their camp for rest and refreshments, and the enemy, who was better supplied with animals, removed them before morning. But the loss of the trophies does not dim the glory of the fight. The great armies mustered during the late rebellion, and the serial battles which they fought, requiring two or three days to decide them, have quite dwarfed those of our previous history. But taking into consideration the military means and munitions of the time, the numbers engaged, the pluck and bravery displayed, and the long roll of killed and wounded, the battle of Lundy's Lane must take high rank in military history.

General Brown, wounded, went to Buffalo; General Ripley, short of transportation, fell back to his supplies at Waterloo, and sent his wounded to the same city. General Brown then ordered all the forces into Fort Erie; and, being dissatisfied with General Ripley's conduct subsequent to the action at Lundy's Lane, and General Scott being disabled by his wound, he sent for General Gaines to come and take temporary command of his army.
General Drummond, having been strongly reinforced, advanced against Fort Erie. A small force sent across the river to attack Black Rock was repulsed with loss. This was counterbalanced by the loss on our part of two small vessels, that had made part of Commodore Perry's squadron, which were cut out from under our guns. Having completed his preparations, General Drummond divided his forces into three columns, and at midnight on the 15th of August made an assault, intending to carry the works by storm. On the left he was easily repulsed. A more obstinate demonstration on the right also proved unsuccessful. A still more obstinate and persevering attack on the centre resulted in the capture of one of the bastions. It was held with great persistency, until an accidental explosion of a quantity of ammunition among the men caused a precipitate retreat, as they supposed the work was mined. General Drummond's loss in this affair was 962 men, that of the Americans, 84.

While these events were transpiring on the Niagara frontier, a more gloomy record was being made for our coast line, from the Chesapeake to the Penobscot Bay. The dreary, disastrous and disgraceful operations connected with the siege and burning of Washington; the surrender of Alexandria with its rich spoil; the shameful defeat at Bladensburg; the capture of Castine and Machias in Maine and the burning of the Adams sloop-of-war; the destruction of the fisheries; the annihilation of our commerce, and the extinguishment of the lights in our lighthouses because they were only serviceable to our enemy—upon the details of this dismal record it is not proposed to enter. It is only referred to in order to recall the general feeling of gloom and discouragement which pervaded the public mind, relieved and reassured only for a time by the successful defence of Baltimore, and Commodore McDonough's splendid naval victory on Lake Champlain.

This general review of operations brings the narrative to the sortie from Fort Erie. The British army had been largely reinforced from Europe. The command of lakes Erie and Ontario had been lost. General Izard, with the best portion of the Army of the North, had succeeded in getting away from Plattsburgh, where he might have been of some service, and into Sackett's Harbor, whence he moved to the mouth of the Genesee river, just in time to be too late to render any service to General Brown at Fort Erie. This post was besieged by a superior and constantly increasing force under General Drummond. There seemed to be no alternative but to abandon it, and take the risk of crossing the lake to Buffalo—for which there was no adequate transportation—or to try the effect of a sortie.
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Fort Erie was a regularly constructed stone and earth work, with two large bastions facing nearly east and west, flanked by two half bastions on the north and south, and provided with the necessary bomb-proofs and magazines. About 900 yards to the southwest was a bastion-faced defence, called Towson's battery, connected with the main work by a strong angular or two-faced curtain. The whole system of works was well protected by an ample ditch and strong abattis of timber, extending to the water on each flank. Within the inclosure which bordered on the lake shore were ample and pleasant accommodations for the occupying force. For about two hundred yards in front of the work the timber had been cut away. Beyond was thick forest. The encampment of the British was between two and three miles to the west and northwest. Protected by the timber, they erected a strong block-house and battery about 500 yards in front of the central portion of our defences. About 300 yards easterly from this was battery number two, and 500 yards in the same direction on the lake shore was battery number three. They were all protected in front by continuous breastworks, to be occupied by infantry, and these breastworks, in turn, were protected by a strong abattis of timber and brush. The guns in battery number three enfiladed our works from right to left, and proved very annoying and destructive. To raise the siege or abandon the work had become a necessity.

Before battery number three was completed, one bright morning early in September, as General Porter, Lieut.-Colonel Wood and Major McRea of the engineers were walking from Towson's battery towards the fort, and discussing the progress of the enemy's offensive operations, Lieut.-Colonel Wood, half-jestingly, suggested that it might be expedient to attempt a sortie. But no serious proposal of such an enterprise was made until some days later, when General Porter invited his two friends to his quarters to examine a plan for it which he had prepared. This plan was discussed and fully matured in several confidential meetings of the three officers. It was then submitted to General Brown, who was still in Buffalo, whither he had retired, as has been stated, after being wounded at the battle of Lundy's Lane. He neither encouraged nor discouraged it at the outset, but on examination of it as thoroughly as possible in his absence from the ground, he rather objected to the project. General Porter, however, continued to urge it, and his views were warmly seconded by the two able engineers, to whom he had fully explained his plan. The whole army, General Brown included, reposed the greatest confidence in these two officers,
particularly in Lieut.-Colonel Wood. General Brown finally required General Porter, whom he considered responsible for the plan, to give him a written statement of its details over his own signature. After receiving this document General Brown consented that the enterprise should be undertaken, and directed General Porter to lead it. Although General Porter was well aware that the written document he had given General Brown could, whether so intended or not, be used to discredit or disgrace him in case of failure, he nevertheless cheerfully assumed the responsibility of the movement.

The plan of operations contemplated an attack by three columns, the first and main column on the enemy’s right, the second on his centre and the third to penetrate the line between the second and third battery, and then act according to circumstances. The whole number of men required, about 2,100, was to be raised by volunteering, with details from the regulars and militia if necessary. All of General Porter’s brigade volunteered and many from the other corps of the army. As soon as the guns of the first column gave notice that they were fairly at work, the third column was to advance against the enemy’s left. The centre column was to be held rather in reserve and sent in as emergencies might require.

While in the 12th Congress, General Porter, in a speech on the war resolutions, which he reported as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, had declared himself “ready to share, not only in the pleasures, if there should be any, but also in the dangers, of the war feast.” He was proposed to vindicate this declaration by leading the attacking column which was to advance from Towson’s Battery on the enemy’s right. The centre column of 500 infantry under General Ripley was concealed by some new bastions covering the westerly front of the fort. The third column, consisting also of 500 men under General Miller, was concealed in a ravine formed by a small water course, which entered the lake about 300 yards north of the fort. The attacking column of 1,100 men was organized in three subdivisions, “the advance of 200 riflemen and a few Indians commanded by Colonel Gibson; the right by Lieutenant Colonel Wood, headed by 400 infantry under Major Brook, and followed by 500 volunteers and militia, and the left composed of 500 militia under Brigadier General Davis.”

The hour of noon, Sept. 17th, was selected as the time for commencing operations. The previous day Majors Frazer and Riddle, of General Porter’s staff, were sent out with a few axemen to mark out through the woods the route to be followed by the advance. The
morning of the 17th was cloudy, with light rains, which increased into hard showers before nightfall, causing some delay, so that the advance was not commenced until nearly 3 o'clock. Piloted by Majors Frazer and Riddle, the riflemen and Indians soon came upon the right-rear of the enemy's position, completely surprised them, carried a strong blockhouse and captured its defenders. Col. Wood's force coming up, the battery was carried, the guns spiked, the stores in the magazine secured and the magazine itself blown up. By this time General Miller had reached and attacked the third battery, situated on the enemy's left, and General Ripley, as pre-arranged, marching to the sound of the enemy's artillery, had joined the main column in carrying the centre battery.

While moving from this point through the woods, to co-operate with Colonel Miller, accompanied only by an orderly and a single soldier, General Porter suddenly came upon a company of the enemy about 60 strong, drawn up in line, but standing at rest, apparently waiting orders. Seeing the necessity of prompt and decided action, General Porter, followed by his soldier with his musket brought to an aim, advanced boldly towards them, remarking "That's right, my good fellows, surrender and we will take good care of you." Arriving at the first man the General threw his musket forward with his sword, and ordered him to advance toward our lines. In this way he proceeded, most of the men voluntarily throwing down their arms and advancing to the front, until he reached the last man, standing next to the sergeant. This man, not seeing any American force, suddenly stepped back, brought his bayonet to a charge and demanded General Porter's surrender. As the General seized the musket to turn it aside the sergeant and three or four of the unarmed soldiers joined their comrade in the attempt to make him prisoner. In the mêlée he was brought to the ground and received a sword wound in the hand. But soon recovering his feet, and seeing some of his own men approaching, he informed those who were vociferously demanding his surrender that they were surrounded and prisoners, and if they offered further resistance he would have them all put to the sword. The opportune arrival of Lieutenant Chatfield with the Cayuga rifles relieved the General from his dangerous position and secured all his prisoners. In his subsequent report to General Brown General Porter commends the good conduct of Lieutenant Chatfield, "by whose intrepidity," he says, "I was extricated from the most unpleasant situation."

From the same report we learn that "the gallant leaders of the three divisions all fell at nearly the same time, Colonel Gibson at the second
storm the batteries, destroy the cannon and roughly handle the brigade upon duty before those in reserve (at the camp) could be brought into action.’ His preparations were made with great secrecy. He knew the hazards of the enterprise, and desired the full co-operation of his officers. He sounded their opinions as well as he might without fully disclosing his designs. They were not in consonance with his own; and he made his preparations in a manner to conceal his intentions from the army until it should be in readiness, for he determined to attempt the bold design as soon as Porter should join him with his militia reinforcements. These came, two thousand strong, and on the morning of the 17th the commanding general explained his plans to General Ripley (his second in command), his adjutant general and engineers. All evinced a desire for hearty co-operation excepting General Ripley, who considered the enterprise a hopeless one, and desired to have nothing to do with it.”

The reason here given for delay is remarkable, since General Porter and his volunteers had been with the army of the Niagara from the commencement of its operations, were in Fort Erie when it was attacked by the British on the 14th of August, and had been there continuously since that attack.

It is unnecessary to refer to the few remaining military operations of the war. Under other leaders, in less than seven weeks the prestige of the Army of the Niagara was lost. Its new commander, General Izard, after a somewhat pompous demonstration against the enemy near the Chippewa, retreated across the river after having blown up Fort Erie. The slow dilapidation of time has been added to the remorseless vigor of gun powder, and its dismantled, ruined walls stand to-day as one of the melancholy monuments of a war which exhibited and illustrated both the heroic and ignoble traits of individual character; the noble aspirations and impulses, and the base passions of a people; the glory and shame of a nation. Though it failed to accomplish the objects for which it was undertaken, it nevertheless resulted in great and enduring good. It broke the fetters of the odious policy of “commercial restrictions” and made us the distinct asserters of rights instead of the humble mendicants of privilege. It also broke the still more odious fetters of a puerile and pusillanimous “gun-boat” policy, which drove the officers of our navy into safe harbors or friendly estuaries and converted them into timid watchers of threatening adversaries or fugitives from their pursuits. It gave us a status as a naval power among nations, and the nucleus of a navy which has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength until we acknowledge no master upon the sea. That war also demonstrated and emphasized one great historical fact which is here referred to, simply for the sublime lesson it teaches—a fact which has been again demonstrated and emphasized in our history, namely: that in the supreme crises in the affairs of a great people, whosoever places himself, under whatsoever protestations of loyalty or integrity of
purpose, in opposition to the loyal sentiment, the patriotic inspiration of his countrymen must inevitably be overborne and reap for himself only disappointment and dishonor.

The labor of love which the writer has assumed is finished. It was undertaken for the purpose of rectifying the record of an event of national interest. He is indebted for his preliminary facts to the authentic histories of the time, and for those more directly relating to the particular achievement he desired to elucidate, to the distinguished soldier with whom it originated, and others who were associated with him in its successful execution.

GEORGE W. HOLLEY

PLAN OF FORT ERIE

[From Map drawn by Gen. Joseph G. Totten, U. S. Engineers]
mon with every writer on the subject, possessed no knowledge of the facts which I subsequently presented, and he adopted the view which had been universally accepted. In introducing my paper, with his accustomed fairness and liberality, he says: "It makes statements and advances theories, well supported by facts and probabilities, which indicate that hitherto historians have been in error in their accounts of the most important movements of the American fleet, namely, the method of their escape from the Valcour Strait unperceived by the British."
The version I published in the Record was essentially in this language: "The general council of the officers decided, that a retreat however doubtful and precarious, should be attempted. For the accomplishment of this purpose Arnold devised a manoeuvre as novel and sagacious in its conception as its execution was bold and temporarily successful. He proposed to steal away from a watchful enemy, almost within hailing distance, to pass around the northern point of Valcour, and by the advance he might obtain before the morning light revealed his movement he hoped to escape pursuit and secure a refuge at Crown Point. "In accordance with this decision, at an early hour in the night, Colonel Wigglesworth, in the galley Trumbull, weighed anchor and led the van, followed in succession, in a single line, by the other vessels, the space between them being maintained as large as practicable, and each bearing a single light in the stern to guide the course of the one that followed. Arnold in the Congress, mutilated and shattered in the conflict, closed the marvellous procession. Thus stealthily and silently they proceeded on their perilous way. The intense darkness of the night was deepened by a storm of sleet and rain." My authority for this account of the escape of Arnold was Elkanah Watson. He was at the period of this campaign, in the usage of the day, an apprenticed clerk to John Brown, of Providence, R. I., then one of the most prominent merchants and largest ship owners in the colonies. This position brought Mr. Watson into association with the seamen and officers of the commercial marine of that section, from whence it is believed the republican fleet on Champlain was largely recruited. He was intimately acquainted with officers who were engaged in the battle of Valcour, and I distinctly understood that he had derived from them the knowledge of the incident I have described. In addition to this source of information on the subject, in after years Mr. Watson was personally associated with General Schuyler, Governor Clinton, and other prominent actors in the northern campaign, who were familiar with all its events, and it is my strong impression, that I heard them referred to as giving a similar account of Arnold's escape.
My father felt deeply on this subject and never spoke of it without
strong emotion and admiration. I often listened to his conversation with those, whose years enabled them to recur to scenes of the revolution, and among other reminiscences I recall their discussion of the circumstances of Arnold's escape as I have narrated them, which were spoken of as well-established facts, and I never heard them contradicted or even questioned.

The most fertile imagination could scarcely have conceived of incidents so weird and picturesque. They were wilder and stranger than the imaginings of fiction. The tale unfolds a picture of thrilling interest; the torn and disabled vessels, stealthily pressing on their solitary way, enveloped in utter darkness, save the little lantern that glimmered in the stern of each, amid the gloom of the night, the roaring of the wind and the surging of the waves. General history recites the partial success of the daring movement and the final close of the drama in flames and blood.

I have assumed the following hypothesis of the action of the British leaders, when the retreat of Arnold was discovered. They knew the reckless audacity of Arnold, and might well have conjectured that he had precipitated an assault on their unprotected base. The British fleet was probably divided in accordance with this suspicion—one portion proceeding directly to the south, while another division followed the path of Arnold, around the island, intending to pursue wherever it should lead. Such a pursuit would have been soon arrested by the guns thundering in the south. This supposition is indirectly corroborated by a tradition which still prevails among the mariners of the lake. A solitary, naked rock projects from the waters in a situation east of Valcour and near the Vermont shore. It is far to the north and out of the track of vessels running from Valcour toward the upper part of the lake, but would have been nearly in the course of the British fleet had it passed to the north of Valcour Island, as I have conjectured. The rock is still known as Carlton's Prize. The story which has been told for more than a century is, that the rock was discerned by the British, enveloped in the mist of an early autumnal morning, was mistaken for an American vessel and a heavy cannonade opened against it. Hence the sneering name. This is the train of evidence upon which I have founded my theory of this remarkable episode in our revolutionary annals. If the facts I have adduced authorize the convictions I have formed, they pre-eminently demand historic preservation, although they may impress a brilliant gem on the darkened and polluted escutcheon of Arnold.

W. C. WATSON
WILLIAM SMITH—THE HISTORIAN

CHIEF JUSTICE OF NEW YORK AND OF CANADA

William Smith, "the historian," Chief Justice of New York and of Canada, was born in the city of New York, 18th June, 1728, and died at Quebec, Canada, 3d December, 1793. Inheriting his father's character and studious disposition, he made the best use of his time both at school in New York and at Yale College. The study of Hebrew, in which language he had already made some progress under the instruction of his father, was pursued at college, and there too he studied medicine, a science for which many of his family exhibited a natural taste and talent. He was graduated in 1745, and immediately entered his father's office, studying law, together with William Livingston, the future war governor of New Jersey, and was admitted to the bar 22d October, 1750. Forming a partnership with Livingston, the young lawyers almost immediately enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. Trusted, respected, admired for their talents, clients sought them not only from their own, but from the adjoining provinces. The son of Mr. Smith, writing of his father's career as a lawyer, says: "If he saw a cause was unjust, he would state that it was so, and if the litigant parties persisted in their respective views, he would desire them to seek another counsellor; if he found a cause doubtful, he always advised his client to compromise. When differences were referred to him, which he settled, he would receive no reward, though offered it by both parties, considering himself in these cases as a judge, observing that a judge ought to take no money."

Smith's religious belief and political faith were those of his family. His convictions were decided; his character straightforward and sincere; his temper singularly calm and under control; his eloquence, his power of application, his learning were undoubted. His address was kind and winning, one best calculated to make and retain through life devoted friends. Brought up in the midst of political excitement, the leaders of the great National party being allied with his father and generally intimate at his house, such a man, so situated, inevitably became himself a leader. There is scarce a chapter in the local history of the period in which his name does not appear. His life, as well as that of his father, is yet to be written; material is abundant. There is
probably not one of his contemporaries engaged in civil pursuits whose biography would be more instructive. In a brief memoir it is difficult to select what to touch upon, what to leave unsaid. His literary labors, his interest in the Church, in the boundary disputes, his legal successes and opinions, cannot in these short notes be even alluded to.

In February, 1767, Governor Moore writes to England, that William Smith is at the head of his profession of the law, and requests that he may be appointed to a seat in his Majesty’s Council in the room of his father, the Judge, who, with advancing years desired to retire. The proposal was immediately complied with, Mr. Smith receiving the appointment the same year. Sincerely attached to the country of his birth, Mr. Smith was none the less devoted to his sovereign. The dissensions between Great Britain and the Colonies gave him intense sorrow, especially as he was fully conscious of the injustice with which his fellow countrymen were treated. On intimate terms with the leaders of both factions, it became the business of his life to endeavor to soothe the violence of party feeling and to reconcile their differences. Naturally he won the ill will of some few of the extremists among the citizen tories, who with narrow minds would acknowledge no right except on their own side, and naturally too, as time advanced and neutrality was no longer possible, some of the whigs, disappointed in securing his great talents exclusively for their cause, abused him as a trimmer, a term applied to many a conscientious statesman, both before and since. An instance of this kind of abuse appeared in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of 17th September, 1780; it is given in the notes to this article.* So long as there was any hope Mr. Smith strove to bring about an adjustment. Even as late as the close of 1775, through his brother Thomas, a member of the Provincial Assembly, he endeavored to “open a plan towards reconciliation, under the form of instructions to the delegates for this Province (New York) at Philadelphia.” He had at an early period prepared and urged a proposition for the union of all the colonies under one administration, firmly bound to the mother country, containing guaranteed concessions, which it was hoped would terminate the chief causes of irritation. The plan was approved by the British Ministry, but was not brought before Parliament.

Nothing is found to justify the assertion in Sabine’s Loyalists that Mr. Smith was undecided which side to choose. His large estate, his nearest relatives, his many and devoted friends were in America; his allegiance he believed to be irrevocably pledged to England. He does not appear, even in the midst of his family distresses, to have waivered
for a moment. All of his sympathies may have been with the individual rebel, none were with the rebellion that severed the new from the old England. The important principles for which the Americans took up arms he knew to be right and just; he had himself advocated and advanced them; the mode in which redress was sought was quite another affair. He could agree with his friend, Joseph Hallett, by whom he was probably enlisted in an effort to revive in the city the Presbyterian form of worship during the British occupation, that to maintain their rights some for the good of all must expose themselves to loss of property, to imprisonment, to banishment; but he could go no farther, and events moved rapidly. He denied the right of rebellion, and questioned the advantage to the colonists of independence. The infamous pretensions of the high tories were presently crushed as Parliament conceded the vital points in dispute, and through their peace commissioners, of whom Smith was one, exhorted the nation to return to their allegiance. Meanwhile, however, independence had been declared, moderate counsels prevailed too late to be of service; but the counsellors were held in grateful remembrance. Smith had, in season and out of season, well maintained the cause of British constitutional freedom, but had held back from the rebellion. A powerful minority in England, which in time included the whole nation, justified the revolutionists as the exponents of the true English policy. In the colonies the principles of the constitutional liberties of England were being successfully defended. A century has passed. Tories on the American question must now be sought for, not in England, but in the United States, men who sigh for the halcyon days of British rule and military law, when the young men served in the loyal Provincials, when the maids were courted by the gallant redcoats. Twice since the revolution has the tory party reappeared; in the war of 1812–14 and in the late rebellion. They had opposed the formation of the government; they and their children were too often not ashamed to seek its disgrace and destruction.

Soon after the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton the bitter feelings aroused at the commencement of the revolutionary war began to subside, and the contest was conducted, at the north at least, with few of the atrocities generally attendant upon civil strife. The British officers and soldiers rarely exhibited any personal ill will towards the patriots; friendly communications were constant; acts of kindness from foe to foe known to all. It was reserved for the traitor Arnold and his tory native associates, largely assembled in New York, to indulge in hatred, and the longing for the wholesale massacre of their countrymen; to reproach the military that
no terrible slaughter and devastation were committed as an example and warning. The tories affected to despise the patriots; their insulting language, which found no favor among the more intelligent of the British, justly offended the Americans. It is fortunate, lest the virulence of the class should be forgotten, that one of their number deemed his opinions of sufficient value to be preserved in writing, and that the New York Historical Society has consented to stand as sponsor for the publication of the volumes, thus giving the work sufficient notoriety.

The manuscript of Judge Thomas Jones, after the lapse of almost a century, is with much parade presented to the public as a "History of New York during the Revolutionary War." It deals with persons and incidents, not as they were, but as the author with perverted mind chose to think they were or would have liked them to have been. Fraud, crimes, perjury, cowardice, murder, meannesses of every sort are attributed to those whom tradition, history, and the common consent of the world, have placed among the blameless heroes and founders of a mighty nation. Their leader, Washington, of course does not escape being pointed at as a knave. We may smile at the Tory abuse of American statesmen, soldiers and gentlemen; their lives are known, their reputation established; they need no defence. Ladies, the wives and mothers of distinguished men, are not forgotten in the indiscriminate abuse; they may not easily be protected from posthumous slander, their lives belong to the home circle and fireside; even to assert that they were free from guilt is more than objectionable. We may well imagine that on this one point alone the Honorable Mr. Jones has attained his object, and has wounded the feelings of the descendants of those whom he hated. The History was written for anonymous publication. The author, bred an attorney, and a Judge of the Supreme Court, pretends an ignorance of the law, and in volume II., page 105, actually says, "I am no lawyer." The better to conceal his identity, the misfortunes of Thomas Jones, a zealous loyalist, are made much of. Jones, a man of wealth, was the most prominent member of a Long Island family, some of whom were members of the Church of England, some Quakers. Owing to his extreme party views, he was, after imprisonment, banished the country, and his estates confiscated. His "veracious" history was written in England, while in exile. Its publication under his own name would beyond question have forfeited not only his hopes for a pardon, but his social position; this was not to be thought of. Through his agent in New York Mr. Jones applied, 12th February, 1790, to the Legislature of the State
for permission to return to the country. His name was accordingly inserted in a bill passed 30th March, 1790, permitting the said Jones, with others, "to return and remain within this State unmolested, any law to the contrary notwithstanding." The editor of Jones' manuscript appears to have overlooked the pardon, and states that "had it been possible he (Jones) would have come back to his loved home across the sea, and spent his last days beneath the bright skies and in the pure air of his own Long Island." Jones received his pardon, but did not come back; he was better employed preparing a posthumous revenge upon his enemies. Before the revolution Judge Jones had failed to obtain a re-election by the people of his own Long Island to the Assembly. During the war he was, as he informs us, persecuted and cruelly used by his countrymen, slighted by the English in America and neglected abroad. Small return was made him for confiscated property, no public office was conferred upon him. Other Americans, prominent citizens of New York and adherents to the Crown, were, he thinks, equally guilty as himself, and yet enjoyed their property undisturbed. The Smiths, Livingstons and many others, with whom he had enjoyed official intercourse, were honored and possessed wealth and happiness—he unknown, in ill health, childless, poor and in exile. It was more than the Judge could bear; hinc iliac lachrymæ.

This long digression may be pardoned, as Judge Jones devotes many of his pages to the Smiths, whom, if possible, he hates with a more malignant hatred than he does the Livingstons. With these two families his volumes open, and as he warms to his work he concentrates his abusive epithets on Chief Justice Smith; not only was Justice Smith the chief of his name, but his wife was a Livingston. The climax is reached with the assertion that this "artful, cunning, designing, hypocritical Presbyterian rebel," by whom Sir Henry "Clinton was absolutely governed," caused by his advice the loss of America to the British Crown.

As the political horizon grew darker, and recourse was had to arms, Mr. Smith felt that farther intervention on his part was unavailing. Early in the spring of 1776 (29th March), as was his yearly custom, he left town for his country seat at Haverstraw, and did not revisit the city during the summer. Under date of 24th September, 1776, Governor Tryon wrote to Lord Germain that Smith had not been seen or heard from in five months. The Governor himself had withdrawn, not, however, with Smith's approval, on board the man-of-war Duchess of Gordon, leaving the members of the Council to retire where they
pleased. Malice, aroused by jealousy, pursued Mr. Smith in his retirement. Of the many slanders, the following is selected as a specimen, because Mr. Smith deemed it of sufficient importance to authorize a denial or reply:


LONDON, June 10—The following letter is said to have been sent to Gen. Howe, in America, from a member of the Council at New York:

NEW YORK, May 11, 1776.

Sir. As I have not a doubt of my last letters to Administration convincing them that this city and province is the only spot in America for carrying on the war with effect against the rebels, and that in consequence the forces expected this spring, as well as those now under your command, will be ordered hither, it may be necessary and advisable to send the army thro' the sound, between Connecticut and Long Island; of the latter it will be proper to give a description.—It is 150 miles long, is very fertile, abounding in wheat, and every other kind of corn, innumerable black cattle, sheep, hogs, &c.; is very populous, and Suffolk county in particular, as well as the other parts of it, all good and loyal subjects, of which they have lately given proof, and only wait to be assisted by the king's troops. The Island has a plain on it, at least 20 miles long, which has a fertile country about it, is 20 miles from the city of New-York; Connecticut opposite to it; New Jersey about 30 miles distant; Philadelphia 110; Maryland 130; Rhode Island 150: so that in this fertile island the army can subsist without any succour from Britain or Ireland, and in 5 or 6 days invade and reduce any of the above colonies at pleasure. Add to these great advantages, that the possession of the Narrows, and Nutton Island, would be the destruction of this city, but of this I think there would be no need, for all the principal inhabitants are at heart with the crown, particularly all my brethren the members of the assembly, but as the mob now commands, prudence forbids them to declare without a military force. You have many with you who are acquainted with the navigation of the sound. The spot which I advise you to land at is Cowhay.

W. SMITH.

From the Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer, October 4, 1776, No. 673, page 3.

DOBB'S-FERRY, Sept. 19, 1776.

Mr. Green. As I understand you have republished a letter in your paper, which was reprinted from a London paper, and said to be written by the Hon. William Smith, Esq., I beg leave to inform you that it is a forgery; and I doubt not was written by some of the Refugees in England, with a view to render Mr. Smith's situation as disagreeable as their own was. The letter will not prejudice Mr. Smith in the opinion of those who knew him, but the natural and just jealousy of the times may lead those who are unacquainted with him to form an unjust idea of him. I doubt not, therefore, that, in justice to injured innocence, you will publish the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Smith, respecting the letter above mentioned, and insert a paragraph requesting the printers, who have already published, or may yet publish the forgery, to print this too—It is dated the fourth inst.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

EBEN HAZARD.

Extract of a letter from the Hon. William Smith, Esq.

"The artlessness of the author of the letter in the Baltimore Journal of the 28th of August is very apparent. Indeed, as the forgery was contrived in England, he could not know of my removal from New York on the 29th of March—You will observe that the printed letter is dated there the 11th of May, and that the writer supposes himself a Member of the Assembly. I have not been in town since March, and never was in the Assembly. These mistakes in personating me render
the fraud manifest. There are other marks of it—No man who knows me will imagine that, after my asserting in the history of New-York (page 205) that Long Island was one hundred and twenty miles long, and Hempstead plain but sixteen, will suppose me the informer that the island is one hundred and thirty miles in length, and the plain twenty-four; and that I am so ignorant of America as to place New-Jersey at fifty miles from Long-Island, and Rhode Island at one hundred and fifty, and Maryland but thirty from Philadelphia; or that I should believe the people of Suffolk, and especially the Members elected but last spring, to be well affected to the measures now under the direction of Gen. Howe.

I am not fond of oaths to remove groundless suspicions, or I should enclose you an affidavit that I never wrote a letter to Mr. Howe upon any subject whatsoever, nor to any man living in the smallest degree similar to the letter in the Maryland Journal. Such an affidavit I will publish, if it is necessary, for the satisfaction of my countrymen; after which, as Mr. Howe is upon the spot, no man can believe the calumny, who does not think me both a fool and a knave."

Information having been lodged against Mr. Smith, his name was entered among the first upon the list of suspected persons, prepared 15th June, 1776, by the committee, to detect conspiracies. The members of the committee present were Philip Livingston, Joseph Hallett, John Jay, Thomas Tredwell, Gouverneur Morris, Lewis Graham and Leonard Gansevoort. Most, if not all, of these gentlemen, were personal friends of Mr. Smith; with Livingston, Hallett and Morris, he was intimate. On the 27th June, the committee, of whom there were then present Leonard Gansevoort, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Randell, Mr. Morris, Colonel Graham, Mr. Tredwell, "Ordered that a summons be issued to the Hon. William Smith, as a person of equivocal character, returnable on Saturday, 6th July next, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day." What then followed is not known, the journals of the committee to detect conspiracies not being found among the public archives. Smith, however, addressed the committee in writing under date of 4th July, with an expression of his political opinions, and doubtless appeared in person, as directed to do, on the 6th. Smith's letter, or a copy of it, is believed to be in existence, but where, or by whom possessed, has not been ascertained. Whatever may have been the decision of the committee, Mr. Smith was allowed ample leisure to remove with his family and furniture from his seat at Haverstraw to the Livingston Manor, where, doubtless in accordance with the orders received, he took up his residence. Here (Mag. Am. His., July, 1880, p. 21), he is found writing to Schuyler in December, 1777, for books: "Anything, French or English, provided it be neither law or mathematics, nor anything in favor of a Republican form of government."

On the 7th March, 1777, the Provincial Congress ordered that all disaffected persons, etc., should either take an oath of allegiance or retire within the British lines. Smith, not having taken the oath, was sum-
moned before the convention. The generous treatment he received as having been misrepresented or misunderstood is best told in the language of the minutes of the Convention.

June 7th, 1777. "Present, Colonel Van Cortlandt, Mr. Hobart, Mr. Harper, Major Tappen, Mr. Cuyler, Colonel de Witt, Mr. Cantine, Mr. Gilbert Livingston, Major Van Zandt, Mr. Jay, Mr. Yates, Mr. R. R. Livingston, General Scott.

The council being informed that William Smith and Paterson, Esquires, are attending in town, pursuant to the order of the 3d instant. Ordered, that the Secretary wait on Mr. Smith and request his attendance in Council. Mr. Smith attending, was by order asked the following questions from the chair, to wit. Whether he considers himself a subject of the independent State of New York. He desires that what follows may be accepted as his answer.

That he does not consider himself discharged from his oaths of fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain. He refers to his letter of the 4th July last, in answer to a summons of a committee of the Honorable Congress for an elucidation of his political sentiments. He has strictly conformed to his parole in that letter, nor will infringe it. He then conceived a separation from Great Britain could not be contended for with safety, to the rights, liberties, and privileges of this country; and from a deep concern for the colonies, he prays God that peace may be restored by a happy, safe, and generous reconciliation."

The Assembly adjourned to meet in the afternoon, and thereupon

"Resolved, that the said William Smith and John Patterson be confined within the manor of Livingston on their parole of honor, to abide there until the further order of this council, or the future executive power of this State; and in the mean time neither directly nor indirectly, by words or deeds, to oppose or contravene the measures of the United States of America, or either of them, for supporting their independence in opposition to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, or for supporting the present Constitution or government of this State.

Ordered, that the President take their paroles, which were accordingly taken, by them respectively subscribed, as follows, to wit:

"State of New York, ss.:

I, William Smith, Esquire, do hereby pledge my parole of honor, to abide within the manor of Livingston until the further order of the Council of Safety, or the future executive power of this State; and in the meantime that I will neither directly nor indirectly, by word or deed, oppose or contravene, the measures of the United States of America, or either of them, for supporting their independence in opposition to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, or for supporting the present Constitution or Government of the said State.

WM. SMITH."

It was not enough to exempt the prisoners from the operation of the general law, which decreed that the disaffected should retire to New York; on the 9th the order was so far extended "as to permit Smith and Patterson to go into and pass through the east camp and to attend divine service at Red Hook in the Rhinebeck precinct." (Jour. Prov. Con., Vol. I, p. 961).

Smith in no wise attempted to conceal that he did not favor the rebellion; it is probable, however, that some may have thought, inasmuch as he admitted that the Americans had many just causes of griev-
ance, he might be brought to admit the right of rebellion, and be induced to join the patriots. This was not the opinion of the proprietors of the manor in which he was confined, or of any who knew him intimately; in their estimation an important point was gained in holding Smith aloof from the British, and thus depriving them of the value of his counsel and popularity.

As the year drew towards its close, many causes, domestic and financial, rendered it important for Mr. Smith to return to New York: doubtless also the life of inaction wearied him, and the time appeared to have approached when his services as mediator might prove acceptable to both parties. An admirable letter to the Provincial Congress, requesting that he might be relieved from confinement, is entered in full on the journal of that body, and is as follows:

MANOR OF LIVINGSTON, 9th November, 1777.

Gentlemen:—I have hitherto borne up against the misfortune of being a prisoner in my native country, from a consciousness that I have ever sought her welfare, and a persuasion that the measure owed its origin not to any suspicion of my enmity to her interests, but to views of general expediency. Being an enemy to no man I have a pleasure in believing no man to be mine. But whatsoever was the motive of it, my imprisonment is painful. It traverses my private interest, and does violence to my humanity, and tenderest offices of affection. I wrote, therefore, lately to Governor Clinton, to prevent my being longer separated from my estate at Haverstraw, where I have relations who are great sufferers, and my presence is wanting for their succor, and the recovery, if possible, of my plundered effects. But I have a further wish, and that is to repair to the capital, not only to answer a call upon me for aid from my daughter in England, but to gratify my own desire, to contribute towards abating the acrimony of the present war, and exciting to overtures of peace. I flatter myself, that though you may perhaps suspect the event will be a lesson to my vanity, you will nevertheless perceive the impossibility that any efforts of that kind will be injurious to the public. Except furniture, my servants and such conveniences as I shall want for my family in town, I leave everything else in the power of my country. All I have upon earth is here, as a pledge of my attachment to her interest. If she is happy, I am satisfied. I must share her fortunes. If she is ruined, so am I. I am, gentlemen, your most obed. servant, WM. SMITH.

The Congress assigned no reasons, but simply resolved that William Smith's request be not granted.

In the meanwhile a committee of the Provincial Congress of New York had been appointed to draft a constitution for the new State. Jones' History of New York (Vol. I, p. 143) states that the author was “assured from authentic authority, brought from the rebel country,” and what is more to the purpose, the editor of the work positively asserts (Vol. I, Note XLVII, p. 643) that “William Smith was consulted out of doors and did much of the drafting of the instrument.” No authorities are cited and confirmation of the story has been sought for in vain. Still many of the members of the committee were personal
friends of Mr. Smith; some of them were, at the time, in constant social intercourse with him, and it is far from improbable but that, overwhelmed with public business, they desired and sought the aid and counsel of the great lawyer. If he were asked, we may entertain no doubt but that his assistance was cheerfully rendered. The anecdote, honorable alike to both parties, is an instance, as pleasant as it is rare, of personal regard and consideration remaining unbroken in the midst of civil war.

The Boston Mirror, a periodical published in 1808–9, contains a notice of a very similar character, but of greater interest. Without acknowledgment, the article is in part reproduced, verbatim, in Sabine's Loyalists, and has since, more or less contracted, appeared in various publications. In full it is as follows:

"The following is related to us by Doctor Mitchell himself, and we vouch for its authenticity.

"Anecdote of Wm. Smith, Esq., the historian of New York, and late Chief Justice of Lower Canada, recommended to American historians.

This eloquent man, having been an adherent to the royal cause during the revolution, left the City of New York in 1789, with the British troops, and was afterwards rewarded by his sovereign with a high judiciary office in Quebec. Judge Smith, although thus removed from the place of his origin, always contemplated the politics of his native country with peculiar solicitude. One evening, in the year 1789, when Dr. Mitchell was in Quebec, and passing the evening at the Chief Justice's house, the leading subject of conversation was a new federal constitution, then under the consideration of the States, on the recommendation of the convention which sat in Philadelphia in 1787. Mr. Smith, who had been somewhat indisposed for several days, retired to his chamber with Mr. Grant, one of the members of the legislative council, at an early hour. In a short time Mr. Grant came forth and invited Dr. Mitchell, in Mr. Smith's name, to walk from the parlor into Mr. Smith's study and sit with him. Mr. Mitchell was conducted to a sofa and seated beside the Chief Justice, before whom stood a table supporting a large bundle of papers. Mr. Smith resumed the subject of American politics; untied his papers. After searching among them awhile, he unfolded a certain one, which, he said, was written about the time the colonial commotions grew violent, in 1775, and contained a plan or system of government, sketched out by himself then, and which nearly resembled the constitution afterwards proposed by the Federal Convention of the United States. He then read the contents. The piece was long and elaborate, and written with much beauty and spirit: 'this, sir,' added he, after finishing it, 'is the copy of a letter which I sent to a member of Congress in 1775, who was an intimate friend of General Washington. You may trace to this source the sentiments in favor of a more energetic government for your country, contained in the commander-in-chief's circular letter, and from this there can be no doubt that the citizens of all the States derived their leading hints for your new form of government. Thus, you see, the great and original outlines of your national constitution were drawn by a man whom the laws of his native land proscribed and forced away from its shores.'"

The Chief Justice drawing near the close of his life still exhibited an engrossing interest in the land of his birth; what interested her, interested him. Great Britain had goaded the Americans to rebellion, and
repented when war only could determine the issue. Smith was among the few who saw right on both sides; that of his countrymen to resist tyranny, that of the British to maintain her lawful authority. However much he might regret the result of the war, it occasioned him no bitterness. The prosperity of the new nation rejoiced him; her people, who had indeed proved their British origin, were also his people in blood and affection.

It was not until the summer of 1778 that Mr. Smith was relieved from his parole, and ordered to remove to the City of New York. He was sent with his family, under a flag of truce, conducted by Colonel Burr, and brought with him, or received soon afterwards, much of his household furniture. According to Jones' History of New York (Vol. I, pp. 146-7), every consideration was paid to his comfort; his furniture, library, servants, chariot, horses, etc., came with him, and the bearer of the flag had orders to stop on his way down the Hudson, at Mr. Smith’s country seat and bring away what he might wish to remove. We may hope that the statement is true, and that Mr. Smith had the sad satisfaction of again visiting his river home, although it was dismantled and plundered. Many friends greeted Mr. Smith’s return to New York, while, beyond the British lines, many of the patriots felt assured that they had now in the city a fellow-countryman, high in the estimation of the public enemy, who could and would tell the truth concerning them.

On the 30th of June, 1778, the committee to detect conspiracies, appointed by the Provincial Congress, issued a sentence of banishment against Mr. Smith. That such a decree had been passed, and that its object felt hurt and aggrieved, at what he esteemed to be unwarranted severity, was well known, but with the disappearance of the minutes of the committee the record was lost. It has been reserved to Mr. B. Fernow, of the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, in his researches, to discover the original document. It is found in a bound volume of manuscripts relating to the Massachusetts boundary question. Unfortunately it is not dated, nor has the handwriting been positively identified. The document is endorsed “List of Banished Persons,” and is here reproduced.

Soon after Mr. Smith’s return to the city he was appointed one of the commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, and in the following year was honored with the commission of Chief Justice of the Province of New York, in the place of Chief Justice Horsmanden, deceased.

The appointment was communicated to Mr. Smith on the 24th of,
April, 1780. On the fourth day of May following he was sworn into office in the City of New York, before his Excellency Governor Robertson. In the appointment and in his installation to office no legal or usual form was omitted, and it is therefore difficult to understand the expression of the late learned Dr. O'Callaghan that it was "an appointment which has never been recognized" (Doc. Col. His. Pro. N. Y., Vol. VII, p. 910), or that of the historian Dr. Lossing, that "Smith was never really our chief justice" (Mag. Am. His., July, 1880, p. 33). Mr. Smith was chief justice, as had been his predecessors, under and by appointment of the British, and was by them recognized as such. Before his appointment, however, the Americans had declared themselves an independent nation, and were at the moment in arms to assert their sovereignty. Whether or not the civil appointments made by the British were to apply to the revolutionists depended upon the chances of war.

The elevation of Mr. Smith to the Chief Justiceship was made without regard to the claims for promotion of the existing justices, Messrs. Ludlow, Jones and Hicks. The rage of Judge Jones (the "veracious" historian already alluded to) knew no bounds. He may have been aware that the office of chief justice had been tendered to William Smith, Senior, but now the appointment was conferred upon William Smith, Jr. Having mentioned in his own peculiar forcible language the return of Mr. Smith to New York, and his appointment as Chief Justice, Judge Jones thus disburdens himself; Smith's character "remains much the same as it did in 1753, except only that after an experience of thirty years he has greatly improved in all that art, cunning, chicanery, dissimulation, hypocrisy, and adulation, which he possessed in so eminent a degree while a youth; and which ever was, and ever will be, the true characteristic of a person professing the religion of a New England dissenter and the politics of an English Republican" (Jones' His. of N. Y., Vol. I, pp. 167, 168). This extract is given as an instance of the extremes to which high church and Tory passion led, in this case stimulated by an all-devouring jealousy.

In New York Chief Justice Smith's influence was very great, both with the civil and the military authorities. Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commanders-in-Chief, extended to him their fullest confidence; beyond the British lines many of his political foes remained his steadfast friends. When in captivity, his letters from New York were delivered to him unopened, by the order of the Provincial Congress,' and his property was not included among the confiscated estates.

At this time it is difficult to prove, but tradition asserts, and docu-
mentary evidence may possibly yet be found to support the belief, that Mr. Smith's acts of kindness to unfortunate prisoners of war were many and incessant. With his strong sympathies and fearless character he could not do otherwise: his high position and reputation enabled him to act without fear of compromising himself in an office where others of more timid nature and less established loyalty shrunk from exposing themselves.

On the 5th of December, 1783, Chief Justice Smith, with his son William, sailed for England on board of the frigate which conveyed the British commander-in-chief, and landed at Plymouth on the tenth of January following. In England his reception was most gratifying. Mrs. Smith, with her younger children, continued to reside in New York; letters intended for her are found addressed, in the early part of 1784, to the care of her son-in-law, Dr. Mallet, Broadway, and at a later period to that of her son, Thomas Smith, counselor of law, Wall street.

On the first of September, 1785, Mr. Smith was appointed Chief Justice of Canada, but remained in England until the following summer. We find him in London on the 27th of August taking leave of his friends, and on the 29th on board of the Thistle frigate, of twenty-eight guns, to sail that day from Portsmouth Harbor for Canada. On the same vessel was the general with whom three years before Chief Justice Smith had left the shores of America; Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester and Governor-General of all the British provinces in America. Time had increased and cemented the friendship between these old friends. The party arrived at Quebec on the 23d of October, 1786, and there Mr. Smith was joined by his wife and children. Henceforth the chief justice continued to exercise the duties of his high office with honor to himself and to the court over which he presided, until stricken on the bench with a fever which in a few days ended his life. He was buried on the 4th of December, 1793, the day following his death, in the Episcopal Church, at Quebec.

Before his death, the act of attainder, which is mentioned as having been passed on the 30th of June, 1778, was cancelled, and the chief justice was again at liberty to revisit the land of his birth. The petition to the Legislature, praying for the reversion of his sentence of banishment, is signed by Andrew Bostwick and Colonel William Smith Livingston; it was passed by the Senate March 30th, 1790, and signed by George Clinton on the 3d of April following. The act includes the names of, and conveys a pardon to, James Jauncey, Abraham C. Cuyler, William
Smith, William Axtell, Richard Floyd, Henry Lloyd the elder, and, curiously enough, to Thomas Jones, who was then, as already stated, engaged upon his History. Copies of the petitions in favor of Chief Justice Smith and of Judge Jones, with a copy of the bill, are annexed in full, none of the documents having heretofore appeared in print.

Those who study Mr. Smith's useful and honorable life, who have a knowledge of his family and social circle, will not be disposed to criticise the declaration of an only son, that the Chief Justice was "distinguished as a model of Christian perfection." Another authority declares that the great statesmen and soldiers of the revolution, while regretting that Mr. Smith had not made their cause his cause, found no fault with him, unless a righteous indignation against wrong was to be accounted a sin. His strong feelings and thorough convictions may on some occasions have led him, however deliberately, to express himself too earnestly in regard to the conduct of those Tories who lived on the bounty of unworthy Governors. If in his History of New York he may in some few instances have judged harshly of those who did act, or who were credited with acting, as tools or dupes of the court, he recorded what he and the nation believed to be the truth. Nothing was written in malice or to serve personal or party ends. If the Church of England is not exhibited in the beauty of her purity, she has but herself and a mistaken policy to find fault with, not the historian who records her acts and the attendant consequences.

Chief Justice Smith married, on the 3d of November, 1752, Jennet, a sister of his brother-in-law, and second daughter of James Livingston, of New York. She was born November 1st, 1730, in New York, and died on the ninetieth anniversary of her birthday, November 1st, 1819, at the house of her son-in-law, Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell, Quebec, Canada. Chief Justice and Jennet Smith had issue ten children, an account of whom follows in the appendix.
NOTES

Smith's History of the Province of New York was written by the Chief Justice, not by his father, Judge Smith, as is stated in Jones' History of New York, Vol. I, note xii., page 356, and not in part written by the Chief Justice and continued by his son, the Hon. William Smith, as asserted in Sabine's Loyalists, Vol. II, p 312. The first volume was published by the author in London, 1757; the second volume by the New York Historical Society, 1826, and the two volumes, then first associated together in one edition, by the same society in 1829. To this copy is added a short but valuable memoir of the author, written by his only surviving son at the request of John W. Francis, John Delafield and David Hosack, publication committee of the New York Historical Society. Of the first (London) edition two large paper copies have of late years been discovered by Mr. Joseph Sabin, and sold by him at respectively $300 and $200.

There are several other editions of the first volume. One of these, published in Albany in 1814, contains a short, but well prepared continuation, sometimes attributed to the Hon. William Smith, but claimed by Hammond (Pol. Hist. of New York, Vol. I, preface p. vi.) to have been written by Dunlap. The Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, in an anniversary discourse delivered before the Albany Institute, 23rd April, 1830, says that the continuation is "generally understood to have been written by Mr. J. V. N. Yates." However short the continuation and apparently hastily prepared, both the style and the knowledge of his subject exhibited by the author deserve that his name should be known and enrolled upon the list of American historical authors. There is also a French translation of the first volume of Smith's history.

From the Pennsylvania Evening Post, Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1780—By accounts from Fort Clinton, on Hudson River, we learn that the magistracy of the State of New York send their disaffected inhabitants into that place, from whence they are transmitted in vessels under flag of truce to New York City. These persons are discriminated by their refusal to make attestation of their allegiance to the State, and to renounce the tyrant of Britain. It appears that the highest characters are not winked at: the Honorable William Smith, Esq., formerly of the Royal Council under the British government, and author of the History of New York, &c., forced out of his inglorious neutrality, has been lately brought to the test; and refusing the oath, was about four or five weeks since delivered to the enemy through this channel. His Majesty of Britain will be difficult to provide for his faithful adherents, and may think in earnest of selling Hanover and his other German dominions, to raise a fund equal to their expectations. Where then will such as Mr. Smith, who are justly despised both by Royalists and Americans, find shelter and relief?

An act to allow the persons therein named to return and remain within the State.—Whereas, it has been represented to the Legislature that James Jauncy, Abraham C. Cuyler, William Smith, Thomas Jones, Richard Floyd and Henry Lloyd, the elder, are desirous of having permission to return to this State, therefore, be it enacted by the people of the State of New York represented in senate and assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that the said T. J., A. C. C., W. S., T. J., R. F. and H. L., the elder, severally be and they are hereby permitted to return to and remain within this State unmolested, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

State of New York, in Senate, March 30, 1790. This bill having been read a third time, resolved that the bill do pass. By order of the Senate, Isaac Roosevelt, Pres., p. h. vice.

State of New York, in Assembly, March 26, 1790. This bill having been read a third time, resolved that bill do pass. By order of the Assembly, Gulian Verplanck, Speaker.

In Council of Revision, 3d April, 1790.—Resolved, that it does not appear improper to the Council that this bill entitled "An act, etc." should become a law of this State.

Geo. Clinton.

To the Honorable the Legislature, etc.: The petition of David Floyd, of Queens County, farmer (son of Richard Floyd, Esq., formerly of the County of Suffolk), and George Stanton, of the city of New York, agent for Thomas Jones,
Esquire, formerly of the said city of New York, humbly sheweth that the said R. F. and Ths. J., are respectively named in the act of attainder passed in the year 1779. That the petitioners have lately received letters from the said R. F. and Ths. J., intimating their wishes that they might be permitted to return to this State. The petitioners, therefore, in behalf of the said Richard Floyd and Thomas Jones do most humbly pray, that the operations of the said act may be suspended so far as the same respect the said Rd. Floyd and Thomas Jones, and that they may be permitted to return to this State.

And as in duty bound, etc., David Richard Floyd Jones, George Stanton.

New York, Feb. 12, 1790.

Mr. Smith left the city for his country seat at Haverstraw much earlier in the season than customary. His departure was most probably suddenly determined upon in consequence of Governor Tryon having sought security on board of a frigate lying in the harbor; many articles of value were left in his house which were not required for the immediate use of the family in the country. After Mr. Smith’s return to the city, in 1778, the following advertisement was inserted the N. Y. Gazette of 7th December, 1778:

When the subscriber retired to Haverstraw in March, 1776, he left in his house in the Broadway, at the corner of Verlenbergh, various articles of furniture, with two trunks of parchments and many bundles of papers in about 40 small deal bound boxes, numbered in the front. He is informed that they were moved out of town in August, 1776, but can’t discover who at present has the custody of them. There were also taken away Dr. Mitchell’s large map of North America, Mr. Ralse’s map of the city, and a manuscript map of the colony of New York; among the papers there are some of great consequence to the estates of many persons in town and country. Satisfactory information, especially concerning the parchments and papers, will be gratefully received and rewarded.

WILLIAM SMITH.

Jones’ History of New York asserts that “upon this occasion,” viz.: the arrival of General Washington in the city of New York, 13 April, 1776. “William Smith, Esq., accommodated General Washington with his house in town, his brother Tom did the same with his to General Gates, and retired to Haverstraw, about 30 miles from New York, upon the banks of the Hudson, where each had a farm and country seat.”

In this connection it is needless to say more than that Mr. Smith had left New York on the 29th March, two weeks before the arrival of General Washington. The residence and headquarters of the commander-in-chief were established at the Mortier house, Richmond Hill; the town headquarters, which are frequently referred to in general orders, etc., were at the corner of Exchange Place and Broadway, and were, it is believed, at the house of Mr. Smith, which seems to have been taken possession of as a deserted mansion.

* List of Persons Banished by the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies, &c., within this State, in pursuance of an Act, etc., entitled: “An Act more effectually to prevent the mischiefs arising from the Influence and Example of persons of Equivocal and suspected Characters within this State:” —

William Smith, Esq., one of the members of the late Council of the King of Great Britain for this State.

Cadwallader Colden, Esq., of Ulster County.
Roeliff I. Etting, do do
James Smith, Esq., of Dutchess County.
Cornelius Luyster, Esq., do do
Dirck van Vliet, do do
Samuel Fowler, of Ulster County.
Andrew Graham, do do
I. Michael Thorn, do do
Solomon Etting, do do
James Peters, of Orange County,
John Terrill, of Dutchess County.
William Lupton, of Ulster County.
Samuel Frame, of Ulster County, confined for exchange, afterward permitted to return to his place of abode.

James Scott, of Dutchess County.
Theophilus Nelson, do do
Richbell Williams, of Dutchess County, is since returned and pardoned.
Lodwick Strydt, of Dutchess County.
Samuel Mabbit, do do
Walter Dubois, of Ulster County.
Agrippa Martin, of Dutchess County.
Myndert Viele, do do
Israel Wood, of Orange County.
Benjamin Booth, do do
John Booth, do do
Zebulon Wallbridge, of Dutchess County.
Richard Harrison, Esq., late of the City of New York.
Joseph Teed, of Dutchess County.
William Brady, do do
Joseph Mabbitt, do do
Benjamin Lapham, do do
Richard Bartlett, of Ulster County.
Joost Garrison, do do
Samuel Washburn, do do
Samuel Dickinson, do do
Samuel Peters, do do
Lewis McDonald, of Westchester County.
Stephen Baxter, do do
John Green, do do
James Banks, do do
Abraham Underhill, do do
Benjamin Close, do do
Benjamin Thip, do do
Richard Currie, do do
Gabriel Purdy, do do

Endorsed:
List of Banished Persons.

1.—All Canada, in the state she possessed it before the late war.
2.—To give up Cape Breton and St. John, with all their dependencies.
3.—To cede to them Nova Scotia.
4.—A right to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland as possessed by them before the late treaty of Fontainebleau.

In consideration of those cessions, France on her part,

1.—To cease all connection, correspondence and commerce with the rebel colonies.
2.—To call home all her subjects that are now in the actual service of the rebels, and prevent them in future.
3.—To assist Great Britain with a corps of 12,000 auxilliary troops, to be employed in North America in the service of Great Britain with the British army, in order to reduce the rebels to obedience.

The honor I have of being one of His Majesty’s Council, as well as duty and gratitude, have all called for me to give you the best advice for His Majesty’s service in my power in this dreadful situation of the King’s affairs here, which are such as require some cessions to be made.

I have the honor to be, my lord,
Your lordship’s most obedient,
Humble servant,

William Smith.

The writer acknowledges the kindness of Mr. William Kelby, of the New York Historical Society, in calling his attention to this and to other newspaper paragraphs connected with his subject:

(From the New York Journal, June 29, 1778. Printed at Poughkeepsie, by John Holt.)

AN EASY PLAN TO REDUCE THE REBELLIOUS COLONIES.

By Captain Jolly, arrived at Liverpool, the following letter was received, dated New York, Jan. 10, 1778:

My Lord:

My duty to the King and the melancholy state of his affairs on this Continent command me to deal plainly and truly with your lordship. The overthrow and capture of Gen. Burgoyne and all his army has inspired the base rebels of this country to such a degree of insolence that they are determined to attack Gen. Howe in Philadelphia. In short, my lord, if France enter into treaty with the rebels, I am afraid America will be forever lost to Great Britain; to prevent which permit me, my lord, to say that I think the only means are to cede to France forever:

(From the New York Journal, July 20, 1778.)

Poughkeepsie, July 20, 1778.

Mr. Loudon.*

Seeing in your last paper a letter from Mr. William Smith, desiring your aid in discovering where a letter under his signature, inserted in one of my late papers was copied, I immediately concluded to enable you to gratify his curiosity to the utmost and accordingly wrote a full account, which I intended to publish in my paper of to-day, but the paper was so filled up that there was not room to insert the piece, which I am, therefore, obliged to defer till next week, when
you may assure Mr. Smith he shall be fully satisfied. I am, etc.,

John Holt.

* Samuel Loudon was the printer of the New York Packet, at Fishkill.

(From the New York Journal, July 27, 1778.)

Poughkeepsie, July 17, 1778.

Mr. Loudon:

In your paper of yesterday, I observed the following letter, viz.:

Livingston's Manor, July 2, 1778.

Mr. Loudon:  

I shall be much obliged to you for your aid in discovering whether the malicious forgeries in Holt's paper of the 29th of June, purporting to be a letter from me to some noblemen on the other side of the water, and dated at "New York, the 10th of January, 1778," is wholly or in part taken from any other and what paper.

To all who know me, and that I have not been out of this neighborhood since the 7th of June, 1777, I need not make the declaration (which I can with truth) that I have not written a line to any person in Great Britain; nor even in New York, for thirteen months past, except by flag, and open for inspection; and therefore, an excubatory oath would scarce be justifiable to defeat a calumny so artfully contrived, as to carry with it a detection of its own falsehoods.

In condescension, however, to the weak, and for the satisfaction of others at a remote distance, who might be uninformed of my situation, I beg you to publish this letter in your next paper. This is the second attempt within two years, to palm a frantic, nonsensical letter upon the public; and, although both were dated at a place where I then was not, they are the work of the same hand. The assassin, if not a worse character, must at least be one of those fanatics, common in turbulent times, who, confident that they are right in their aims, give themselves no concern about the means, regardless of the divine injunction prohibiting evil and immoral acts, though conducive to the most laudable and excellent ends.

I am your most obedient servant,

William Smith.

This letter I publish at large, not only because I intend to make some remarks upon it, but also for the sake of justice to Mr. Smith, that his vindication may appear in the same paper where the piece that gave occasion to it was inserted, and which he calls a malicious forgery. In the first paragraph of his letter, Mr. Smith seems to be extremely solicitous to find out "whether it was wholly or in part, taken from any other and what paper." It would have been a more direct way for Mr. Smith to obtain a satisfactory answer to his inquiry, if instead of his writing to you, who had no concern in the subject of it, he had directed his letter to me, who live at a much less distance from him, and could have given him more certain and satisfactory information. But since he has chosen this round-about way to do it, by writing to you to inquire of me (unless it had happened, that you should have been able to inform him of your own knowledge, without such inquiry, in which case the publication in your paper would have been unnecessary), I shall follow his method, and instead of answering him myself, enable you to answer him. However, as I imagine his manner of proceeding in this affair has excited the curiosity of many other of your readers, as well as myself, and may have given occasion for some conjectures to my disadvantage, especially as he has in his letter mentioned and treated me in a manner somewhat disrespectful, I think it necessary to declare my conjectures as to the reasons of his conduct.

If he had written immediately to me, it would not have given room to publish an insinuation, that I had refused to give him the satisfaction he solicits you to procure him; nor that my refusal might arise from my privity to the forgery and malicious design of the writer. And as I can think of no other reason, I am of opinion that Mr. Smith has taken this indirect way of inquiry, merely to introduce these insinuations, give them the appearance of realities, and avail himself of the opinions they might suggest in his favor.

I think as far as Mr. Smith's letter concerns me, I have given the true and natural meaning of it, as it will be understood by readers in general; and that, by every one who gives full credit to it, in the sense in which he intended it should be understood, I shall appear exactly in such a light as I have represented; and if so that he has
not done me justice must appear by my publishing his vindication that he may receive all the benefit it can afford him; and by the account I shall now give you, for his use, of the piece published in my paper of 29th June, which he complains of as a malicious forgery. The account is as follows, viz.:

On the 10th of June I set out from Poughkeepsie on a journey to Boston; on my way, at New Haven, about the 2nd of June, I first saw the piece in question, published in an Eastern paper. I also saw it at several other places on my journey, and at Boston in the papers printed there, particularly in a paper of the 18th of June, published by Mr. John Gill. From this paper it was my people took the copy published in my paper of the 29th. And this Boston paper sets forth, that on board a prize brig of 14 guns, bound from Scotland to New York, but taken and carried into Boston by Capt. Croly, were found Scotch newspapers to the 11th of April, from one of which, under the London head, March 20th, the said piece signed William Smith was taken. But I have written to Mr. Gill desiring him to inform me exactly where it was taken and the date of the paper, which, as soon as I know, I shall endeavor through you to communicate to Mr. Smith.

I gave no orders for inserting the piece in my paper, nor knew anything of its being there till I saw it. However, I was far from being displeased that my people, though without my order, had inserted it, since it gave Mr. Smith an opportunity to vindicate himself if innocent, and his country to know him, if guilty.

Mr. Smith knows whether he has reason to believe that any person on the other side the Atlantic (where, it is hardly to be doubted, that both this and the former letter with his name subscribed, were originally published) is so rancorously disposed towards him; and of so villainous a character as, without any apparent advantage to himself maliciously to forge these letters in his name merely to ruin his character and deprive him of the confidence and esteem of his country. The public will judge of the probability of this according to the evidence Mr. Smith shall produce. Meanwhile, it is thought surprising that though he anxiously labors to make it appear that he is not the author of the letters published in his name, he has never once clearly and positively denied that he is. At least, readers in general think so. I shall at present confine myself to the last, wherein he says—"he need not declare—though he can with truth—that he has not written a line to any person in Great Britain, or even in New York, for thirteen months past, except by flags, and open to inspection." But he has not denied that he has written to a person somewhere else who might have conveyed his letter to the person it was intended for. Nor is it certain that some of these flags were not vehicles of a traitorous correspondence with the enemy; or, that though his letters might be left open to inspection, he might not be assured they would not be inspected, or would be inspected only by such as would approve and deliver them. He affects to think "An exculpatory oath unnecessary, for that the calumny is so contrived as to defeat itself and carry with it a detection of its own falsehood." But in this last he may be assured he deceives himself; for, even if the letter in his name is a forgery, it is not thought so by most that see it, more especially by those that have seen his exculpatory letter. Nor is it probable an oath to the same purpose would have a better effect.

Less efforts than these would be sufficient to defeat a calumny against a man who had acted with uniformity as a friend to the rights and liberty of America; but no arguments or oaths will probably be effectual to restore to the love and confidence of his country a man who would do nothing to assist it in time of danger, nor give it any satisfactory assurances that he would not join its enemies the moment he could do it with safety to his person and property. The subject naturally led me to these reflections which in no respect arose from enmity to Mr. Smith, whom I always respected and esteemed, except so far as I have thought his public conduct blameable; nor in what I now write of him have I more declared my own sentiments than the public opinion.

I am yours, etc.,

JOHN HOLT.

Notwithstanding Mr. Holt's intimation that the subject was to be continued in the columns of the New York Journal, a search has failed to reveal any other reference to the matter. It is
not impossible but that Mr. Smith replied to Mr. Holt's extraordinary article by a letter to London's New York Packet, printed at Fishkill, and that this reply was of so convincing and thorough a character that Mr. Holt concluded not to reprint or to notice it. Unfortunately—and little to the credit of the public libraries of New York—no complete set of the New York Packet exists among them, and the copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester is found to contain but about one-half of the issues of the paper for the last half of 1778; in these nothing appears relative to the Smith-Holt matter. Perhaps some one of the owners of the separate numbers of the New York Packet scattered throughout the country may possess and be induced by these notes to reprint the sequel to the correspondence, which is certainly not complete with what is here given.

The order of the Provincial Congress is especially complimentary to Mr. Smith. It directs that the letters received for him "which were sent open, but enclosed together, be enclosed, sealed up and certified by the President to have been sealed up in the Congress without having been perused," and be so delivered to him. (Journals Provincial Congress, Vol. I, p. 748.)

To the Honorable the Representatives of the State of New York, in Senate and Assembly convened:

The petition of Andrew Bostwick and William S. Livingston, of the City of New York, gentlemen,

Humbly shewed:—That your petitioners and their connections are interested in a very considerable real estate, of which William Smith, Esq., deceased, died seized; that the said estate cannot be settled and your petitioners receive their just due, owing in a great degree to the absence of William Smith, Esq., one of the executors, who, by a law of this State, passed the 30th day of June, 1778, is prohibited from returning to or becoming a resident of this State. That independent of the personal interests of your petitioners, they do assure this Honorable House that there is in the care and possession of said William Smith property and papers which he holds in trust, or in common with others, of great value to many citizens of this State, which can only be accounted for by the said William Smith in person. That, notwithstanding your petitioners are fully confident that it is not the interest of the said William Smith to again become a citizen of this State, yet they have the fullest assurance that he will, on permission for that purpose being first obtained, return to this State for the settlement of the affairs of those citizens over which he has either had charge or been interested in.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that his name be inserted in the Act granting permission for certain proscribed persons again to return to the State as in duty bound.

They will ever pray, etc.,

AND'W BOSTWICK.

WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON.

Endorsed: A petition of Andrew Bostwick and Wm. S. Livingston, that William Smith, Esq., may be permitted to return into this State. In Assembly, Feb. 18, 1790, read and committed to a Committee of the whole House on the bill to permit persons therein named to return into this State.

No. 144.

Assembly Journal, p. 42. Thursday, 10 o'clock a.m., Feb. 18, 1790.—A petition of And'w Bostwick and William S. Livingston praying permission, etc. (like the endorsement).

Assembly Journal, p. 94. Thursday, 9 o'clock a.m., March 25, 1790. * * * * Mr. Hitchcock, from the Committee of the whole House on the bill entitled: "An act to allow the persons therein named, etc.," reported that after the Committee had inserted the names of sundry persons therein the enacting clause was again read for the approbation of the Committee, as follows, viz.:

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, etc.: That James Jancey, Abr. C. Cuyler, William Smith, William Axtell, Thomas Jones, Richard Floyd and Henry Lloyd, the elder, severally be and they are hereby permitted to return to and remain within this State unmolested, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

Agreed to by a vote of 52 yeas against 18 nays and Ordered, that the bill be engrossed.

Senate Journal, p. 45. Friday, 5 o'clock P.M., March 26, 1790.—A message from the Honor-
able, the Assembly, by Mr. Van Cortlandt and Mr. Marvin, was received, with the following two bills for concurrence, viz., the bill entitled "An act to allow the persons therein named, etc., etc.," which were read a first time and ordered a second reading.

Ibidem. Saturday morning, March 27, 1790. —The bill entitled "An act to allow the persons, etc.," was read a second time and committed to a Committee of the Whole.

Ibidem, page 49. Tuesday, March 30, 1790.—Mr. Williams, from the Committee of the Whole, to whom was referred a bill entitled "An act to allow the persons, etc.," reported that the Committee had gone through the bill, made amendments thereto and agreed to the same. The report was read and the amendments agreed. Thereupon, "Resolved, that the bill as amended do pass."

1 Anno, 1790, the first of November, being Sunday, at two o'clock in the morning, is our daughter, Jennet, born, and on the following Sunday held in baptism by Mistress Cornelia Schuyler, and received in holy baptism by Domine Walter DuBois. Cousin John Schuyler, junior, godfather; Mother Magarieta Livingston, godmother. May the Lord bless her and raise her in joy to salvation. (Family bible of James Livingston, translated from the Dutch.)

The baptismal registry of the First Presbyterian Church of New York, gives the date of birth of eight and the date of baptism of nine out of the ten children of Chief Justice and Jennet Smith. These compared with a copy of the family bible of the Chief Justice agree, except in one trifling difference, as noted in the text.

DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM SMITH

I. Jennet Smith, born Sunday, 25th November, 1755; died in England, 8th August, 1828. Married in New York, 21st October, 1779; Lieutenant, afterwards General John Penderleith, of Glen, County of Peebles, Scotland, a gentleman of large estate. She survived her husband, who left four sons and two daughters. Three of the sons were distinguished in the British army; the fourth, a surgeon, served and lost his life in the Peninsula campaign, under the Duke of Wellington, and is honored with a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Her elder children were born in New York.

II. Mary Smith, born 27th May, 1755; baptized 15th June following, by the Rev. Aaron Burr, President of the College of New Jersey; died 13th June, 1759.

III. Elizabeth Smith, born 26th January, 1757; died unmarried, at her father's country seat, Haverstraw, on the North River, 12th September, 1776, in the twentieth year of her age. The distress occasioned by the divisions among her family and friends engaged in opposite sides in civil strife, is said to have caused her death.

IV. Mary Smith, born 28th December, 1759; married Lieutenant-General William Doyle, of Waterford, Ireland, and left two sons and one daughter.

V. Margaret Susanna Smith, born 25th October, 1761 (baptismal registry gives the date of birth as 21st October, 1761); died 22nd August, 1765.

VI. William Livingston Smith, born 26th September, 1763; died 28th August, 1764.

VII. Margaret Smith, born 26th September, 1765; died 31st August, 1766.

VIII. Hon. William Smith, the only son who survived infancy, born 7th February, 1769, of whom presently. *

IX. Livingston Smith, born 8th of June, 1770; died 16th September, 1770.

X. Henrietta or Harriet Smith, born in the city of New York, 6th February, 1776; died at Quebec, Canada, 26th May, 1849; married 24th of September, 1796. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice of Lower Canada. Chief Justice Sewell was born 6th June, 1766, and died at Quebec, 12th November, 1839; was a member and for many years was President of the Executive Council and also Speaker of the Legislative Council and L.L. D., Harvard. Chief Justice and Harriet Sewell had sixteen children.
WILLIAM SMITH—THE HISTORIAN

I. Henrietta, born 18th July, 1777; died 1st August, 1797.
II. William, born 28th May, 1798; died 1st June 1866; Sheriff of Quebec.
III. Edmund, born 30th September, 1800, in Holy Orders.
IV. Robert, born 30th December, 1801; died 1841; barrister.
V. Maria, born 28th January, 1804; died at Quebec 2d April, 1812; married Major Temple, 15th Regiment, and left issue.
VI. Henry, born 21st October, 1806; in Holy Orders.
VII. Henrietta, born 14th October, 1808; died 17th November, 1847.
VIII. James, born 31st August, 1810; Physician.
IX. Montague, born 24th August, 1812; died 28th February, 1859.
X. Francis, born 5th January, 1816.
XI. Algernon, born 31st August, 1817; died 20th October, 1825; Colonel 15th Regiment.
XII. Eliza, born 21st July, 1819; died 1873; married John Ross of Quebec and left issue.
XIII. Charlotte, born 8th July, 1824; died 31st December, 1826.
XIV. A girl, stillborn.
XV. & XVI. Twins, a boy and girl; who died in infancy.

* The Hon. William Smith, the only son of Chief Justice and Susanna Smith, who survived infancy, was born in the city of New York, 7th February, 1769, and died at Quebec, Canada, on the 17th of December, 1847. At the close of the Revolution he sailed with his father for England and was sent to continue his studies commenced in New York, to a Grammar school at Kensington. When his father was appointed Chief Justice of Canada, young Smith accompanied him to that province, arriving at Quebec, 23rd October, 1786. He was appointed Clerk of the Provincial Parliament and presently made a Master in Chancery. In 1814, he was advanced by Earl Bathurst to a seat in the Executive Council. William Smith, also, served as Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion of the Quebec militia. He was the author of Smith's History of the Province of Canada, from its first discovery to the year 1791, two volumes, Quebec, 1815. The work, which is now rare and much sought after by book collectors, is incorrectly attributed by the Doc. Col. History of the State of New York, Vol. VIII, p. 62, to Chief Justice Smith, the father of the author.

William Smith married Susan, who died at Quebec, 26th January, 1850, daughter of Admiral Charles Webber, of the county of Hampshire, England, by whom he left five children.

I. William Boudennell Smith, late Colonel of the 15th Regiment; resides in England. Colonel Smith married Caroline, daughter of Lieut. Colonel Grierson and sister of Major General Grierson, and has one child, married to Lieut. Colonel Warren, of the 78th Highlanders, of the Warrens of Warren Court, Baronets, and has issue.
II. Charles Webber Smith, of London; married Anna Chelworth and died in 1879 without issue.
III. Emily Ann Smith, married the Rev. George, son of General Mackie, late Governor St. Lucia, and left issue.
IV. Louisa Janet Smith, married her cousin Robert Sewell, son of the Chief Justice, and left issue.
V. Caroline Susanna Smith, married Henry, son of Andrew Stewart, of Quebec, and left issue.
TRANSLATION

LAFAYETTE'S LETTERS FROM PRISON

MAGDEBURG

1793-4

From the originals in the possession of Jeremiah Colburn

MAGDEBOURG, 16th Dec., 1793

It is quite a long time, sir, since you have had any news from us, and I propose to explain to you the different obstacles which we have met with.

I have written several letters which should have been successively carried to you, but the necessary condition precedent, which depended upon the will of an extremely brutal person, has been long and vainly expected, so that my letters have been burned one after the other.

You must now know that Madame d'Henin profited by an opportunity offered by M. Giotanner to write me two letters at once, and that this person was imprudent enough to let them pass through the hands of the commandants. Fortunately they made nothing out of them. I have written to M. Giotanner and Madame d'Henin to avoid a similar imprudence, and in my sealed letter to Madame d'Henin I begged of her never to risk any letters addressed to you by the doctor, whose intentions are favorable to my project, and who announced to me that he should take the greatest precautions if he approach this place, for suspicions of this nature may very easily be entertained concerning him.

C. M——o is not stopped by any scruples but by mercenary considerations; his selfish character is little to be depended upon, and his want of discretion has been of injury to us; it is fortunate that I formed an estimate of his character soon enough to avoid giving him any positive knowledge of our plans, so that although he has written me several times, he does not yet know that I have it in my power to write. His position can only compromise himself; his loquacity has exposed us to some annoyance, but small danger, because he knows nothing.

Your correspondent and a comrade have all the generosity, all the zeal, all the decision that we need, but at the present moment particularly we must move quietly.

You have heard of the change of locks; the commandant carries pistols, never parts with his keys, and the other new precautions, which are as troublesome as they are ridiculous, have very properly disturbed you, but it is quite strange that they are not caused by any discoveries, that our secrets and our confidants are alike secure, and the increase in inquisitorial zeal is only occasioned by stupidity. It is nevertheless true that they have interfered with our stratagems by accident, and in their desire to prevent the rendering to us of slight services they prevent us from knowing those that are of great consequence.

Under these circumstances I can announce nothing to you, and as every thing depends upon unforeseen variations and a favorable occasion, I am confined to saying only that in case of a fortunate chance I shall follow the counsels you have given me without waiting for any new, and that in any event my first
care will be to explain myself entirely to you; I will not allow myself to think even of any further steps until after this agreeable preliminary is arranged.

A word now sir as to this medium correspondence, different from all that of which I have just spoken, and by which you will receive this package. It contains: 1st, two letters to Madame d’Henin which I pray you to seal after reading them; 2d, a letter to Mr. Pinkney and one to Mr. Short; 3d, a dispatch to my aide-de-camp la Colombe, containing a letter and a note; I beg of you also to read to him all these papers and to seal them; 4th, I join to my own dispatches a letter which M. de Maubourg has passed to me for M. de la Colombe. Have the kindness to make up a general dispatch to the address of M. Pinkney. I think you will also receive letters from M. Alex. Lameth.

I will not enter here into any detail upon my situation, upon the various information I have received or my own opinions relative to the measures to be taken in our behalf. The reading of my several letters will sufficiently inform you. I am extremely desirous to know your opinions in the line of conduct which I indicate to my friends, whose foolish hopes and the confidential representations to foreign powers, seem to me quite at variance with the plan which you yourself have agreed upon with them, and to which I attribute the success of the diplomatic demands of the Americans for a correspondence with my family, etc. You have brought a blush even to the face of the king, which is no small success. You have aroused an interest for me here which may lead to a far more complete success. It seems to me that this mode of serving our cause is the most suitable in many points of view, and as you have friends in England as well as on the continent, I entreat you to bring into this plan all those whom you judge to be able to aid in it.

I am extremely desirous that my friends should feel that those only who are patriots should and will interest themselves for me.

The affairs of France are in a deplorable state, but the patriots of the great empire of England, of Ireland, and of Holland, have still great power to combat the Jacobite tyranny and the tyranny of the coalition. You will greatly oblige me by giving me the private information which you have. What is the policy which causes the Jacobins from time to time to announce my death, to invent fresh calumnies, and for instance to falsely attribute to me letters for which they condemned their true authors more than a year ago? It is because they need to stifle either their hopes or their regrets.

Do you not think that it is worth while to make it known that Danton has been for a long time in the service of foreign powers? He is a bold intriguer, adroit and with the “eloquence des Halles.” I suppose that in a moment of crisis he will be employed by the aristocratic and despotic counter-revolution.

I am again under new obligations to you, my generous friend. I know that in writings, which I am promised a sight of, you have once more defended my cause and replied to my enemies. My gratitude outruns my power of expression, but my heart is touched in the most
dressed to me to reach me; you can imagine how precious such a service is to me in my situation, for which I feel the most lively gratitude.

I do not know whether you are informed of the sudden departure of M. Bureaux de Pusé; Thursday, the 27th March, at five o'clock in the morning, I judged by the noise of the locks that something new had taken place. I presumed in view of the steadiness of our evil star that there was some new reason for sorrow, and I was not mistaken; M. de Pusé was packing up his things; my doors remained closed during the two or three hours requisite for the preparation for the journey, without our being allowed to take advantage of these short moments to graze together over this cruel separation; at the instant when he got into the carriage we embraced each other and the farewell of a moment was the end of a common suffering of more than nineteen months. This departure naturally astonished me the more because I had been positively informed that Lafayette and Latour Maubourg had been demanded by the Emperor and that Pusé and I were destined to remain in the hands of the King of Prussia; I had ascribed this change to the motion made in the English Parliament, which casting odium on our detention had determined the King of Prussia to relieve himself of the prisoners whom he said no longer belonged to him, and as for my own exception I could only suppose that it arose from the impossibility of transporting me to Austria in my state of health; although these conjectures still remain the ground of my opinions, they are, however, slightly disturbed by the like extraordinary and sad news concerning our mutual friend, which I today learned, and which comes to me from persons who are in the way to be perfectly informed.

Lafayette it is said has already undergone an examination; the name of the Prussian auditor even is given (for it appears that it is at Hesse) who was charged to conduct the interrogatory. On what subject can this interrogation have turned; have the Powers the right to undertake the interrogation of a stranger? Would Prussia, which calls us the prisoners of the Emperor, care to assume the responsibility of a course unjust and contrary to all accepted principles? I can not give you much information on these points; but I feel, however, that your attachment for him and his relations with his friends in England make it my duty to communicate to you the little that I know which may perhaps have some influence in the decision of the course to be taken to serve him.

In the first place there was certainly an interrogatory; I have this information from a man in a position to be perfectly informed, who assured me of it as positive. The cause assigned is a letter written by Lafayette to General Washington, in which he speaks of the project to overthrow despotism throughout Europe, and to that end to propagate the French revolution in the other States; this which is the public version I take to be false; but it is now four to five months since one of the principal agents of the Prussian government said to a person who repeated it to me that there exists a letter of Lafayette to the Minister of France in Denmark (it was
then I think M. de la House) in which he said *our revolution progresses, we can soon concern ourselves with other countries; in that which you inhabit despotism is legal, it is there that it is necessary to strike it down*; I at once spoke to Lafayette about this letter; he told me that he did not remember having written it, but that it was quite possible; that, however, he felt sure that they had letters of his written to the patriots of Holland and Brabant. You understand, sir, that all this is absolutely for you only and for Madame de H.; but it seems to me necessary that you should both be informed of it, in order that no time be lost or any groundless hope of relaxation be entertained. Maubourg seems to hold the same views, since in a letter which he found means to get to my hands, he tells me that *there is no way to save La F. but by an escape; he will not be set free; if you have any means of action endeavor to set them in motion.*

I await with impatience some information concerning the fate of my good and loyal companions in misfortune: I persist in the belief (notwithstanding this interrogatory even) that they have been or are about to be transported to Austria, and I grieve over it, for the hour of peace which is announced to be the end of our imprisonment may be far distant, and moreover the first is much more ill disposed to Lafayette than the second.

You will find, sir, attached to this a letter for the Baron de Stael, who is said to have the principal direction of Swedish affairs. He is a person on whom I trust we can entirely depend; his opinions are liberal, he wishes with us a free and strong government for France; we have always had reason to applaud his conduct during the revolution, and I do not doubt that he would be disposed to aid us; he may, perhaps, have the power in more than one manner. I do not indicate to him the manner by which he may send me his reply. I only say to him that he will be informed by a note attached to my letter; if you wish to enter into relations with him, and I think that your so doing may prove of advantage to us as well as of some pleasure to yourself, M. de Stael being destined soon to fill the post of Grand Chancellor of Sweden. You could send him a note by the same opportunity, and I will inform him the first time I write him how entirely he may repose in you his confidence and esteem; if you do not desire that he should know of you, indicate to him an address at Hambourg to which he may send his answer.

I avail also of your kindness by sending to you some letters for Holland and England. It is essential that they be delivered personally, our friends being so much suspected in these countries that their letters are surely unsealed in the post; if the persons to whom you entrust them do not go as far as London or the Hague, they might be sent from the seaport by an express, the expenses of whose journey will be promptly paid. If you yourself, sir, should find yourself required to make some advances to send forward the correspondence, you will kindly inform me of it, and I will take care to have the sum at once paid to you.

[De Lameth]

[M. Archenholz]
Is my family still at Chavaniac, and is it to remain there until I am freed from the fangs of the coalition? My aunt, of whom you have perhaps heard, is at the same place. Where and in what condition are the families of my two companions? Are the mother and wife of my unfortunate friend La Rochefoucauld out of prison?

Although by a singular affectation I have been deprived of some means of suicide, I have no idea of taking advantage of those which remain to me, but shall defend my own constitution with the same persistency, though apparently with as little success as the national constitution. My strength is still good, and if my passport were obtained I should join my friends spryly; but my chest troubles me greatly. I look upon the promenade I am allowed every other day as the most efficacious remedy. You have, I think, mistaken another prisoner for me. I go out on the odd days in a coat of one color, with a round hat, and I am not accompanied by an officer but by the provost jailer, who wears a corporal’s uniform. Day after to-morrow, Sunday, I shall go out.

You desire me to write to General Washington. The kindness of the United States and the affection of my paternal friend need no stimulants, and it is because I think such a letter would be useless, that I wish I could write it; but besides that I have not the wherewithal to write, I could not procure the sending of a letter which would have to travel. Do you know what has become of M. de Lameth? I have no communication with my two friends, but you may assure their families that their health is as good as close and wholesome captivity admits of.

The following was written with lemon juice on the margin of the book

I have not the time, my dear friend, to enter into any detail. I will do so if the doctor consent to be the bearer of another book; I will only say that every precaution is taken against the ordinary methods of escape, and that some entirely novel enterprise must be undertaken. My friends Maubourg and Pusy are convinced of it; the reason why I have asked permission to take the air, and they have not asked the same for themselves, is that I may have more chances of escape. The bolder the enterprise appears the more unexpected it will be, and the more likely to succeed. We may say with the poet,

"Presence of mind and courage in distress
Are more than armies to procure success."

LAFAYETTE

TO M. BOLLMAN

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—M. Bollman left for Vienna and returned with a young American whom he met there, Mr. Huger, son of Major Huger, at whose house General Lafayette was received on his landing in Carolina in 1777, and the eldest of his American friends.

The prison physician had declared that the preservation of the prisoner’s life depended on his taking the air; and it appears from this letter that this relief had been consented to. Messrs. Huger and Bollman resolved to take advantage of it; they waited on the road over which the carriage in which Lafayette was, passed. He got rid of the soldiers of his escort by requesting them to pur-
chase something for him, and giving them some money with which to drink in a tavern near by; then getting out of the carriage with his jailer to walk a short distance, he asked him for his sabre, pretending a wish to examine the arm, and attempted also to seize it. A struggle ensued. Then Messrs. Bollman and Huger ran up and drew a pistol to intimidate the jailer, who only yielded to run for assistance. The generous liberator of General Lafayette, in order not to excite suspicion, had only brought two horses. They insisted on the general taking one immediately and the two mounted the other. Finding themselves pursued and nearly overtaken, M. Huger resolved to sacrifice himself, and giving himself up to his pursuers, gave M. Bollman time to reach the frontier of Silesia.

General Lafayette did not leave until he saw his liberators mounted; he then rode rapidly for nine leagues before halting, although his disordered dress and the mud and blood with which he was covered in the struggle with the jailer, must have attracted notice. But he mistook his road. M. Bollman had called out to him in English as he mounted his horse, "Get to Haff!" General Lafayette not recognizing the name of the town understood him to say "Get off!" He therefore missed the road which Mr. Bollman took, upon which relays were waiting for him. Anxious as to the fate of his liberators, he retraced his steps, when, finding himself pursued, he resumed his route after having lost time that was precious. He was stopped at Sterneberg, a town eight leagues from Olmutz, and was taken back to prison the next day.

M. Bollman, who had crossed the Silesian frontier, was delivered up to the Austrians by the King of Prussia, and imprisoned together with Mr. Huger in a dungeon where they were kept in chains. Their trial concluded in a sentence to six months of hard labor. This punishment appeared too mild to the Court of Vienna. The judgment was set aside and order given for a new trial. But the kind magistrate had decided that the six months of confinement already undergone sufficed for the entire term, and the liberators of Lafayette had already left Austria when the new order for their detention reached Olmutz.

NOTE.—The preliminary and supplementary notes are translated from foot notes in the Mémoires, Correspondance, etc.

EXAMINATION OF FRANCIS KINLOCH HUGER

Translated for the Magazine

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The following paper was copied by me from the original in the Vienna Imperial Archives. The examination of Mr. Huger took place at Olmutz, November 8, 1794, the day on which the attempt to rescue Lafayette had been made. The first query was put to Mr. Huger in German, whereupon, the judge finding that Huger did not understand that language, it was continued in French.

FRIEDRICH KAPP

EXAMINATION OF HUGER

After the close of the examination of the driver, the assistant in the attempted flight was called and examined as follows:

What is your name, your place of birth, your residence, and how did you get here?
My name is Francis Kinloch Huger; 21 years of age; born in Charleston, South Carolina, in America; unmarried; a student of medicine in England; travelling through Germany for pleasure; came here from Vienna with Mr. Boulemann, the Hanoverian, whose acquaintance I made at Vienna.

What is the purpose of your voyage here? To aid in the deliverance of M. de Lafayette.

What was your plan for the said deliverance? Our plan was to meet Mr. de Lafayette, as we knew that he drove out in a carriage several times a week, to attack the carriage, give him one of our horses while we would both mount the other horse, and then gain the frontier of Prussian Silesia.

When did you arrive here, and how? We left Vienna Sunday with three post horses, and arrived here Wednesday evening, and lodged at the Golden Swan.

From whom did you learn that Lafayette drove out several times a week? From Mr. Boulemann, who had been here before, and had met him. I do not know the particular reasons which suggested this plan to Mr. Boulemann.

Who proposed to you to deliver M. de Lafayette, and when? Mr. Boulemann, to whom I was introduced at Vienna as desirous of returning to England, which he was about to do himself, for a travelling companion. He did not give me a positive answer, but promised to write me from Hungary whither he was going on a journey of 8 to 10 days. As I had received no word from him for 8 days, I was about to purchase a carriage to return to England. The same day that I was to do so he came into my room, and after saying that he would make the journey, he made me promise not to tell the reason of his absence from Vienna if he should communicate it to me. I made the promise, and he informed me of his desire to deliver M. de Lafayette, which, however, he could not do alone, and asked me to aid him in this enterprise, which I did.

From whom did you learn the precise hour of M. de Lafayette’s promenade to-day? We did not know the precise hour, but Mr. Boulemann believed that it would be between one and two o’clock of the day, and we had even left the town before him, and after taking the road to Silesia, we thought that he had not taken that road, or had not yet gone out. This is the reason why we retraced our steps and met him.

When and how did you undertake to deliver M. de Lafayette? We sent our carriage with the three post horses and our domestic in advance as far as Hoff, where he was to wait for us with everything ready for us to continue our journey. Being on horseback, we met M. de Lafayette in the two horse calèche with one man seated by his side and another behind the carriage besides the man who drove. Mr. Boulemann said to me that it was he, and after passing the carriage and riding on while it continued on its road, Mr. Boulemann said to me that now was the time, and we followed at a fast trot. When we cried “Halt” the soldier seemed surprised and shouted. My horse reared, and in an instant I saw M. Lafayette and the soldier struggling for his sabre. Mr. Boulemann got down from his horse to help him, and gave me
the bridle, but as the horses were restless, I was obliged to drop the bridle, and the horse ran away. As he was still struggling with the soldier who called for help to some people who were in the field, I got down to help him at the same time, pointing my pistol at the soldier to frighten him. He had seized M. Lafayette by the cravat and seemed to have nearly strangled him. I put my pistol in my pocket and endeavored to make him leave go of M. Lafayette. Boulmann and the soldier fell on the ground, and the sabre dropped from their hands. Mr. Boulmann was above the soldier, and M. Lafayette had fallen some where. I helped Mr. Boulmann to hold the soldier in his position, and called out to M. Lafayette to mount my horse, the bridle of which I had passed under my arm, which he did after some difficulty in rising. We then left the soldier, Mr. Boulmann picking up the sabre. The soldier rose and pursued Lafayette, who was on horseback.

We saw that a peasant had stopped the other horse at some little distance, and both ran towards him. I reached him first, and mounted the horse. I then waited for Mr. Boulmann, whom the same peasant helped to mount behind me on the crupper of the horse. The horse, alarmed, plunged several times, and Mr. Boulmann fell off. He followed me on foot some hundreds of steps, when he again tried to get up behind me; but, unable to succeed, he begged me to get down and to mount behind him, which I did with the help of the same peasant, who had followed us. At first we trotted, then pushing the horse to a gallop the horse again plunged, and threw us both. We then hesitated as to which of us should remain on foot; but as I do not speak German, I asked him to take the horse and follow M. de Lafayette, whom I could still see on the high road; which he did, and I took the mountain road on foot; I ran as long as I could, and I did not believe I was pursued, and saw no one following me at first; but at last, looking behind me, I saw three men running after me, who kept shouting. I again began to run, in the hope of reaching the mountain, but just as I was at the end of my strength I saw close behind me a peasant on horseback, and 200 steps behind him two men. I then thought it impossible to escape, and gave myself up to the man, seating myself on the grass until the three others came up. I had previously thrown my pistol behind a tree, because its weight hindered me in running. I then returned to the town with the four men, who held me by the arms, and at the gate of the town four soldiers were given me for escort.

*Whose is the pistol which was found?*
That must be, I think, the pistol of Mr. Boulmann, and the two little pistols loaded with ball which I had concealed, and had the intention of giving with a purse to M. Lafayette, I threw away in the field.

*Whose is the money found upon you, and for what purpose was it intended?* Mr. Boulmann and I divided all our money into three equal parts, intending one part for M. Lafayette. That which was for M. Lafayette we again divided between ourselves in order that he who was nearest to him might give it to him, which I could not do with mine.

*How much have you?* Each portion
consisted of 20 gold Fredericks; 21 half sovereigns; 12 imperial ducats, and 12 Holland ducats of which I brought back M Lafayette's share, 12 half sovereigns; 12 imperial ducats; 12 Holland ducats. Mr. Boullmann had upon him the 20 gold Fredericks.

Who gave you this money? I had a credit upon Messrs. Bausse & Co., at Hambourg, for 200 pounds sterling, against which I drew to the order of Messrs. Stauntz & Co., Vienna, nearly 100 pounds sterling at two different times.

How had you arranged for the escape of M. de Lafayette, having only two saddle horses? I had determined to mount behind one of the gentlemen, but as in so doing some accident might happen to us or to the horses, I had already made up my mind in that case to endeavor to reach Prussian Silesia by the mountain.

What precaution had you taken for the success of this enterprise and to continue your journey? Mr. Boullmann had given me a German certificate as his servant, and an old English passport to back up this certificate, and also some letters to one of his old acquaintances, thinking or hoping that would assist me, and that he would not betray me.

And how could you undertake such a thing in this very country of the sovereign whose prisoner M. de Lafayette was? When the proposition was first made to me my feeling was only that of gratitude. I saw an opportunity to restore liberty to a man who at my own age had risked everything for me. In embracing this opportunity, I did not think of harming any one; and I was assured that it was the purpose of M. Lafayette to cross im-

mediately to America and not to mix himself any more in the affairs of the Empire.

How did you know that this was the purpose of M. Lafayette? From Mr. Boullmann, who had it from his friends, and who before had some negotiations with the Prussian minister, when this proposition was made.

Have you any special acquaintance with Lafayette? Only through one American, and besides, my father knew him and fought together with him in the same cause.

Have you any thing further to say in your justification? I hope that the recital I have made will prove my justification.

Francis Kinloch Huger

(In German). Here the examination was closed. The culprit was turned over by the military authorities to the ordinary Olmutz court, put in irons, as a criminal, and held in the strictest custody.

d'Arco,
Commandant

Freiherr v. Dubsky.

LAFAYETTE IN HOLSTEIN

1798

Translated from the original in the possession of Jeremiah Colburn

Wittmold, 24th Nov. [1798]

It is quite a long time since I heard directly from you, my excellent friend; I always depend upon our dear Masson to give you word of myself; my situation in its monotony supplies but few incidents and still fewer projects to communicate to you. My letters from France are
simply distressing for the friends of liberty, and would destroy hope even, but that she outlives every thing. The nation to deliver itself from tyranny has but to will it; the directory to return of themselves to a better regime needs only to weigh well the least disadvantageous of the chances which remain to them, but the extreme discontent of the governed produces no result, and the anxiety of those who govern only causes an increase of injustice and rigor. I am not of those who believe that there is the least advantage to be gained for the public good from the counter-revolutionists, and from foreign governments. It seems that a war or a general peace is expected. Either may bring changes. In the meanwhile, I feel that in the impossibility of being of any service I should remain in complete retirement, and that the public should not hear of me again until the day, if it ever comes, when I may contribute to ameliorate its situation.

I am, however, engaged to make a journey through Holland; you are acquainted with the political aspect of this business. The ill will of the French Directory, the dependence of the Batavian Directory, the selection of a general who is said to be the person I had the misfortune to compromise in trying to find his friend Marat, may cause me to turn my footsteps backward should my daughter, who is detained in this country by her uncertainty regarding the surveillance in which her husband is held, were not obliged to remain until her expected confinement next spring. For her mother can not leave France before the month of February, and it is not yet certain that she can come to Holstein before returning to Paris. These considerations of affection will probably turn the scale, and as I do not believe that there are many objections to a tour of two months in Holland, I desire to go there to receive my brevet as grandfather.

What is to become of me afterwards, my dear friend? You have thought that the state of Europe was a reason why I should not leave it, and the state of America supplies a reason the more for delaying my embarkation, but if it be considered that the struggle between royal despotism and that of the Directory will for a long period leave nothing for the enemies of all despoticisms to do, and if, as is supposed, the American Legislature find that its President, who was right in arming to meet violence and insult, should not, however, refuse proffers of peace, are you not of opinion that I had better be in the United States than in those of the King of Denmark, who is himself solicited, it is pretended, to join the maritime coalition.

My wife progresses, though slowly, in the arrangement of her affairs; she has taken good care to say that I ask nothing for myself, and that I do not seek at the present time to return to France, but she has endeavored to be of service to those who accompanied me on my departure; in the first place collectively by presenting a letter from me to the Directory, the principles of which our friends have considered to be too severe in the present condition of affairs, next separately by seeking to obtain for them that they be placed under surveillance; up to the present time she has not succeeded.
Kilmaine, who was to ask the right of pillage for his army, did not dare; I have had in my last letters some hope for Victor, a word also has been said for Charles, but I wish no attention be paid to him until after his wife's confinement. My wife will receive before her departure a letter from me for the government, in which I shall limit myself to a declaration that the officers who left with me could not refuse to follow their General and were ignorant of my purposes. This will serve as a reclamation document which can not be made serve to continue them on the list of the proscribed, because until I have a reply I shall name no one.

The ill success of Messieurs de La-meth, who were backed up by the Helvetian Directory, two of the French Directory, and the Talleyrand report, is not encouraging, but a still more unjust confirmation, although the former is excessively so, is that M. de la Millière, who it is said never left France, has been in prison for more than a year.

I must confide to you a little anecdote concerning a celebrated personage. I had informed Kosciusko that two of his companions of the revolution were in our rooms at Olmutz; he charged a friend to avow to my wife that he did not dare to visit her for fear of the French Directory, of whom the King of Prussia had demanded what they proposed to do with him, and that he had not dared to write to his friend for fear that a letter from him intercepted would lead to the belief that he had still some design concerning Poland. This is certainly excessive prudence, but you must not speak of it.

If you have read the report made in Drouet's favor you have seen one of the periodical attacks with which I am honored by the government and the Jacobins or anarchists of the Directory, who on this occasion have thought proper to name my wife; it seems that it is still thought necessary to do me injury.

Adieu, my dear and excellent friend; I think that Maubourg, as well as his brother Victor, will soon have the pleasure of embracing you. I would like to be in their place. Give me your opinion on public or private matters. The tender and grateful friendship which I have pledged to you is forever graven on my heart.

[Note: No author name or place is given here.]
der, but well proportioned; his manners
are elegant, but totally unaffected; his
mein remarkably modest and unassum-
ing. He is less loquacious than most
of his countrymen; though in small par-
ties is tolerably fond of conversing.
Seated next to him, the other day, at
dinner, he made a number of inquiries
respecting the prosperity of our country,
and especially respecting the progress of
American literature and the sciences.

The Marquis is a little lame. One leg
appears to be somewhat shorter than
the other. Whether this misfortune is
natural or the effect of a wound or some
other casualty, I did not learn. He
has a young look. From his appearance
I should not guess that he had seen more
than fifty winters. But, knowing that
he was a general in the American Army
in 1781, though then styled "the Boy,"
he must, I suppose, at the present pe-
riod, have attained nearly the age of
three score.

In the face of a distinguished hero
we are apt to look for some characteris-
tic indication of military greatness; or
at least, we expect to discover a degree of
sternness, somewhat indicative of
hardihood; something that bespeaks
severity of character. But of these,
there is nothing observable in the ex-
terior of the Marquis de la Fayette.
His countenance is always placid; al-
ways carries in it a gentle smile; always
tells you that nature has imparted to his
soul no ferocity; that his heart is the
seat of more humanity, of more tender-
ness, of acuter sensibility, than ordin-
arily fall to the lot of brave warriors.
This veteran is at the present moment
covered with the vail of sorrow. Mr. P.
has just received a letter from him. "I
have lost," writes the afflicted general,
"the angel who has blessed my life for
thirty-four years. She expired softly in
my arms on the last Thursday evening,
and gave testimony of her affection for
me to the latest breath." She is said to
have been considerably older than the
Marquis, and to have exhibited a rare
instance in this country, but not in our
own, of the unconquerable strength of
her conjugal attachment. It will give
you pain, my friend, to learn that the
pecunia condition of this illustrious
nobleman is far from being enviable.
His circumstances are often not a little
embarrassed. His revenue, I am in-
formed, is extremely contracted.—

*Modern Paris. Literary and Philosoph-
ical Repertory [II. 6, 1816.]*

*Editor*

WIT OF THE REVOLUTION—A CARD

—The Monsieurs, Myneers, Yankees
and Dons present their compliments to
the My lords, and being desirous of en-
tertaining them in a manner suitable to
their taste, are happy in making them
the following invitations:

Monsieur has the honour to invite
them to a grand concert on the water,
when the power of music will be shown
in a manner never heard of since the
days of Timotheus and Alexander.
They hope it will be such as to make the
My lords acknowledge his superiority
in musical composition and perform-
ance.

Yankey intends to present them with
a grand Fire Work, to be performed at
London, or some other great seaport
town in Great Britain or Ireland, but
much superior to those which the Mylor is pretended to exhibit at Norfolk, Kingston, New London, etc. For the sake of those who are in this country and cannot transport themselves over to England, they will shortly be shown a new Bear-Trap, wherein five thousand of these obnoxious animals are to be caught at once. This Entertainment was already exhibited to them about four years ago, and they were pleased to be highly satisfied with it. The present one is on a new plan, in which friend Monsieur has had some share.

Mynheer and Don do not chuse as yet to let them know what will be the nature of their entertainment, being desirous of affording them the pleasure of surprise. — The Pennsylvania Packet, Saturday, Oct. 6, 1781.

YORKTOWN

THE DUKE OF MERCURY—Three or four years ago, I had occasion to study the history of Captain John Smith, the saviour of the Jamestown colony and the “Admiral of New England,” with some care. My curiosity was piqued at finding that his biographer, Hilliard, and other writers, threw no light upon the “Duke of Mercury,” under whom Smith says that he fought in the wars against the Turks. Of course there could have been no nobleman in Europe, even in 1601–2, with so preposterous a title. Hilliard probably felt this himself, for he calls him “Duke Mercury.” I found on a little search that the Duc of Mercury was none other than Philippe Emmanuel de Lorraine Duc de Mercœur, one of the leaders of the League in its resistance to Henri IV. It is curious to observe that Englishmen in that day were not more successful in pronouncing French names, than they are in this.

Smith, no doubt, called the name Mercœur, as an English-speaking man would probably do now. Thus mis-pronounced, his road was clear to render it “Duke of Mercury.” It was this Duke who distinguished himself in the brilliant retreat from Kaniska, and who captured Alba Regalis, in the war in which Smith distinguished himself against the Turks, and won his famous coat of arms of three Turks’ heads in a shield. There is a Histoire du duc de Mercœur by Bruslé de Montpleinchamp, Cologne, 1689–1697, with a frontispiece portrait and a tedious detail of pious marvels, mingled with its history. I found a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and another in the British Museum. I should greatly like an opportunity to see the work again, without crossing the ocean, but if there is a copy in America, I do not know where it is. Though scarce, the book is not extremely high-priced I believe. I found book-sellers in Paris who had sold it, but I tried in vain to procure a copy. The only biographical dictionary in which I have seen a mention of the Duke, is the Biographie Universelle of F. X. de Feller, which has half a page about him, under his title “Mercœur.”

EDWARD EGGLESTON

New York

WASHINGTON AND FERGUSON—When in Edinburgh, several years ago, I had the privilege of meeting the venerable Principal of the University, the Very Rev. Dr. Lee (since dead). A man of
queries

vast research and accumulated stores of learning, he possessed upon almost every imaginable topic the most minute and exact information. His own library must have been one of the largest of the kind in the world. It cannot have numbered less than forty thousand volumes, besides quantities of manuscripts. In the single department of New England theology of the seventeenth century, Dr. Lee showed me a multitude of books and pamphlets, such as few of our own bibliophiles, I imagine, have gathered. I could not help coveting, in behalf of some of our Historical Societies, a collection of very scarce tracts, etc., relating to our colonial history—among other things, a set of maps and diagrams illustrating the various engagements and campaigns of the British army during the Revolutionary struggle. Dr. Lee related to me, in this connection, a curious incident, as told him by his uncle, an officer by the name of Ferguson (a brother, if I mistake not, of the celebrated Adam Ferguson), who served in the American war.

Major Ferguson was at one time standing upon the bank of a river, when he observed three American officers walking on the opposite bank. He also perceived that the movements of these officers were watched by a small band of British soldiers near him, several of whom deliberately raised their muskets, and were about to fire, when Major Ferguson, who had hastened toward them, struck down their muskets and reproved them sharply for their base conduct. One of the American officers, who noticed this generous action, raised his hat and bowed in acknowledgment of this courtesy. It was the American commander-in-chief, Washington himself, whose life was thus providentially saved.

C. W. B.

Rye, Westchester Co., N. Y.

Patriotic New Jersey—Gen. Joseph Reed in his reply to the slanders of Cadwallader printed in 1783, thus alludes to the place of his birth. "The crime of being born in New Jersey, I shall neither palliate nor deny; so far from it that I am proud to boast this accidental connection with a State, which for its heroic exertions in the common cause, and patriotic gratitude, may be ranked with any State either ancient or modern: If they are not ashamed of me, I certainly shall never be ashamed of them."

Minto

queries

Strictures on André's Character—Sargent, in his Life of André, says: "In some severe strictures on his character, published after his death, it was positively alleged that André took away with him from the Library Company of Philadelphia, a copy of the Encyclopædia, which had been presented by Dr. Franklin."

Where can I find the strictures on André to which Sargent alludes?

C.

The Trip to the Block-House—In a shed in the rear of the headquarters at Newburgh, amongst fragments of the boom and chain and other relics of the Revolution, is an old wooden door described in the Catalogue as "No. 608,
Door of the famous Block-house near Fort Lee, in Bergen Woods. From Judge Suffern, Rockland County. What is the history of this door, and when was the Block-house taken away? In relation to the expedition to the Block-house, Sargent, in a note to the Cow-Chase, says, "By the way, this order may explain the last scenes of the cattle taken:—'one of the drafts acquainted with the management of hides and tallow from each wing to be sent to the Commissary of Hides at the Magazine.'"


C.

**Lieutenant Fraser**—The full name and some account is desired of this gallant officer, who was sent to the Illinois country by Gen. Gage, after the surrender of the French. It will be remembered that his life was saved by Pontiac, who allowed him to escape to New Orleans.

**Ohio**

**The Storming of York Town**—George Washington Parke Custis in his eulogy on General Lingen, who was murdered while a prisoner by the Baltimore mob, July 28, 1812, thus referred to the assault on York Town: "When was the time during our arduous struggle, that the soldier of freedom stained his laurels with his prisoner's blood? While storming the redoubts at York Town, the cry of the soldiers was 'Remember New London!' yet, no sooner had the foe submitted, than mercy, divine mercy, sat triumphant on my country's colors—aye, my friends, Hamilton and Laurens commanded there."

Is not the above statement of a storming cry, a mere flight of fancy on the part of the exuberant orator?

**Minto**

**Who was this John Washington?**—I have before me an original Return of Ordnance and Quarter-Master's stores on hand, and issued at Annapolis Royal, (formerly capital of Nova Scotia), 1719-

1722, signed "Jno. Washington," without any addition or description of rank. This name is identical with that of the ancestor of General Washington, who emigrated to America in 1657. One of the returns attached is signed Otho Hamilton, and dated March 2, 1722.

*Utica, N. Y.*

M. M. J.

**The Chief of the Livingston Family**—In the April number of the Magazine, in the notice of the descendants of William Smith, I read as follows: "Susanna Smith married 1747 Robert James Livingston, the eldest son of James and Maria (Kierscheidt) Livingston, the feudal head or chief in descent of that family in America."—Now I would like to know who was the chief of the Livingston family. The uncle who came to America in 1694 and married Mrs. Nicholas Van Renssalaer (Alida Schuyler), or the nephew who came over in 1696 and married Margaret Schuyler?—It is to the latter family that the Smith article alluded. M.

**Sahgum**—(See Magazine, Vol. VI. p. 299) I also desire an explanation of this word. Upon a rapier once belonging to Silvester Salisbury, captain in the British army, and commander (1670-3) of Fort Albany, and now in the possession of his
descendant, Mr. William Salisbury, of Catskill, N. Y., are stamped the figures 1544, and the word SACHGUM.

A sahagun in the 17th century was the name of a rapier made in Toledo, and Alonzo de Sahagun, about 1570, was a noted armorer of that city. H. B.

REPLIES

NEW YORK IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—(V. 62, 146.) I can see how by taking a peculiar view of the facts, J. A. S. can claim that the New York delegates in the Continental Congress had "no instructions whatever with regard to a vote for Independence." But I look at the facts another way.

The New York delegates to the Continental Congress, when appointed in April, 1775, were instructed "to concert and determine upon such measures as shall be judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies." These instructions were naturally thought to forbid voting for Independence, and the delegates, in a letter dated June 8th, 1776, appealed to the New York Provincial Congress for explanations. In response the New York Provincial Congress, on June 11th—"Resolved unanimously that the good people of this Colony have not, in the opinion of this Congress, authorized this Congress or the Delegates of this Colony in the Continental Congress to declare this Colony to be and continue independent of the crown of Great Britain."

A letter was sent, on June 11th, to the New York Delegates in the Continental Congress stating that the New York Provincial Congress "are unanimously of opinion that you are not authorized by your instructions to give the sense of this Colony on the question of declaring it to be and continue an independent State, nor does this Congress incline to instruct you on that point, it being a matter of doubt whether their constituents intended to vest them with a power to deliberate and determine on that question."

I think this letter was intended as a caution to the Delegates not to vote for Independence. The Delegates appear to have understood it so, for they replied, on June 17th: "We received great pleasure from knowing the sentiments of the Hon. the Convention, relative to the important subject on which we thought it our duty to ask their opinion. We are happy in having it in our power to assure them that we have hitherto taken no steps inconsistent with their intention as expressed in their letter, by which we shall be careful to regulate our future conduct."

Accordingly, the New York Delegates in the Continental Congress refrained from voting for the resolution of Independence that passed on July 2d, 1776. Why they refrained appears by a letter they wrote to the New York Provincial Congress the morning of the same day:

"Gentlemen, the important question of Independency was agitated yesterday in a committee of the whole Congress, and this day will be finally determined in the House. We know the line of our conduct on this occasion. We have your instructions and will faithfully pursue them.
New doubts and difficulties, however, will arise should independence be declared; and that it will not we have not the least reason to suspect, nor do we believe that, if any, more than one Colony (and the delegates of that divided) will vote against the question; every Colony (ours only excepted) having withdrawn their former instructions, and either positively instructed their delegates to vote for Independence or concur in such vote if they shall judge it expedient," etc.

The meagre Journal of the Continental Congress gives no names of the voters of Independence, but Thomas McKean, a delegate present, testifies that Henry Wisner so voted. This testimony is contained in four letters, one dated September 26th, 1796, and printed in Sanderson's Biography of the Signers; another dated August 22d, 1813, and lithographed in Brotherhead's Book of the Signers; a third dated January, 1814, and printed in Vol. X of John Adams' Works; and a fourth dated June 16th, 1817, and most readily found in the Appendix to Christopher Marshall's Diary.

As McKean's memory curiously confounds the work of July 2d with that of July 4th, it does not certainly appear from McKean's letters whether Wisner voted for the resolution of Independence of July 2d, or for the Declaration of Independence of July 4th. I assume the latter, to avoid conflicting with the testimony there exists that no New Yorker voted for the former.

Henry Wisner was just the kind of a man who might be expected to vote for Independence against or without instructions. He was of a bold and contentious spirit, and had, in 1773, smashed the wooden figure of the King's Arms, intended for the Goshen Court House, a feat usually but less probably ascribed to his son Gabriel. He had also recently built two powder mills and may have wanted to make business brisk.

Wisner appears to have attended the Continental Congress until July 16, 1776. He took his seat in the New York Convention of Representatives on July 23d, and continued in attendance there. This account for his not signing the parchment Declaration of Independence on August 2d, though there is some evidence that he signed the original paper Declaration of Independence on July 19th. Wisner's membership in the Convention of Representatives has always been omitted in the New York Civil List, whose various compilers have evidently confounded this Henry Wisner of Orange County with his son Henry Wisner of Ulster County.

In the note about the copy of Paine's Common Sense, sent by Henry Wisner to John McKesson (V. 62), the story of the reading of it at a private meeting of New York patriots, and John Morin Scott's alarm at its boldness, was taken by Richman from Cheetham's Life of Paine (N. Y., 1809, p. 47.) I presume Cheetham got it from this John McKesson, who was an officer of the New York Historical Society from 1805 to 1818.

New York

F. Burdge

Bamffyld moore carew, king of the beggars —[VI. 220] was born 1693, at Bickley in Devonshire, England, son of the Rev. Theodore Carew, for
many years rector there. Hugh Bampfylde and Major Moore, of families equally ancient and respectable as that of Carew, were his god-fathers at his baptism, and from them he received his two Christian names.

At twelve years he was sent to Tiverton school, and during four years there, he acquired considerable Latin and Greek with other knowledge; but then abandoned and joined a band of Gypsies, who initiated him into their “arts,” and he soon defrauded a lady of twenty guineas, under pretext of discovering, by astrology, a hidden treasure. After a year and a half of vagrancy he returned home; but he again absconded; embraced the Gipsy life permanently, and became very artful in disguising his voice, countenance and dress. He went on a voyage to Newfoundland “out of curiosity,” and obtained information useful to him when he chose to assume to be a wrecked seaman. After the death of Claus Patch, the king of the mendicants, he was elected their king in his stead; but not long after he was arrested as an idle vagrant, tried at Exeter and transported to Maryland, where, being arrived, he gave his keepers the slip and betook himself to the woods. He was stopped as a runaway, not having a pass, and put into prison, whence he sent word to the Captain of the ship that brought him to Maryland, who sent his boat for him, and then flogged him, and put an iron collar on his neck. He subsequently escaped to a camp of friendly Indians, and afterwards wandering with them near the river Delaware, embraced an opportunity of seizing a canoe and landed from it near New Castle.

Thence he went to Philadelphia, disguising himself as a Quaker, and securing abundant supplies, from there to New York, and set sail for England, landing at Bristol, and soon rejoined his begging companions. He is said to have died about the year 1770, aged 77.

This account of Carew is condensed from a work published under the title of “Remarkable Characters,” at Louisville, Kentucky, 1854, in which his successful stratagems and disguises are given at greater length. The dates of his arrival in America and of his return to England are not given.

Albany

J. H. V. A.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON’S DESCENDANTS

—[V. 373, VI. 224] “Utica” asks some questions, makes some singular assertions and leaves his readers to draw some inferences in his note as to the descendants of Sir William Johnson. “Editor” has corrected one error, an error which has lurked quite extensively over the country. That Molly Brant was the sister of Joseph Brant, Thayendanega, has been generally believed.

The following, copied by me from the original, seems to settle the matter as to Peter Johnson. Why or for what purpose the affidavit was taken does not appear. John Ray was a prominent citizen of New York.

“City of New York, to wit. Alexander Ellice of London, in the kingdom of Great Britain, merchant, at present residing in the city of New York, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith that he was personally acquainted with Peter Johnson, the natural son of Sir William Johnson, Baronet, deceased, by Mary Brant, his house-keeper, that the said Peter Johnson entered the British army as an Ensign and some time in the year of our
Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, sailed with the said army for America, where he died or was killed some time in that year or the year following; that the said Peter Johnson never married to the knowledge of this deponent, and this deponent verily believes died without leaving any lawful issue, and further this deponent saith not.

(Signed) ALEX'K ELICKE

Sworn this fourth day of
March, 1795, before me,

JOHN RAY, M. Ch'y.

Utica, N. Y. M. M. J.

Descendants of Bishop Burnet in this country—[VI. 222] I cannot undertake to solve the genealogical problem of W. H. about Hon. Wm. B. Kinney’s descent from Bishop Burnet; but in August, 1869, I organized a parish of the Prot. Epis. Church in Barboursville, Cabell County, West Virginia, and procured the election of a vestry of four gentlemen, one of whom was an English physician named Gilbert Burnet, a genuine descendant of the Bishop of Sarum. Whether Dr. B. is now living can be ascertained by writing to him or to Hon. Judge Samuels of Barboursville, W. Va.

Wilkes Barre, Pa. H. E. H.

Death of Braddock—[V. 374, VI. 63] Mr. O. W. Shaw and Minto, by referring to the Historical Magazine, 2d series, Vol. I, 141, will find that Thomas Fawsett was not the only person who claimed to have killed Braddock. Robert Allison, who claimed to have been a captain in Braddock’s army, and also in the Pennsylvania troops in the Revolutionary war, asserted that he killed Braddock; his statement, however, will not bear investigation any better than Fawsett’s.

Alleghany, Pa. ISAAC CRAIG

Burgoyned—(V. 137, 379)—Referring to the battle of Monmouth, June, 1778, Riedesel says in his journal: “General Washington and all Americans already believed that they had ‘Burgoyned’ this army (as they are in the habit of expressing themselves in their public journals), etc.” Memoirs of General Riedesel, Vol. II., p. 332.

After the capture of Stony Point by Wayne and the light infantry, the American General Howe prepared to attack the enemy at Verplanck’s Point on the opposite side, but retired without making the attempt. Major General Heath reporting his movements wrote from Mandeville, July 19, 1779: “I think Major General Howe was very fortunate in making his retreat at the instant he did—had he remained I think he would have been Burgoyned—his intelligence being good, he escaped it.” Mass. His. Soc. MSS.

The surrender of Charleston, S. C., is mentioned by B. Smith in a letter dated Sept. 30, 1780: “This will give a rude shock to the independence of America, and a Lincolnad will become as common a term as a Burgoynad.” Siege of Charleston, p. 85. H. P. J.

— The following is found in Trumbull’s McFingal, Canto IV:

And all his troops, to fate consign’d,
By instantaneous stroke, Burgoyned.∗

∗ To Burgoyn an army was during the war a favorite phrase in America, to express a complete capture.

W. K.
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

The regular meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held on the 8th April. Gifts were reported of a cast of the famous "John Endicott Stone," and of nearly fifty autograph letters from John Adams, written between 1774 and 1801, one from his wife, Abigail Adams, two from General Knox, and one from Washington at Mount Vernon in 1788, besides several papers, in manuscript and print, relating to the same period. These letters were addressed to Judge William Tudor, and are now presented to the Society by Mrs. Fenno Tudor of Boston. A paper was read by Professor Haynes on the true authorship of the motto of the Society, "Sic vos non vobis," falsely attributed to Virgil. The election of officers was then held, and the following were chosen: President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; Corresponding Secretary, Justin Winsor; Librarian, Samuel A. Green.

The New England Historic Genealogic Society held a quarterly meeting on the 6th April; the President, Marshall P. Wilder, in the chair. A letter was read from Dr. Augustus L. Plongeon, the celebrated Yucatan explorer, announcing further discoveries, and stating his intention soon to leave Merida for the ruins of Uxmal, for a stay of three months to study the meaning of some characters and intricate monograms. He has already succeeded in deciphering part of the inscriptions upon the front of the building called the Sanctuary, more generally known by the name of the Diviners' House. An elaborate paper on Burgoynes's Campaign, based on Thomas Anburey's Letters from America (London, 1791), was then read by the Reverend Nathan H. Chamberlain of Cambridge. Mr. Chamberlain repeated the thread-bare assertion that Arnold was the hero of Saratoga. When the Gates papers are laid before the public in a connected form his relation to the campaign will appear in a different light from any yet presented. The Librarian reported numerous gifts, among which that of John J. May of twenty-five volumes on New England local history, biography and genealogy, many of extreme rarity; also a copy of the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Lynde and his son, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., annotated by Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver.

The New York Historical Society met on the evening of the 7th April. A paper was read by Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of the University of Michigan, upon "The Chief Tory Satirists of the Revolution." The most famous of the pamphleteers who lampooned the patriots and their cause were Samuel Seabury of New York and Daniel Leonard of Boston. Of the satirists, Jonathan Odell held the most trenchant pen, and Washington himself did not escape the bitterness of his spleen.

The Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society met, at their rooms in the Westmoreland Club building, Richmond, on the evening of the 2d April. An interesting memoir of the late George Cooke, the artist, prepared by his niece, Miss Adelaide V. Cooke, was submitted.
The Georgia Historical Society met, at Hodgson Hall, Savannah, on the evening of the 4th April. The sale of the Society's lot and building on Bryan street was reported and confirmed.

The Licking County, Ohio, Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society reported its transactions for the month of March in the Newark (Ohio) American. They were of local interest.

On the 13th and 14th April, 1881, the General Society of the Cincinnati convened in Triennial meeting at Charleston, S. C., and continued in session two days. The following delegates from the several existing State societies attended, viz.:


Appropriate resolutions were adopted relative to the deceased, since the last Triennial in Philadelphia of 1878, of the Hon. James Simons, of South Carolina, Vice-President General, and William Berrian Dayton, of New Jersey, Assistant Treasurer General. The invitation of the joint special committee of Congress, for the society to designate a representative to confer on the programme and arrangements relative to the Centennial celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, was acted upon. The 100th anniversary of the founding of the society at the cantonments of the American army near Newburgh, N. Y., in May, 1783, by Baron de Steuben, Genls. Washington, Knox, Heath, Lincoln, and others, is to be celebrated by striking a commemorative medal.

During the sessions of the General Society, it was entertained at a dinner at the Charleston Hotel by the South Carolina Cincinnati, and by an excursion upon a special steamer to Dayton Hall and Magnolia gardens on the Astley River.

The following general officers were chosen for the ensuing three years.

President General, Hon. Hamilton Fish, of N. Y. Vice-President General, Dr. Wm. Armstrong Irvine, of Penn. Secretary General, George Washington Harris, of Penn. Asst. Secy. General, Rich'd Irvine Manning, of Md. Treasurer General, John Schuyler, of N. Y. Asst. Treasurer General, Dr. Herman Burgin, of N. J.

Governor Fish was first chosen to the office of President General in 1854, and has therefore been ten times elected to the position in which he succeeded.
EDITOR'S CHRONICLE


The board of managers of the Saratoga Monument Association met at the Delavan House, Albany, on the 31st of May, when the Hon. Horatio Seymour resigned the presidency on account of his ill health, and the Hon. John H. Starin was elected to the position. The design of T. C. Markham for the monument was accepted. Mrs. Walworth, the chairman of the committee to mark the different historical spots on the battle and surrender grounds, reported that eight persons have already subscribed memorial tablets, viz., Hon. Horatio Seymour, Lord Carnavan (a nephew of Lady Harriet Ackland), Hon. George West, D. A. Bullard, James M. Marvin, and John Austin Stevens.

At the last meeting of the New York Chamber of Commerce John Austin Stevens presented, in behalf of a number of gentlemen, a fine portrait of De Witt Clinton by Colonel Trumbull. This ancient corporation has now a fine gallery of portraits, which, in addition to a nearly complete set of its Presidents from 1768, also contains full-lengths of Governor Cadwallader Colden, of Alexander Hamilton and John Sherman, and three-quarter lengths of John Bright and Richard Cobden. The subscription for the Washington monument on the Sub-Treasury steps in Wall street moves slowly, but its success is assured.

According to the "Jewish Chronicle," the total number of the Hebrew race at the present time is between six and seven millions. Of this number about five millions in Europe, of whom more than half in Russia; on the American continent, from one million to fifteen hundred thousand; in Palestine, twenty-five thousand.

Mr. John Baldwin Hay, former United States Consul at Beirut, has informed Major Latrobe of Baltimore, that a statue of Baal, the great idol of the Philistines, which formerly stood at Gaza in Palestine, can be had at a small price, if the city desire it for one of her public parks. It is fifteen feet high, and represents a man of venerable age, with hair falling in long ringlets upon the shoulders. What with Egyptian obelisks and pagan idols, the archaeologist of the future will find it hard to comprehend what manner of man we were.

Thomas Carlyle bequeathed to Harvard College such books as he owned and made use of in writing on Cromwell and Friederich. In his will he gives as a reason for this bequest, "a variety of kind feelings, obligations and regard toward New England," and gratitude for "so much of friendliness and of actually credible human love" from America.

The third part of the American library of the late George Brinley of Hartford, Conn., began on the 4th and was concluded on the 7th of April, at the rooms of Leavitt & Co., Clinton Hall, New York. The books sold concerned the
The house in which Davy Crockett once lived, at Lawrenceburg, Tenn., is still standing, and numerous documents written by him as Justice of the Peace, exist in the neighborhood. General Marcus J. Wright has collected a number of interesting particulars concerning this celebrated frontiersman, of whom there is also an original portrait in the New York Historical Society.

The statue to Alexander Hamilton, the work of Ball Hughes, was the first marble statue carved in America. It was of pure Carrara marble, remarkable for its purity. It stood in the Merchants' Exchange, and was burned in the great fire of 1835. The original plaster model taken to Albany, escaped injury when the Court House was burned, and is now preserved in that city. It should be repeated.

A bill has been introduced into the Arkansas Legislature to recognize the Historical Society of that State and to encourage its object.

Mr. William Astor, of New York, has purchased Dana's historical marine painting, representing the old frigate Constitution pursued by a British squadron.

The Committee on Foreign Relations of the present Congress have concurred in a report allotting $70,739 to the representatives of Captain Samuel C. Reid of the privateer Armstrong, which was cut out from under the Portuguese guns of Fayal by a British squadron in 1814. The case was once decided on
arbitration by Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, in favor of Portugal as against the claimants, who were not permitted to submit evidence. Protest was entered and appeal made to Congress. The Court of Claims decided in favor of the claimants in 1855, and it is probable that justice may at last be done to the family of the gallant officer who for hours, with seven guns and seventy men, held at bay three British vessels; one ship of the line of 74 guns, one frigate of 44, and a brig of 18—a total force of 136 guns and 2,000 men, with an Admiral in command. Overpowered, Reid scuttled his ship and took his men on shore, after inflicting severe loss on the assailants.

The name of Magazine of the State Department is appropriately given by the press to its series of monthly reports from United States Consuls, three of which have been published. These reports are classified by continents, and abound in information entertaining as well as useful. It is, in fact, an admirable international monthly.

The total railway mileage in the United States is 93,784, against 60,283 in 1871, and 74,096 in 1875. There were 7,027 miles of new track laid down in 1880 on 234 different lines. The promise for 1881 is of an increase equal to, if not greater, than the figures.

The Old Patent of Connecticut, the Earl of Warwick’s grant, was signed 19th March, 1631, old style. It is proposed to celebrate the quarter millennial anniversary of the settlement of Hartford by a history of the county. The work is to be on the monograph plan, adopted in the Centennial History of Boston, and to be under the editorial supervision of J. Hammond Trumbull.

After forty-seven years of petition, Congress has allowed the claim of the heirs of Henry M. Shreve for clearing the Mississippi; his famous snag-boat removed the vast rafts of logs, the accumulation of centuries, opened eleven hundred miles of navigation, and reclaimed hundreds of thousands of acres of land. Fifty thousand dollars was awarded.

President Garfield has accepted the invitation of the Hon. John Goode, President of the Yorktown Association, to deliver the address at the laying of the corner stone of the monument during the centennial celebration next summer. The Secretary of State, who, under the act of Congress, has control of the twenty thousand dollars appropriated for the entertainment of the French visitors, has announced his intention to secure a large man-of-war for the reception and entertainment of these guests. The executive committee will leave Washington during the month of April to select sites for the erection of wharves and buildings, and the entire committee will assemble at old Point Comfort shortly after the adjournment of the Senate, and continue in session to perfect details during the summer.

The New York Times quotes a passage from the London Telegraph in which a strange blunder appears. "It
is not generally known that at the mo-
ment when Lord Cornwallis surrendered
to General Washington the humbled
Englishman simultaneously uncovered
his head. With characteristic thought-
fulness General Washington prayed him
to put on his hat, as, the weather being
chilly and wet, there was danger of his
catching cold. ‘It does not matter
much what now becomes of me’ ex-
claimed the dejected Englishman; to
which, in a firm voice, General Wash-
ington at once replied, ‘On the contrary, my
lord, I anticipate for you a long career
of distinction and honor in the service
of your king and country.” Now it is
well known that Cornwallis pleaded ill-
ness on the day of the surrender and
did not go out with his troops, and the
surrender was made by General O’Hara.

Thurlow Weed, whose intimacy with
Seward gave him access to State secrets,
has written a letter to the New York
Herald, in which he says that the late
Czar of Russia, on hearing that England
mediated hostilities against the United
States during the civil war, immedi-
ately sent two fleets across the Atlantic
with sealed orders. The presumption is
that in the event anticipated Russia
would have declared in our favor.

A blue book has been issued on the
tenure of land in the Province of Prince
Edward Island. About a century ago
all but a small part of the island was
disposed of in one day by lottery before
the Board of Trade and Plantations at
quit rents, which were never paid, and
on conditions of settlement which were
disregarded. After various attempts
a conclusion was reached in 1875, the
tenants acquiring the right of the land-
lord.

The Hon. William Beach Lawrence,
who died recently in New York City, is
recognized as one of the most distin-
guished of Americans. A competent
critic says of him that he was “the most
conspicuous, the most learned and the
best equipped of our publicists.” His
work on international law, which was
the study of his life, is universally ac-
ccepted as authority on this intricate sub-
ject.

The Waverley Snow Shoe Club held
their annual races on the Esplanade in
Quebec in March last. The dignitaries
of the Dominion were present. Our
Canadian cousins are a sport loving
people, and delight in out-door exercise
in which they turn even the disadvan-
tages of their rude climate into a source
of pleasure and health.

Another of the old land marks of
Boston, interesting as the scene of Gov-
ernor Hancock’s visit to President
Washington, which is memorable as the
occasion of a dispute as to precedence
between these high dignitaries. The
supremacy of the Nation over the State
was stoutly maintained by Washington,
and the Governor was obliged to yield.
The building which stands at the corner
of Tremont and Court streets was at the
time occupied as a boarding house by
one John Ingersoll. It was later the
law office of Harrison Gray Otis, Web-
ster, Leverett Saltonstall and other legal
worthies.
NEWSPAPERS IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Communicated by John W. M. Lee, Librarian and Curator

MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS

**Annapolis**
- The Maryland Gazette. Published by William Parks. 1728–1729
- The Maryland Gazette. Published by Jonas Green. 1740–1756
- The Maryland Republican. 1809–1839

**Baltimore**
- The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser. 1773–1797
- Dunlap's Maryland Gazette. 1775–1779
  - Continued as
  - The Maryland Gazette. 1783–1791
  - The Baltimore Daily Repository. 1791–1793
  - Baltimore Daily Intelligencer. 1793–1794
    - Continued as
    - Federal Intelligencer. 1795
      - Continued as
      - Federal Gazette. 1796–1825
        - Continued as
        - The Baltimore Gazette. 1825–1827
        - Baltimore Weekly Gazette. 1832–1834
        - The Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser. 1797–1802
        - American and Daily Advertiser. 1799–1830
          - American and Commercial Advertiser. 1800–1807
          - Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser. 1808–1809
          - The American Patriot and Fell's Point Advertiser. 1802–1803
          - The Republican, or Anti-Democrat. 1803–1804
          - Baltimore Evening Post. 1805–1811
          - The Whig. 1808–1810
      - Continued as
      - The Baltimore Whig. 1815–1829
      - North American and Mercantile Advertiser. 1808–1809
        - Continued as
        - Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette. 1809–1811

For continuation, see

**Georgetown**
- Federal Republican
- The Baltimore Patriot. 1812–1847
- The Mechanics’ Gazette and Merchants’ Daily Advertiser. 1815
- The People’s Friend. 1816
- Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph. 1819–1823
- Morning Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser. 1820–1823
- North American. 1827–1828
- The Marylander. 1827–1828
- Baltimore Republican, also known as “The Argus.” 1829–1863
- The Weekly Argus. 1849–1851
- The Daily Chronicle. 1851–1853
- Baltimore Daily Transcript. 1836–1838
- Baltimore Commercial Transcript. 1836–1838
- Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander. 1839
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- Baltimore Clipper. .................................................. 1839-1840
- Spirit of Democracy. ............................................... 1840
- The Sun. .................................................................. 1837-1880
- The Daily Exchange .................................................. 1859-1861
    - Continued as
      - The Maryland Times ........................................... 1861-1862
      - The Maryland News Sheet .................................. 1862-1880
- The South. T. W. Hall, Jr. ......................................... 1861
- The South. J. M. Mills & Co. ....................................... 1861-1862
- Evening Bulletin .................................................... 1876-1879
- The Telegram .......................................................... 1879-1880

**Chestertown**
- The Chestertown Transcript ....................................... 1875-1878

**Easton**
- The Maryland Herald ................................................. 1791-1793, 1796-1804
- Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser ....... 1802-1830
- The People’s Monitor ................................................ 1815
- Eastern Shore Whig ................................................... 1830-1841
- Easton Gazette ........................................................ 1831-1848
- Eastern Shore Star, afterwards the Easton Star .......... 1841-1862

**Frederick**
- The Maryland Chronicle, or the Universal Advertiser ........ 1786-1787
- Bartgis’ Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser. 1792-1794
    - Continued as
      - Bartgis’ Federal Gazette, or the Frederick-Town and County Weekly Advertiser ............................................ 1794-1799
        - Continued as
          - Bartgis’ Republican Gazette ................................ 1801-1820
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              - The Republican Gazette and General Advertiser .......... 1821-1824
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                  - Political Intelligencer or Republican Gazette ....... 1824
                    - The Rights of Man .......................................... 1794, 1798, 1800
                    - Hornet ..................................................... 1803-1806
                    - Frederick-Town Herald .................................. 1804, 1812-1831, 1834
                    - Frederick Herald .......................................... 1804
                    - The Independent American Volunteer ................ 1807-1808
                    - The Hornet or Republican Advocate .................... 1809-1811
                    - Plain Dealer—Plain Dealer and Political Intelligencer ... 1813-1814
                    - Political Examiner and Public Advertiser .......... 1814-1815, 1818-1819, 1822-
                      1823, 1827, 1830, 1835
                      - The Examiner .................................................. 1857-1880
                      - Republican Citizen and State Advertiser .......... 1821-1828, 1837-1838
                      - Anti-Jacksonian .............................................. 1828
                      - The People ..................................................... 1828
                      - The Times .................................................... 1834
                        - Continued as
                          - The Times and Democratic Advocate .................. 1837
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NEWSPAPERS OTHER THAN OF MARYLAND

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For earlier years see

| Baltimore Federal Republican |

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| Waltham, N. H. | Northampton and Vermont Journal | 1796-1800 |

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LITERARY NOTICES

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

DAS DEUTSCH ELEMENT IN DEN VER. STAATEN VON NORDAMERICA, 1815-1848. (The German Element in the U. S. of America, 1815-1848.) BY GUSTAV KORNER. 8vo, pp. 461. A. E. WILDE & CO. CINCINNATI, 1880.

There are probably few men who are as well fitted to write a history of the Germans in the U. S. as Governor Koorner, who emigrated to this country in 1835, and soon won the confidence of his veteran new countrymen to such an extent, that he was successively elected Member of Assembly, Judge of the Court of Appeals, and finally Lieutenant-Governor of the State in which he had settled, Illinois. The prominence of his position, acquired at a time when "know-nothingism" was most rampant, brought him naturally into close contact with all the eminent men of his own nationality, and gave him full occasion to collect the material for this volume, which might be called "biographical sketches" of all the Germans, who acquired local or general reputation during the years 1815-1848. For the future historian of the Germans in the United States, it will be an excellent book of reference, as the sketches are judiciously divided into chapters by States, where the subject of the sketch settled or came into prominence, and a copious index facilitates the finding of any desired name or subject treated of in the book. The national pride, with which every German looks upon his fellow-countryman, who has acquired wealth or reputation in a foreign land, animates the whole book, without hurting the amor patria of the native American, who, however, should not forget that German blood and German culture have helped us much to become the nation that we are. Beginning with Pennsylvania, as the State where the German element had become conspicuous long before the revolution, we read, as of prominent Germans there, of Henry Bohlen, son-in-law of the late ex-Secretary Bowie, a merchant and brave defender of his adopted country; Rapp, the founder of Harmony in Pennsylvania and Economy in Ohio; Prof. Griend, at one time Professor of Mathematics at Harvard; Dr. Constantin Hering, physician and well-known naturalist; Dr. Wm. Schmoel, writer on medical subjects and founder of Egg Harbor City, N. J.; Dr. Geo. F. Seidensticcken, a citizen of Napoleon's war, like his son Oswald, a prominent German journalist; Emanuel Leutze, the well known painter; Phil. Schaff, D.D., the eminent divine; Father Schmidt (Prince Dmitri Augustin Gallitzen), the founder of the Catholic Mission at Loretto, Cambria Co., Penn.; F. M. Drexel, the banker.

Among the Germans who made New Jersey their new home, Roebling, the bridge builder, is most conspicuous. In New York John Jacob Astor and August Belmont represent wealth; Charles Folken, poetry; Isaac Northeimer, Francis Lieber, Prof. Telchkamp, Charles Nordhoff, Mrs. Prof. Robinson, literature, science, and journalism; Albert Bierstadt and Thos. Nast, art in different ways; Philipp Dorschheimer, politics; Generals Quitman and Steinwehr, the military spirit of the German element. Of the Germans in Ohio we find prominently mentioned among others Judge Sallo, Chas. G. H. Clapp, at one time co-editor of the N. Y. Evening Post, and Generals Aug. V. Kautz, Aug. Moor and Gottfried Weitzel. Of Germans in Illinois we recognize only the names of the author and of ex-Lieut. Governor Hoffman, as most widely known, and among those of the Northwest and the Far West, including the Pacific States many of our readers well know the name of Archbishop Henni, of Milwaukee, and everybody knows the name of General Sutter, the discoverer of gold in California. Of the latter the author says: "Fate ordained that one German (Astor) desiring to found an American colony on the shores of the Pacific, should fail, and a similar plan of another German, born not far from the native place of the first, should succeed."

Missouri had a great attraction for German emigrants, especially of the more educated classes, whom Duden's letters and favorable reports allured. Duden himself never rose to any prominence in Missouri, but many of his friends did, among them Frederic Muench, the Olshauvens, Ernest Angebrodt, Dr. Johann G. Buttenner, a popular German preacher in St. Louis, and many others.

The peculiar institution of the Southern States and the smaller number of Germans emigrating to them made it difficult to assert themselves there, except in Texas, which is still mourning the death of its great and patriotic German Representative in Congress, Mr. Schleicher. We find nevertheless a few names of Germans who went to the Southern States in earlier times, known probably all over the United States, as Michael Hahn, the first Governor of Louisiana after the late war; in South Carolina General John A. Wagener, the Confederate defender of Charleston against his countrymen; the Union General Von Schimmelpenning, and Christ. G. Memminger, Confederate Secretary of the Treasury; in Maryland, A. Schumacher, the Raines and Wm. Knabe of piano renown, and finally in Washington. Ferd. R. Hassler, to whom we owe our system of coast-survey. In conclusion we find a table giving the German immigration from 1820 to 1878, which shows that
the United States gained by it in population alone over three millions of people.

B. FERNOW.


The name of Bernardino de Sahagun is probably little known even among historians, and copies of his work on New Spain are found only in a few libraries. A Spanish monk of the order of St. Francis Father Bernardino was sent to Mexico in 1529, eight years after peace had been established there, to assist in the colonization of the new conquest. A colleague says of him: "He acquired the Mexican tongue in a short time so well that as yet nobody else has penetrated so far into its secrets or used it so much in his writings. During the sixty-one years which this good and pious man lived in this country, his principal charge was the college of Santa Cruz, built near the convent of Tlatelolco, where he worked restlessly to catechize the sons of the great Indian chiefs, sent here to learn reading, writing, the Latin language and to study medicine as well as good manners and good morals." Fortunately Bernardino de Sahagun did not confine himself to teaching good manners to his pupils; he improved the opportunity by studying the customs and usages, the religion and the language of the nation, which he was sent to christianize, and has given us in a large volume the result of his observations and long experience.

The religion, the customs and the language of the Mexicans, as they were before Christian civilization was brutally imposed upon them, are minutely described, and the reader soon becomes interested in the study of this primitive civilization, asking himself, how could men, separated from the old world since many centuries, conceive such social structures? how did poetry, religion, commerce, art, influence their existence? For we have here a people which gradually rose to a certain grade of intellectual culture and social perfection: a people which had no Semitic, Aryan or Chinese civilization to draw from and yet built up a structure not unlike that of these nations. We might therefore conclude, that man in himself one common thought which neither latitude nor longitude can change.

Among the Mexicans superstition entered into everything. Every public or private action was regulated by prayers and ceremonies, often by human sacrifices: the sorcerer and the priest were everywhere the rulers. They had days and months of good or bad luck, amulets, prophecies, sacred dances and songs, and resorted to and believed in witchcraft. Their gods were without number: the principal deity, Vitzilopochtli was probably like the Greek Hercules the outcome of a legendary deification, a great warrior who had in earlier times delivered the first settlers from great dangers. The souls of deceased persons went to three places: if the mortal body had succumbed to disease, the soul went to an earthly paradise; if the body had been deprived of their mundane habitation by lightning, drowning, by leprosy, gout and dropsy, Warriors or captives who were put to death by their captors were alone entitled to go to heaven.

Judging from the long orations reported by Father Bernardino, the Mexicans were great speech makers, for at every sacrifice, feast or other public occasion inexpressible speeches were made.

The volume closes with a dictionary of the Nahauk tongue. For good reasons we cannot say anything about it. It may be an admirable language, but the students at our colleges will congratulate themselves that a study of the meaning of words like chicoapulcamacunyui or mixcoihtlotlacanxilcoatzin is not necessary for a degree.

B. FERNOW.


This elegant volume, a model of book making in paper, press work and typography, is published by subscription. The compilation is the fruit of eight years of labor passed in the libraries of the United States. The result is a collection of fourteen hundred distinct titles relating to the history of Ohio, public documents being excluded. This work is the fourth State Bibliography issued in book form—Massachusetts, by Jeremiah Colburn; Rhode Island, by John Russell Bartlett; and Minnesota, by J. Fletcher Williams. Six others have been published. Wisconsin, by Daniel S. Durrie in the Historical Magazine, April and May, 1870; New Hampshire, in Norton's Literary Letter, 1859; Maine, in Norton's Literary Letter, No. 4, 1859; Maryland, in the Historical Magazine, April and May, 1870; Maine, by Wm. Willis, in the Historical Magazine, March, 1870; and Vermont, by Marcus D. Gilman, in the Argus and Patriot, Montpelier, Vermont, 1879—80. These facts are extracted from Mr. Thomson's brief preface. The editorial notes appended to numerous titles are full of instruction and to the point, and the index is admirably arranged and clearly dis-
played. The volume is a credit to the Nation and to the State whose progress it happily illustrates. We heartily congratulate Mr. Thomson on the successful termination of his labors, and tender him the use of the columns of the Magazine for such additions as he may desire to make from time to time.


This is a revision of the work originally published in 1858, to supply a long acknowledged want in School and College literature; a student's history of England in a volume of moderate size, and tracing with minuteness the development of the British Constitution. The revision was from the competent hand of the late Mr. Brewer. Professor of Modern History in King's College, London. It is all that it claims to be: a handy and complete Manual of English History for the use of schools, and a most compact and desirable reference volume for all to whom literature is a profession. In the treatment of the seventeenth century, Rawson Gardiner has been followed and the author of the English preface claims that he is the only authority worth regarding; and more equitable in his judgments than Brodie, Macaulay, Forster and others who have treated of the same period. But an Englishman without a prejudice would be an anomaly, and we commend the student to take the advocates of King or Parliament, Jacobite and Wilkite, with a due quantity of grains of allowance. As a rule, it is safer to look to historians for facts than for opinions. Of course the portion of the history relating to America is full of gross errors and omissions. These have been pointed out or supplied in supplementary notes by the American editor. For this we thank the Harpers, as also for the excellent colored maps with which the volume abounds.


This anonymous publication, dedicated to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, made its appearance about the time when the candidacy of General Grant for a third term of Presidential office aroused the whole band of croakers who went up and down the land scaring the women and children with their lamentations of woe to the Republic; the man on horseback is in sight and American liberties are about to fall from the enervate grasp of the American people and an empire to be raised on their ruins. While, however, we have no belief in the conclusions drawn by the author, the dangers he points out are worthy of consideration. Our form of government carries with it the perfect capacity of self-preservation, but it is true statesmanship to nip growing evils in the bud and thus avert the more radical treatment which must otherwise be necessarily adopted. The subdivision of subjects suggests the line of argument pursued. An introductory chapter on the nature of government followed by four parts: I. Extinct Republies; ancient date. II. Extinct Republies, medieval and modern date. III. Existing Re- publies; exclusive of the United States. IV. The United States of America.

Our perils at home are pointed out to be Popery—Social Evils—Political Evils. With regard to the first, while it is no doubt true that the history of eclesiasticism is one of encroachment on political and individual rights, yet it cannot be held that Popery in the strict sense of the term exists in this country. That ancient institution has a marvellous power of adaptation to circumstances, and the Romish faith in this land is modified by its free atmosphere, by common schools, the separation of Church from State, and the accountability of the former to the civil law.

The social evils complained of are the inevitable accompaniment of every form of Society. Capital is selfish here as elsewhere, but not to the same extent. Under no other form of government has individual and combined charity done so much to alleviate the "shocks that flesh is heir to," as that which here prevails. Universal suffrage has its drawbacks, but it must never be forgotten that it is the check on the predominance of capital, and it is our one safety in that it compels capital to educate labor. The political dangers which sectional feeling has threatened disappear in the new apportionment of political power by the census of 1880. The political interests of the United States each succeeding year show more homogeneity. We do not look for permanence but we fear no back-sliding. The blow this "prophet of evil" predicts will not fall. The stars overhead will continue to shine on a political union of cemented sections, one and inseparable, now and forever, the regenerate nation.


This is a philosophic examination in the most liberal and impartial spirit of the cause of war, the laws which govern the profession and prac-
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tice and the readiest mode of alleviating its
terms, if not of preventing their occurrence.
The author follows the gradual amelioration
in the practice of belligerents, but concludes
naturally enough that it is only by popular train-
ing that the irritations and passions of nations
can be dominated in the interests of peace. We
are glad to share the author's warm belief in the
progress of the human race, and in "the redemp-
tion which, day by day and century by century,
is searching out all the dark places of the earth,"
though that progress must be slow until each
nation shall have secured control of its own des-
tinies, and thus set aside those prolific causes of
war in the quarrels of dynasties and the ambition
of class. Standing armies, under the disguise
of national protection, inevitably lead to hostili-
ties. It would be difficult to instance the nation
that at some time in its history has not gone to
war simply and solely because she was, or
thought she was, better prepared for it than her
antagonist.

On the other hand, Mr. Amos demonstrates
that the greater the discipline and efficiency of
an army the less the suffering it will occasion.
In the course of his investigations also he pays
a high tribute to the thoroughness of Dr. Francis
Lieber's famous code, of which he says that, with
one exception only, no case presented itself during
the Franco-German war which had not been
provided for in the American instructions.

The volume is well deserving of a careful
study, and we dismiss it with regret, commending
it to our legislators as well worthy a thorough
examination.

FREE LAND AND FREE TRADE; THE
LESSONS OF THE ENGLISH CORN LAWS APPLIED TO THE UNITED STATES. By SAMUEL

This is an exceedingly interesting presentation
of a subject from its nature dry. The story of
the corn law league, organized by a half dozen
far-sighted political economists, of the means
adopted to reach the popular mind by oral and
written argument, the conversion of Sir Robert
Peel and the triumphant repeal in 1846 of a legis-
lation which had endured in some form for
centuries, is full of instruction, and it is told
well, though briefly, in Mr. Cox's happiest vein.
Equally happy is the presentation of what free
trade has done for England. The answer is op-
posite and striking. Thirty years ago not over
a third of the English people had meat to their
potatoes, and more than once a week, while now,
in spite of the failure of home crops, nearly all
have animal food of some kind every day.

But free trade alone is not enough. Free land
is the one thing needed. Strange it is that Eng-

land, when the principles of liberty were earliest
perceived, and have always been best understood,
is nearly always the last to put them in practice.
Liberty with them is a statue to adore, not a
form to cherish. A Royal commission sits to dis-
cover the causes for the agricultural decadence
of Great Britain. The protectionists answers,
your free trade in its inordinate development
of the manufacturing industries has abolished the
farmer. More truly, however, may it be said,
that he is a dullard indeed who will cultivate
land for the benefit of another, when a fertile
continent offers him not only a more produc-
tive field of labor, but early ownership also under
the most beneficent provisions ever devised by
man, the "Homestead Law."

The Irish troubles have their share of atten-
tion, and the same need of free land is pointed
out. It seems now as though Great Britain were
about to quake with the new outburst of the
spirit of 1789, which changed the social life of
the Continent of Europe, but spared her soil;
whether to her good or ill fortune time and the
statesmanship of her leaders will show.

The final chapter is the application of the
lesson; the moral of the tale. Mr. Cox rightly
holds that agriculture is our main stay. True
enough, and we want more markets for that
agriculture. Our mission is to feed the world.
We firmly believe in the principles of free trade;
that each country be left to that industry for
which it is best adapted. If there be any legis-
lative interference, let it be in the direction of
extending our commerce in opening new mar-

CIVIL SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN.
The history of abuses and reforms and their
bearing upon American politics. By DORMAN
B. EATON. 8vo, pp. 469. HARPER & BROS.
New York. 1880.

Soon after the election of Mr. Hayes as Presi-
dent of the United States, Mr. Dorman B.
Eaton was requested to investigate and report
on the action of the English government in rela-
tion to its civil service and the effects of its ac-
tions since 1850. He is the chairman of the
commission for devising rules and regulations for
the purpose of reforming the civil service author-
ized by the act of Congress of March 4, 1871.
In accordance with the request of President Hayes he visited England and spent some time in a personal investigation. The introduction to this volume, which is historical in its character, is from the pen of the accomplished advocate of civil service reform in America, Mr. George Wm. Curtis.

Mr. Eaton begins the argument and finds in Magna Charta the first civil service rule. Every one at all familiar with the history of England and its forms of government, knows that its administration is essentially a Bureaucracy in which the cadets of the powerful families and their friends who could find no place in army, navy, or church, have been from time immemorial sure of a comfortable living. The system which is called party patronage is quite as much class patronage in its modern form. It began in 1693 and was maintained until the beginning of the reform in 1843. To-day we are assured that removals and appointments are limited to a few scores of persons. All forms of human government are liable to abuse, but we know of none less suited to the character of a republic than a Bureaucracy. The precise confines of the "good behavior," which is the professed limit of office tenure, is difficult to establish; the intellectually competent may be otherwise a most undesirable public servant. Those who have had most to do with public officials in foreign countries would be least willing to see a similar service in our own country. In the main point of the argument, namely, the evil influence of patronage upon party morals, we are heartily in accord with the reformers, but doubt whether any sweeping change can be effected with other results than changing the "ins for the outs." And so long as there is any serious dividing principle at stake, the incumbents of office will continue (if they retain any true spirit) to hold and advocate their views, nor are the changes made of officials by any means as numerous as is generally supposed. It is of little consequence whether the whole rank and file of country postmasters, male or female, be retained or changed, their public duties being a mere adjunct to their regular occupations. Changes in the Custom Houses and post offices in cities are essentially impossible. The nature of service is too trying to be attractive, and the remuneration too small to attract a high order of talent, and in fact it would be found that the efficient clerks who are content to remain are rarely disturbed. True reform will be best reached by diminishing the number of offices, which can only be done by a change in our revenue laws and a simplification in the mode of their collection; by the discovery of some way of providing for the expenses of elections by legislative appropriations, and finally by limiting the presidency to a single term, which will prove a check upon the possibility of a continuance of the power of a President and an administration through executive patronage.

GREEK MYTHOLOGY SYSTEMATIZED.

This is a peculiar volume both in arrangement and treatment. The arrangement is tabular, based on Hesiod's theogony, the author appending to his sub-title the significant motto, "Classify and conquer," but Hesiod's work, though the most valuable for its account of the Classic Gods, is noted for its want of proper classification. In addition to Hesiod, Gladstone's arrangement of Homer's orders of Deities, Grote's Genealogical tables of the mythic Age of Greece have been likewise employed. The classifications adopted in their subdivisions, when thoroughly understood, are valuable to the literary student, and if generally used will help to clear the skirts of the heathen gods and goddesses of the tangle of blunders in which they are involved by inaccurate application of attributes and characteristics.

The illustrations, without pretension, are in the main faithful reproductions of the antique and all that are required to an understanding of the text. The book deserves a place in every school and family which pretends to culture.


Hear the other side! The name of Credit Mobilier is not in particularly good odor on either side of the water. On this it is associated with the greatest political scandal of modern times. This volume is a defence of the purposes and methods of the company. The author tells us that he entered upon the investigation imbued with the popular prejudice, but rose from it satisfied that it was on the whole free from corruption, and that Oakes Ames was blameless in every position he assumed, and that the stockholders of the Union Pacific have done a wise and patriotic deed in erecting a monument to his memory on the highest ground between the Atlantic and Pacific Slopes crossed by it.

It is impossible here to follow out the course of argument adopted in defence of the organization, whose charter still remains, though its power for good or evil is gone. But the conclusions cannot be gainsaid. The verdict of the Wilson Committee has been reversed by the Supreme Court, which has decided that the Government of the United States received no wrong at the hands of the company, and that every obligation imposed on the road has been faithfully

This is a careful textual edition of the three Demosthenic orations not directly concerned with the Macedonian question—each a master-piece in its way of the "Prince of Orators." The editor acknowledges his obligations to the harangues de Démôsthène by H. Well, the French critic and the first editor of the Greek orator, who attempted a rational treatment of elision. Mr. Flagg claims to have restored the pausus where Well disregarded it. The typography of the work is excellent, and the notes are critical and copious.

AFRICA, PAST AND PRESENT. A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY, ITS HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, EXPLORATIONS, CLIMATES, PRODUCTIONS, RESOURCES, POPULATION, TRIBES, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, LANGUAGES, COLONIZATION AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. By an old resident. With map and illustrations. 16mo, pp. 387. AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. New York.

It appears from the preface of the author, that this work is the result in part of his own personal travels and researches in the western and southern portions of the continent, and in part of years of study devoted to various works on the subject by others. The plan is comprehensive, and the method of analysis and arrangement such as to make the book not only of value to merchants and travellers, but of interest to the general reader. The view taken by the writer of the causes of the Zulu war and the present troubles in the Transvaal, is from the purely British standpoint, which makes the cause of missions and of free trade convertible terms.

W. C. S.


As actor and dramatic reader, Mr. Murdock has been before the public for so many years that his name is familiar to nearly three generations, and perhaps in the latter capacity he has reached more auditors than as an actor, for the reason that many who would have never seen him in the theatre have hung with delight upon his words as he read the American Faust or Barbara Frietchie, in the dark days of the war. Mr. Murdock's experience as an actor here and in England brought him in contact with many men and women of distinction, both in and out of the profession, and this volume is a faithful reflex of his experiences; full of path and matter both grave and gay. To the general reader, as well as to the lover of dramatica, the book will be a source of profit and pleasure.

W. C. S.


Written by a father, and dedicated to the memory of his eldest daughter and his son, this little volume recalls the tender associations which clustered about the home of his childhood and youth. It is a simply told tale of New England farm and village life, of the primitive habits and pleasures and strict training of a time, about which still lingered many traces of that Puritanic rigidity which repressed outward manifestation of pleasure or feeling.

W. C. S.

HALF A CENTURY. By JANE GRAY SWISHL, 2d ed. 16mo, p. 363. JANSEN McCLURG & CO. Chicago, 1880.

Mrs. Swisholm is known to the passing generation as a woman of talent and strong convictions, who as soon as she was able to think for herself acted independently, and, in defiance of domestic opposition and public opinion, took up her testimony in behalf of the emancipation of women and her fellow slave, the negro. She advocated both with bitter tongue and trenchant pen. Of the value of her services to the wounded soldiers and her efforts for hospital reform during the war there can be but one opinion, but she dwells needlessly on the possible side of her experience as a nurse. The narrative is as frank as a private communication—as unrestrained as to herself as it is to the shortcomings of others.

W. C. S.

This is a morbid and unwholesome book. The purpose of the writer was, it may be supposed, to depict the weakness and folly of endeavoring to judge of events by a standard based upon the minatory utterances of the Old Testament, and by a blind personal application to self of denunciations whose import is so easily misinterpreted. The story turns upon a tragedy assumed to have taken place on Lake Champlain within the limits of the State of New York, in which robbery and murder are followed by the trial and conviction of a young man, the husband of the heroine, whose innocence, made plain after many years, furnishes the denouement in as sensational a style as that of a Western melodrama. How a girl brought up in the average repression of Cameronian theology, as was Patty Pearsons, could be guilty of the sin of wilful disobedience to her father, and marry in secret an unbeliever, can only be accounted for by the feminine reason "because." She did so, and to her mind punishment came quickly in the fate of her husband, and shortly after death on the scaffold the birth of a son in whose baby eyes the poor mother saw only visions of coming wrath; whose caresses she repelled as a temptation of the evil one; whose growth toward manhood she watched with a silent, repellant, fascinated horror, waiting always for the leaven of his dead father's blood to work in him, shuddering at his incoming and outgoing lest the curse might fall on him. That for twenty years the woman bore this woful burden and neither died nor went mad is matter for wonder; that the boy to whom the manner of his father's death was told by the mother did not vindicate her creed and her fears, is to be attributed to the fact that he went West and there fell into the hands of persons of a different mould, by whom the whole current of his life was changed, and through whose means the last days of his mother were passed in peace, unshadowed by the cloud that had darkened his and her life in youth.

W. C. S.


The plan and scope of this work is sufficiently indicated by the title. It is a history of the English language—not of English Literature—and is intended to supply a want, both as a textbook for instructors, and for general readers. It is a reliable guide to the study of philology.

The introduction is a brief treatise on the Aryan or Indo-European languages. The succeeding chapters carry the subject through the various changes from the Anglo-Saxon period, giving as it advances specimens of the written and spoken language of the succeeding epochs, down to the close of the Georgian era. The latter chapters relating to the period of Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose stately style is no longer followed as an example, however much it may be admired. W. C. S.


In this volume the soldier, the historical student and the general reader will each and all find matter for study, for reflection, and for the gratification of literary taste. Written in a clear, concise and manly style, it is noticeably free from that redundancy of epithet and pompous verbosity which in too many instances characterize the narrative of writers on a subject such as this, which recalls the partisan spirit evoked by the war.

There is no unworthy exaltation, no undue elation at success, no boasting of prowess. Jackson was among the first to obey the call of his native state, Virginia, and rose in rank rapidly, being made a major-general in October, 1861, and was assigned to a command under Johnson in the Valley of Virginia, with headquarters at Winchester, whither he went and at once entered upon active operations against the Federal forces, who at that time held military control of the whole region from Washington to Harper's ferry, and the whole Western part of the State, their advance being at Romney, forty-five miles north of Winchester. At this time he had under him about eleven thousand troops of all arms. Opposed to him was the corps under Banks of 16,000 men, and that of Rosecrans, scattered over West Virginia, 22,000 men. On the first of January, 1862, Jackson advanced toward Romney, which he forced the Federal forces to evac-
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uate, and then went into winter quarters. In March he advanced to Kernstown, where he was met and checked by Shields.

In May at McDowell he repulsed the Federals under Schenck, later in the month he drove Banks from Front Royal, and on the 24th defeated him with great loss of men and material at Winchester, and pressed forward toward Harper's Ferry and Maryland. At Cross Keys and Port Republic he again won laurels, and finally, slipping between the converging forces of Fremont and McDowell, he hastened to Richmond, where he arrived in time to take part in the seven days battle which resulted in McClellan's retreat. With an army at no time exceeding 17,000 men, he had baffled the efforts of 60,000, and deranged the whole plan of the Union campaign. While this chapter of the war has nothing in it to flatter our Northern pride, we cannot withhold a tribute of admiration for the daring and energy of the man who conceived and executed this bold offensive and defensive movement.

W. C. S.


The action of this volume opens with the defeat of Cedar Mountain, the retreat of Pope before the advance of Jackson, whose force greatly outnumbered him, his fortunate escape from being cut off by Lee, who had left McClellan to follow at his leisure, and brings before the reader the skirmishes, fights, marches and counter-marches which ended in the second battle of Manassas and the retreat of the Union army upon Alexandria. In the memory of many now living the scenes of those disastrous days are still fresh, and they have lately been brought before the generation which has grown up since these events happened. This gives to the brilliant narrative of General Gordon an interest which is unique. Those bloody days, while bearing witness to many an act of gallantry and daring, were fatal to many lives on whose prolongation the hope of the nation hung. Kearny's death seemed like a most untoward stroke of fate, and worse than loss and defeat was the ruin of reputation and the blot on soldierly honor which was part of the evil harvest reaped on those fatal fields. General Gordon is a vigorous writer; he enters into the whole spirit of warfare. As we turn from page to page of his glowing narrative the din of combat sounds again in our ear—the march, the bivouac, the wavering skirmish line, the rush of charging cavalry, the thunder of opposing batteries, and the prolonged roll of musket fire; everywhere the scenes of strife are wrought up with picturesque vividness. It is not without sincere regret that we are compelled to say that the value of the work as historical is seriously impaired by the evidences, too frequently manifested, of a feeling of personal hostility on the part of many subordinate officers toward the commanding general and the authorities at Washington. Unstinted abuse is lavished on Stanton, Halleck and Pope; we are tempted to say on every one not of a certain army clique. There was a feeling then in the minds of many that some officers preferred defeat to victory under Pope, a feeling which is confirmed by a perusal of this book. The table of contents and index are ample and the maps of great assistance to the reader.

W. C. S.

DRAMATIC LIFE AS I FOUND IT. A Record of Personal Experience, with an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Drama in the West and South; with Anecdotes and Biographical Sketches of the Principal Actors and Actresses who have at times appeared on the Stage in the Mississippi Valley. By N. M. Ludlow, Actor and Manager for Thirty-Eight Years. 8vo. pp. 133. St. Louis, G. I. Jones & Co. 1880.

This volume, dedicated by the author to the late Edwin Forrest, is the record of a long, laborious life. Mr. Ludlow tells us that he was born in 1795 in the city of New York. His parents were serious people, who discountenanced the theatre, and we are free to believe that his first visit to one, when he was about thirteen years of age, was unknown to them. His father dying suddenly in 1813, the family removed to Albany. There he made the acquaintance of several actors, and was at times permitted by them to go on the stage and make some speech of two words. Once stage struck his vocation in life was decided, and he began his novitiate in the profession, the record of which is now before us in a gossipy and charming form. His early voyages with theatrical troupe, floating down the rivers of the then almost unknown West in a flat boat, tying up to the banks at night when no town or settlement was reached as a halting place, lying awake for fear of wild beasts, and foraging on the country for supplies, are as full of incident, invention, humor, and character as a romance. The student of primitive society and manners can here find ample material, the collector of anecdotes a supply which will supersede any jest book; while the gatherer of theatrical annals will renew his acquaintance with many a favorite actor, and hear of many of whom he never knew before.

W. C. S.
Register of Books Received


Arnold, the American Traitor; Andre, the British Spy; Washington, the Defender of Constitutional Liberty, etc. Address delivered before the Historical and Forestry Society of Rockland Co. February 22, 1881, by Erastus Brooks. 8vo. Burt Printing House, New York, 1881.


Archæological Researches in Nicaragua. By J. F. Brainsford, M. D. 4to. Published by the Smithsonian Institution. Washington City, 1881.

Twelfth Biennial Report of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society at Iowa City to the Governor of the State, 1879. 8vo. F. M. Mills. Des Moines, 1880.


Farrington Memorial. A sketch of the ancestors and descendants of Deacon John Farrington, native of Wrentham, Mass., who in 1786 removed to China plantation, or No. 9 District of Maine, etc. 8vo. Published by the Committee, 1880.


Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis and the British Forces under His Command, on the 19th day of Oct., 1781, to be appropriately celebrated on the field of Yorktown, Va. American Bank Note Co. 8vo. New York, 1881.


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