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AMERICAN MILITARY BIOGRAPHY

Read at New Salem

Beveridge discusses at some length, in his Life of Lincoln, volume 1, pages 133-4-5, the various books read by Lincoln while living at New Salem. Among others mentioned is this work on Military Biography, of which he says:

"Lincoln spent much time over a volume on American Military Biography. This volume, and Rollin and Gibbon probably were in the cabin of Bennett Abell, who had 'a good lot of history,' although McNamar, Hill, and other merchants had books. Rowan Herndon owned Lives of Washington, Jefferson, Clay, and Webster."

This information was gleaned from the notes now in possession of Jesse Weik, and seems to be the only reference to this work in connection with Lincoln's reading.

I know that a copy of this work was owned by Rowan Herndon, - having bought it from a member of the Herndon family.

H. E. Barker

THE HISTORY OF THE

REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JAMES OSGOOD
Author of "The History of the Republic of the United States,"
"The History of the Republic of the United States,"
"The History of the Republic of the United States,"
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Engr. by W. P. Smith & Co.

AMERICAN

MILITARY BIOGRAPHY;

CONTAINING

THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS

OF THE

OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION,

WHO WERE MOST DISTINGUISHED IN

ACHIEVING OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

ALSO,

THE LIFE OF

GILBERT MOTIER LA FAYETTE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY—MARSHAL OF FRANCE,
AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS.

PUBLISHED FOR E. WALTERS,

CINCINNATI:

PRINTED AT THE CHRONICLER OFFICE

1830.

mg 555.9

A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.



ALTHOUGH the narrow and illiberal policy of the British government towards her North American colonies, from their first settlement, was calculated to alienate the affections of the colonies from the parent country; yet from their exposed situation, and habitual loyalty, this unworthy conduct, long persevered in, produced no sensible impressions on the Americans: their loyalty and attachment to the interests of Britain were not in the smallest degree impaired, down to the period of the peace of Paris in 1763. Never had they shown so much zeal, or made such great sacrifices in the cause of their country, as during the preceding war; having lost more than twenty-five thousand men, expended all the revenues they could raise, and involved themselves deeply in debt. Almost the whole burdens of the war in America had fallen on the colonies; and their exertions were altogether disproportionate to their means, and tended greatly to impoverish and distress them. After eight years' arduous struggles, attended with the greatest sacrifices, the successful termination of the war—the dominion of France in America being relinquished forever, occasioned universal joy throughout the colonies; they forgot their sufferings and distresses, in the fair prospects which the peace afforded.

But these prospects were of short duration; the peace of Paris formed a new era in the views and conduct of Great

Britain towards her colonies in America. The possessions of France, in America, having been ceded to Britain, and having no longer any fear of her power in this hemisphere, a system of measures was pursued towards the colonies, originating in jealousy, and tending to despotism. As soon as the colonies had fought their way to a condition, which afforded the prospect of rapidly increasing in population and wealth, attempts were made to restrict their commercial and political privileges, and gradually to reduce them to the most wretched state of colonial vassalage. For a century and a half, the colonies had been left to themselves as to taxation; their own local assemblies had provided the necessary revenues to defray the expenses of their governments, and the parliament of Great Britain had neither directly nor indirectly ever attempted to derive a dollar of revenue from America; although various acts had from time to time been passed, regulating the trade and commerce of the colonies, yet none of these were designed or regarded, either in Britain or America, as revenue laws.

But in an inauspicious moment, the British ministry conceived the idea of taxing the colonies, under the pretence of providing for their protection, but in reality to relieve the nation from the immense debt, the weight of which hung heavily upon it. This iniquitous scheme, originating with the cabinet, was easily introduced in parliament; and in March, 1764, as a prelude to the memorable *Stamp Act*, the house of commons resolved, "That towards further defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, *it may be necessary to charge certain stamp duties upon them*; and this resolution was followed by what was commonly called the Sugar Act, passed on the 5th of April, and introduced by the following truly alarming preamble:—"Whereas it is just and *necessary* that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same; we, the commons, &c. towards raising the same, give and grant unto your majesty, after the 29th day of September, 1764, on clayed sugar, indigo and coffee, of foreign produce, [and various other articles,] the sum of," &c.—This was the first act adopted by parliament, for the avowed

object of raising a revenue in the colonies. The *justice* of this measure, which appeared so clear to the British parliament, was regarded in America as *oppression* and *tyranny* and occasioned great excitement and alarm. The deceptive pretension, that the revenue was to be raised for the purpose of *protecting* the colonies, was only adding insult to injustice; as the colonies supposed that they were capable of protecting themselves, and they apprehended that the object was rather under the pretence of affording them protection, to maintain a military force in America, for the purpose of dragooning them into submission, and enforcing an unconstitutional system of taxation; thereby rendering them the instruments of forging their own chains. This act was rendered more disgusting, by a provision that the money raised by it must be paid in specie, and another, that those charged with having violated the revenue laws, might be prosecuted in the courts of admiralty; whereby they were deprived of the privilege of trial by a jury, and were liable to be condemned by a single officer of the crown, whose salary was to be paid from the very forfeitures decreed by himself. And this was not all, or even the worst; as the trial was conducted on such principles, that the accused, contrary to the well known maxims of the common law, and repugnant to every idea of justice, was obliged to prove himself innocent, or suffer the penalties of the law. These iniquitous proceedings destroyed all security of property, and left every one at the mercy of the minions of the British crown. Their pernicious influence was soon felt extensively in the colonies; they no longer regarded Great Britain as an affectionate mother, but viewed her in the light of a selfish, cruel and imperious step-mother. The designs of the ministry were penetrated, and occasioned great alarm, which spread wider and wider, until it became universal. The press, that great engine of truth and liberty, was called into requisition; the subject was ably and elaborately discussed; and the more it was discussed, and the better it was understood, the more strong and determined the opposition became. All the colonies petitioned and remonstrated against these obnoxious measures, and most of

them appointed agents to present their memorials to parliament, or the king.

But notwithstanding the excitement and opposition in America, and the remonstrances of the colonies, Mr. Grenville, who was at the head of the treasury, prepared the Stamp-Bill, and introduced it into parliament, in February, 1765; and although opposed with all the powers of eloquence, by Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, Colonel Barre, Sir William Meredith and others, it was adopted by a great majority; fifty only voting in opposition, out of about three hundred members, who were present. On the second reading of the bill, various petitions, not only from the colonies, but from the London merchants, interested in the American trade, were presented; but the petitions were not even received, being refused, on the plea that no memorial could be received on a money bill. Having passed both houses of parliament, on the 22d March, the Stamp Act received the royal assent. Dr. Franklin, then in England, as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the lamps of industry and economy." Mr. Thompson, in a spirited reply, observed, "That he thought *other lights* would be lighted up to resist these unconstitutional measures." It is unnecessary to add, that this prediction was soon fulfilled.

This unjust and impolitic act was the first great cause which led to the American revolution; indeed, it was substantially the first scene in the bloody drama of that revolution. It was passed in parliament, on the 7th of February, 1765, under the ministry of Lord Grenville, and was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766, from the influence of Mr. Pitt. This period of thirteen months was the most eventful and tumultuous of any which had hitherto occurred; the apprehensions of the people were roused to the highest pitch, and the most determined spirit of opposition prevailed throughout the colonies. The Americans had not believed that the act would be passed, and on receiving the intelligence, every one was struck with astonishment and filled with consternation; they looked at each other

with amazement, and for a short interval hesitated what course to pursue; but soon recovering from their consternation, they determined not to submit to such a flagrant outrage on their rights. In Boston, the ships in the harbor, in token of the deepest mourning, suspended their colors half-mast high; the bells were rung muffled; and the obnoxious act, with a death's head in front of it, with the motto—"THE FOLLY OF ENGLAND AND THE RUIN OF AMERICA," was carried in solemn procession about the streets. The discontents soon spread throughout the colonies, and the opposition became general and determined; the spirit of the people gave a tone to the colonial assemblies, and bold and decided resolutions were adopted against the iniquitous scheme of parliamentary taxation. Virginia took the lead, and on the 28th of May, 1765, Patrick Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions in the house of burgesses, which declared that the inhabitants of that colony were entitled to, and had possessed and enjoyed all the rights, liberties and privileges of the people of Great Britain; that the general assembly of the colony had always exercised and alone possessed the power to levy taxes and imposts on the inhabitants of the colony, and that they "were not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them other than the law and ordinances of the general assembly." So bold and unexpected were these resolutions, that whilst they were reading, one of the members cried out, "treason! treason!"

These resolutions were communicated to all the colonies, and the spirit they breathed spread from one legislature to another, and their sentiments were reiterated in resolutions adopted by the legislatures and freemen in public meetings. Committees were appointed, by the assemblies of the colonies, to correspond with each other, and to meet for consultation; the object of which was to secure harmony of feeling and concert of action. These measures had a very happy effect; in the mean time, the press teemed with constant publications, vindicating the rights of the colonies; and many of them were of a highly inflammatory character, calculated to raise the public mind to the highest

pitch. The pulpit also, particularly in New-England, labored in the same cause with great zeal and effect; the flame of liberty kindled from breast to breast, and spread from province to province, until the conflagration became general. The spirit of opposition ran so high as to break out into acts of tumult and disorder. In Boston the effigy of Mr. Oliver, the stamp-master, was burnt, and his house assailed, partly demolished, and his furniture destroyed; and soon after, the house of William Storer, deputy-register of the court of admiralty, was attacked, and the books and files of the court destroyed; and the house of Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs shared the same fate. These outrages were followed by a more bold and daring attack upon the dwelling of Mr. Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of the province; he was obliged to flee to save his life, and his house was entirely demolished, except the walls, and every thing in it destroyed or carried off. Similar outrages were committed in other places. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the stamp officer, was burnt in effigy in many towns; and whilst he was proceeding from New-Haven to Hartford, where the assembly was in session, he was pursued and overtaken by a large concourse of people, some from more than thirty miles, and compelled to resign his office, which was followed by three hearty cheers of liberty and property. This took place at Wethersfield, from whence the people, who were headed by militia officers, proceeded to Hartford, where Mr. Ingersoll was compelled to read his resignation in the hearing of the assembly, which was succeeded by loud acclamations of liberty and property. In New-York the stamp officer was compelled to resign, and Lieutenant Governor Colden was burnt in effigy, with a stamp-bill in his hand, suspended from his own coach, and the whole was consumed together.

In the southern colonies, the public feeling did not lead to the same excesses; but in all of them, means were found to compel the stamp officers to resign; and in all the colonies the assemblies adopted resolutions in opposition to the stamp act, although in many of them the royal governors prorogued and attempted to stop their proceedings. The members of the

colonial assemblies were animated and encouraged by the people, who, in most of the towns, instructed them to oppose the stamp act. But the most important measure to unite the colonies and give energy and effect to their opposition, was convening a continental congress, consisting of deputies appointed by each colony. This measure was first proposed by the assembly of Massachusetts. The meeting was appointed to be holden in New-York, in October, 1765. All the colonies, except New-Hampshire, Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, sent deputies; the three last of these colonies were prevented by their governors, and the first excused itself on account of its peculiar situation. The congress, after mature deliberation, adopted a declaration of rights, and a statement of the grievances of the colonies, and asserted in the strongest terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. It also prepared a petition to the house of commons.

As the first of November, the time when the stamp act was to go into operation, approached, public feeling became still stronger and was exerted to the utmost to prevent the execution of the law. In New-York, ten boxes of stamps which had arrived there for Connecticut, were seized by the populace and burned; and in other ports, the masters of vessels, which brought out stamps, were compelled to return with their detestable cargoes or deliver them up to the people to be destroyed. In Boston, and many of the principal towns, the first of November was kept as a day of mourning and deep distress: all the shops were shut, the bells were tolled muffled, and the effigies of the authors and abettors of the act were carried in procession through the streets, and then torn to pieces and consumed by the flames.

The lawyers of the supreme court of New-Jersey resolved that they would not purchase the stamps in their professional business, and that they would relinquish their practice as a sacrifice to the public good; and the principal merchants in the colonies, and great numbers of other classes of the inhabitants, entered into solemn engagements not only to refuse to

use the stamps, but also not to import any more goods from Great Britain until the stamp act should be repealed. Associations were formed, called the "Sons of Liberty," the object of which was, to assist and protect with force, if necessary, every one who might be in danger from his resistance or opposition to the stamp act. This bold association originated in New-York, and prevailed throughout New-England, and, had not the act been repealed, must have led to civil war. The restrictive measures produced distress and tumults in England; large numbers of the manufacturers being thrown out of employment, and more than forty thousand, with black flags, appeared in the streets in London, and surrounded the royal palace and parliament house. Fortunately a change of ministry took place, in consequence of what was called the regency bill, and Lord Grenville was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, at first lord of the treasury, and the duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. In January the parliament met; the affairs of America occupied the principal attention, and the first talents of the house were engaged in the discussion. Mr. Pitt, who had been confined to his bed by sickness, when the stamp act was passed, now came forward as the great champion of the rights of the Americans, and with his manly and all-powerful eloquence, opposed the unjust, unconstitutional and dangerous measures; he even justified the Americans in their resistance of an act of tyranny and oppression. After a long and animated discussion, the act was repealed, accompanied, however, with a declaration, "that the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatsoever*." An act of indemnity was also passed.

The repeal of the obnoxious act occasioned universal joy, both in Great Britain and America: the ships in the Thames displayed their colors, and the whole city of London was illuminated; and in the colonies, notwithstanding the declaratory act, asserting the principle of taxation, the joy and rejoicings

were universal; the non-importation resolutions were rescinded; animosities, ill-treatment, and every thing past, were forgotten, and commercial intercourse with Great Britain was resumed with greater activity than ever before had been witnessed. The colonies hoped and believed, that harmony would now be restored, and did every thing in their power to promote this desirable object. But the officers of the crown, the minions of power, and the expectants of place, kept up a correspondence with the officers of the British government at home, and attempted to promote their own selfish views by misrepresenting their countrymen. Governor Bernard of Massachusetts, was the head of this party, which contributed so much to breed difficulties and bring matters to a crisis. Notwithstanding that the declaratory act still hung over the heads of the colonies, like a portentous cloud, it was not generally expected that the British government would very soon make another so dangerous an experiment. But these reasonable expectations, however, soon proved to be fallacious, and all reliance on the justice or liberality of Britain, were found to be deceptive and dangerous. Notwithstanding the distraction into which the colonies had been thrown, by the stamp act, within a few months after its repeal, and before the wounds it had occasioned had had time to heal, the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townsend, came forward with a new scheme of taxing America, and was so sanguine in his views, that he pledged his character for the success of the project. The new revenue scheme was, to take off the duties on teas, which were paid in Great Britain, and to levy three pence per pound on all that was purchased in America, and also a duty on paper, glass, and several other articles. A board of customs was established, and commissioners appointed to set in Boston to collect the duties: and the custom-officers were to be paid from the revenue thus raised; and the governor, judges of the superior court, and other officers in Massachusetts, who had hitherto been dependent for their salaries on the assembly, to render them independent of the people, and more devoted to Great Britain, were also to be paid from these revenues. And to

carry the iniquitous system into effect, (as unjust laws can only be enforced by unjust means,) the powers of the court of admiralty were greatly extended, so as to deprive the people of trial by jury in prosecution for violating the revenue laws. Writs of Assistance as they were called, issued by the governors, or any officer of the revenue, authorised searching the house of the most respectable inhabitant in the province, on suspicion of the concealment of contraband or smuggled goods.

When intelligence of these new parliamentary regulations reached America, they occasioned universal astonishment, and revived all the excitement and alarm which prevailed during the stamp act. In the minds of reflecting men they were regarded as more dangerous than that obnoxious act, as an indirect and disguised system of taxation had a more certain and fatal tendency to undermine the liberties and enslave the people, than direct taxes. The colonies, assailed by the same injuries, had recourse to the former measures of complaint and supplication; but their petitions were not even read, and their remonstrances treated with contempt, thus adding insult to injustice. These accumulated injuries and indignities aroused the fears and spirit of the colonies; and a circular letter, addressed to the other colonies, by the assembly of Massachusetts, contributed to diffuse the flame and lead to concert of action.— This letter was dated the 11th of February, 1768, and the sentiments it contained were reiterated by most of the colonial assemblies. From the bold and determined conduct of the assembly of Massachusetts, it was prorogued by the governor. Another assembly was convened in May following, to which the governor, in his first communication, insolently *demand*ed of them, as required by the British Secretary of State, to *rescind* the resolutions of the preceding assembly, which led to the circular letter, and intimated that unless they complied immediately they would be dissolved at once. But the assembly acted with a firmness which became the defenders of liberty; and instead of complying with this haughty mandate, petitioned the king for the removal of the royal governor, and charged upon him a long catalogue of crimes. The governor, exasper-

ated at their conduct, immediately dissolved the mutinous assembly, and applied to the commander-in-chief of the king's troops, then in New York, to have several additional regiments sent to Boston. Alarmed at these circumstances, the inhabitants of Boston beseeched the governor to convene another assembly; but he treated their request with contempt. The crisis required something to be done without delay, and accordingly letters were written to every town in the colony requesting the appointment of delegates to meet in convention at Boston, before the arrival of the troops. Delegates from ninety-six towns met on the 22d of September. The governor instantly sent them an angry message, commanding them to disperse, threatening, in case of refusal, that they would suffer the consequence of their temerity. The convention, however, was not frightened into submission, but gave their reasons for convening, continued their deliberations, and prepared a petition to the king.

On the first of October, the troops arrived and landed; and sword in hand, paraded through the streets of Boston, which were filled with vast crowds, who with sullen silence, denoting the deepest resentment, witnessed this, the first act in the great and bloody drama about to be performed. No tumult or resistance, however, ensued, notwithstanding the troops were quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. The assembly met in May, 1769, and immediately adopted several spirited resolutions; that the placing an armed force where the legislature was convened, to overawe their deliberations, was a breach of privilege, and that the quartering of troops on the inhabitants, in time of *peace*, was illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of British subjects.

A standing army was now stationed in the capital of Massachusetts, for the avowed object of coercing the inhabitants into submission; their commerce fettered, their characters traduced, the assembly prevented from meeting, and the petitions of all classes to have the assembly convened, treated with contempt by an insolent governor, who threatened to augment the troops, and enforce at all hazards, his arbitrary and tyrannical measures; it cannot be surprising that the fears and exasperations of

the people exceeded what had ever been witnessed before. At this alarming conjuncture, something must be done, and there was no other alternative but submission or resistance, as petitions had been treated with such contempt, that to memorialize any branch of the British government would be equivalent to submission; and there were but two ways of resistance, either an appeal to the sword, or an entire suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, which, as was said by Mr. Pitt in his speech, furnished the means whereby Britain had carried on the war with France, and which if continued would afford the means of their own oppression. As all the colonies were involved in one common danger, they readily entered into the most solemn engagements, that no British or India goods should be imported, except a few specified articles of necessary use. The effects of these arrangements were soon felt in England, and produced clamors and even tumults in some parts of the kingdom. But the partisans of the crown in America, endeavored by their correspondence to induce the ministry to persevere in their oppressive measures, and represented in the strongest terms, that the interruption of commerce was only an effort of desperation which could not last long. They advised the ministry to purchase large quantities of goods, designed for the American market, and also to allow the merchants engaged in the American trade, a premium equal to the profits of their stock in business. "If these measures are adopted," said Mr. Oliver, secretary in Massachusetts, in one of his letters, "*the game will soon be up with my countrymen.*"

The assembly which convened at Boston in May, set several weeks without doing any business, as they refused to act as long as an armed force was quartered in the town, and surrounded the house where they were in session; they were finally adjourned to Cambridge. They sent several messages to the governor to have the troops removed, but after evading the matter for some time, he declared he had no authority over the king's troops; thus admitting that the military was above the civil power in the province. Governor Bernard sent a provoking message, stating the expenditures of quartering the troops

on the town, and requesting that provision be made for the payment of the same, and also for their future support; the assembly were thus called on to maintain the instruments by which they were to be oppressed and enslaved. But instead of complying with this request, they passed several spirited resolutions, censuring the conduct of the governor and Gen. Gage, for their rash and oppressive measures, their wanton violations of the constitution, the introduction of a standing army in time of peace, and their encroachments on the liberties of the citizens and of the province. The governor had received an order to repair to England, and lay before the king the state of the colony; which he communicated to the assembly, with a request that his salary might be continued during his absence, as his office would remain. But the assembly informed him in decided terms, that they could not comply with either of his requests. On receiving this answer, he immediately, after a short, angry, and threatening speech, prorogued the legislature. He soon after set sail for Europe, then little thinking that he should never return to a country that, by his violent temper and arbitrary conduct, he had brought to the brink of civil war. His reception at court convinced the Americans of the truth of what they feared, that the governor had been sent for, as a mischievous emissary, rather than for an impartial inquiry into the real situation of the province, or an investigation of his own conduct.

Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, was appointed to succeed Governor Bernard. Hutchinson was a native of Boston, and had run a career of popularity; whilst, however, he was courting the people at home, he was not less assiduous in ingratiating himself into the favor of the British government, by misrepresenting his countrymen. He was artful and plausible, and possessed of popular talents; but was insidious, dark, intriguing and ambitious; and the extreme of avarice marked every feature of his character. His appointment was announced at the close of the year 1769. He immediately assumed a more haughty tone, and aimed at more high handed measures than his predecessor, and commenced his administration by in-

forming the assembly that he was *independent* of them and the people, as his majesty had made provision for his salary. Secure of the favor of his sovereign, he treated the people and the assembly with contempt, and answered their repeated solicitations to remove the troops from the capital, by withdrawing the garrison from a strong fortress in the harbor of Boston, who were in the pay of the province, and replacing them by two regiments of the king's troops. The ebullitions of popular feeling were so high as to occasion great alarm with the leading patriots, that it would break out into acts of violence, which might injure the cause of the people. The miserable minions of power in America, endeavored to promote this result, and openly avowed, "that the only method to restore tranquility, was to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings had instilled the poison of sedition into the people." James Otis, the most active, bold and influential patriot of the day, having published under his proper signature, some severe strictures on the conduct of the officers of the crown, was assaulted in a public room by a band of hired ruffians, with swords and bludgeons; and being covered with wounds, was left for dead. The assassins made their escape, and took refuge on board the king's ships in the harbor. Mr. Otis survived, but the lamp of his understanding, which had glowed with such effulgence, was overcast with clouds and darkness. Mr. John Adams says that he "laid the foundation of the American revolution, with an energy, and with those masterly talents which no other man possessed;" and he is justly considered as the first martyr to American liberty.

The insults which the inhabitants constantly experienced, from the soldiers, increased their animosity towards them to such a degree, as to lead to violence and blood-shed. On the 2d of March, 1770, an affray took place between a party of soldiers of the 29th regiment, and some rope-makers, in front of Mr. Gray's rope-walk. This was followed by a more alarming outrage on the 5th; the indignant populace pressed upon and insulted the soldiers, while under arms, and assailed them with clubs, sticks, and snow-balls covering stones. Being dared to

fire by the mob, six of the soldiers discharged their muskets, which killed three of the citizens, and wounded five others. The effect of this was electric: the town was instantly in commotion, and the mass of the people were so exasperated, that it required the utmost exertions to prevent their rallying and driving the British myrmidons out of town; and nothing but an assurance that the troops should be withdrawn, prevented this resort to force. The captain of the party and eight men were brought to trial; two of them were found guilty; the captain and the other men were acquitted. A general meeting of the inhabitants was immediately assembled in Faneuil Hall, who unanimously resolved that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside in the capital; and a committee was appointed to wait on the governor, and request the immediate removal of the troops. The governor refused to act, under pretence of want of authority; but Col. Dalrymple, alarmed at the state of things, proposed to withdraw the 29th regiment, which was more culpable than any other; but he was informed that not a soldier should be left in town; he was reluctantly compelled to comply, and within four days not a *Red-coat* remained. This tragical affair produced the deepest impressions on the minds of the people; and the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, was commemorated for many years, and orations delivered, which unfolded the blessings of civil liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of standing armies, and the rights of the colonies. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame, and in no small degree promoted the cause of the colonies, in a manner that served to give a deeper glow to the flame of liberty. In the spring of 1773, the schooner *Gaspee* was stationed at Providence, to prevent smuggling; and the conduct of the commander having exasperated the inhabitants, two hundred men entered on board the schooner at night, and compelled the captain and crew to go ashore, then set fire to the vessel. The government offered a reward of five hundred pounds, for the apprehension of any of the persons engaged in this outrage; but such was the spirit and una-

nimity of the people, that this pecuniary inducement produced no effect, and the authors of the outrage could not be discovered. About this period, the letters of Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, to their friends in England, urging the government to adopt more decisive and vigorous measures, to coerce the colonies into submission, were discovered and sent back to America by Dr. Franklin, which, being published by the assembly of Massachusetts, greatly contributed to inflame the public mind, and exasperate the people against these officers of the crown, who were justly charged with having shamefully betrayed their trust and the people, whose rights it was their duty vigilantly to guard. Whilst the other duties were repealed, that on tea was retained, for the sole and avowed object of maintaining the power, which parliament had asserted, of collecting a revenue in America. The ministerial scheme was cunning and artful; but did not, in the least degree, deceive the vigilance of the Americans. The object was to *cheat* the colonies out of their rights, by collecting an indirect, imperceptible duty, little more than *nominal* in amount, which, however, if acquiesced in, would have been an admission of the *principle* or right of Britain to raise a revenue in America. It was an attempt to obtain, covertly and by *fraud*, what they had attempted, but failed to obtain openly by *force*. In the first place, measures were adopted, openly and explicitly, for taxing the colonies, the duties to be paid directly by the consumer; but being unable to enforce this act, it was repealed, accompanied with a declaration of the *right* of parliament to tax the Americans in all cases whatsoever. This naked assertion of a right, when the application of it had been attempted and abandoned, did not give the Americans much concern: they would not have cared, if the British had kept that assertion of a *right* to do wrong on their statute-book, as long as the two countries existed, provided they had not attempted to exercise their assumed right. But the advocates of American taxation seemed to be sensible, that the bare assertion of a right, after an unsuccessful attempt to enforce it, would amount to but little, and that conclusions, obviously following the abandonment of the first

attempt to tax the Americans, would be left in their full force. Under the circumstances in which the two countries were placed, therefore, the right must be enforced, or it must be considered as virtually abandoned. But this had been once attempted without success; a more ingenious mode, therefore must be devised, or one less likely to give alarm to the colonies. The stamp duties were a *direct* tax, as the duties constituted the entire value of the sum paid; but a trifling impost would not be perceived, as the duty would scarcely make any sensible difference in the price of the article. The bitter pill, which it was intended to make the colonies swallow, was gilded with sugar. The duty was more artfully disguised than a simple impost. It was, in fact, no additional burden on the consumers of tea, it being only a different *mode* of collecting the duty which had before been paid; yet this alteration of the mode involved the right and power of parliament to establish a revenue system in America. According to the former regulations, the teas of the India Company were first brought to England, where a duty was paid before they were sent to the colonies. The scheme was merely to change the place and mode of collecting the duty; it was to be paid in America, instead of England; for which purpose custom regulations were established, and officers appointed. A duty of three pence on a pound of tea, would not be felt by the people, and this, or rather a greater duty, had been paid before in England; so that, instead of the burdens of the people being increased, they were rather lightened by this new regulation. So artfully disguised was this scheme. It is a maxim with many politicians, and too generally correct, that the people will not be alarmed or excited by any principle, however it may be fraught with danger; that they must *feel* and *suffer*, before their fears will arouse them into action. But this maxim did not hold true with the Americans; they saw the danger, and resolved to resist, at the hazard of their lives, a *principle*, calculated to undermine the foundation of their liberties; although its operation at the time was not *felt*, in the slightest degree. The resistance of the Americans to the scheme of collecting a duty on tea in America, instead of Eng-

land, was the resistance of the *principle* which that scheme involved, solely; as no additional burden was thereby imposed on the people. It is believed that this is the only instance in history, of an entire people being roused to resistance, from measures which were not burdensome or oppressive in their immediate operations, and dangerous only from the principle on which they were founded. This consideration affords the highest evidence of the intelligence of the Americans, as well as of their extreme jealousy and vigilance, in guarding their rights. That the experienced politician should foresee the ultimate design and tendency of measures, not immediately oppressive, is natural enough. but that the common people, or rather that the entire population of a country should be aroused to resistance, on account of measures not burdensome or oppressive, but dangerous only from the principle on which they were founded, is unparalleled. It is not, however, to be supposed that the colonists would have been so alarmed and aroused to such a spirit of resistance, by the new regulations as to tea, had it not been for the previous measures of the parent country, evincing, in the clearest manner, a settled design to exercise the power of taxation over them. They considered the new regulations as to tea, as an artful and disguised revenue system, although it imposed no additional duty, and they were determined not to be *cheated* out of their liberties, as they had before resolved not to be frightened out of them.

Measures were immediately adopted to prevent the introduction of the tea into the country, so as to avoid the payment of the duty; and such was the strength and unanimity of public opinion, that without the aid of law, or rather in opposition to law, they were enabled to render their measures efficient, solely by the force of public sentiment, although measures of all others the most difficult to enforce, as interfering both with the interests and the established habits of the people. In most of the towns from New-Hampshire to Georgia, the people assembled and resolved to discontinue the use of tea, which was now regarded as an herb, (however agreeable as a beverage,) *noxious* to the political constitution. In the large commercial

towns, regulations were adopted to prevent the landing of tea; committees were appointed to inspect merchant's books, propose tests, and to make use of other means to defeat the designs of Britain. Where it could be done, the consignees of the teas, were persuaded or compelled to resign, or to bind themselves not to act in that capacity. The cargo sent to South Carolina, was stored, the consignees being constrained to enter into an engagement and not to offer any for sale; and in many of the colonies, the ships were compelled to return without discharging their cargoes. So vigorously were these measures enforced, that during one year, eighty-five pounds was the whole amount of duties received. The teas consumed in the colonies, were principally smuggled into the country, by the Dutch and French, who were favored by the inhabitants in evading the revenue laws. During the four or five years that the new system had been in existence, very trifling quantities of teas had been introduced into the colonies, and instead of the restrictive measures being relaxed as was expected in England, they increased in vigor and efficacy, and the quantity of tea introduced had constantly diminished.

As had been the case with other matters of difference between the two countries, the principal struggle, growing out of the regulations as to tea, occurred at Boston. The other provinces had avoided the alternative which was reserved for this, of either suffering the teas to be disposed of, or to destroy them by violent means. Knowing the spirit of the inhabitants of Boston, the India Company had been more cautious as to the cargoes shipped for that port, than those sent to the other provinces; and the zeal of Governor Hutchinson and the other officers of the crown there, greatly surpassed that of the crown officers in the other colonies, and was calculated to frustrate the measures of the inhabitants. The tea ships destined to Boston, were all consigned to the sons, cousins, and persons who were the merest tools of Governor Hutchinson. When called on to resign, the only answer they would give was, "that it was not in their power." As the consignees could not be induced or frightened to resign, the next plan was, to compel the

vessels to return without landing their detestable cargoes: but the collector refused to give a clearance without the vessels were discharged of dubitable articles, and the governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, until they were properly qualified from the custom house; and to guard against the vessels being taken possession of, and conducted out of the harbour, the governor ordered Admiral Montague, who commanded the naval force, to keep a vigilant look out, and to suffer no vessel, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. The rigorous adherence to these measures, afforded great satisfaction to the governor and his minions, and all the British party; they flattered themselves that the "Sons of Liberty," after all their clamor, resolutions and schemes to resist the tea system, were out-managed, and that it would be impossible for them to prevent the landing and sale of the obnoxious cargoes. Their measures had been planned so wisely, and their execution was entrusted to agents of such known fidelity to the crown, and who were under the immediate influence and controul of the governor, they thought there was not a loop-hole whereby the rebellious Americans could escape paying the hateful tax. They did not even dream that an attempt would be made to destroy or throw overboard the offensive article, which covered a tribute to Britain; for if they had, the vessels would have been guarded. The governor, after all he had witnessed and experienced, judging rather from his feelings than his knowledge, was entirely ignorant of public sentiment, and of the spirit of the people; he had no idea that they had determined to resist the obnoxious measure, at every hazard, even that of life. Nothing short of this bold step, could prevent the deep laid scheme, against the liberties of the country from succeeding. It had been rendered impossible that the vessels should return with their cargoes; and to suffer the tea to be landed and trust to the spirit and unanimity of the inhabitants not to purchase it, would have been to yield the point; for a small portion of the citizens were in favor of the British, and would of course consume the article, and by fair means or foul, it would have been distributed among others.

And it would have been equally impracticable to prevent the tea from being landed; the most unwearied watching day and night, could not prevent this, as it might be conveyed ashore, by small quantities in boats in the night season, and at such places as to escape the utmost vigilance. Every other measure had been attempted without success; the consignees had been urged to decline the commission, and a numerous public meeting of the citizens had been held, who presented a remonstrance to the governor, and urged him to order back the ships without suffering any part of their cargoes to be landed. But his answer satisfied them that he was the adviser of the measure, and determined to carry it into execution. The parties were at issue on the great question on which the liberties of the country hung suspended; whether Great Britain should exercise the power of taxing the Americans in any way, or not.— This question depended on the landing of a few cargoes of tea, which had become contaminated with an unconstitutional tax. The colonists were determined that they would not pay the tax, and the British party were determined to carry into effect the tea regulation, and to frustrate the plans of the Americans. Both parties had taken their measures, and the British party were confident of success; the contest was advancing to a crisis; alarm and dismay prevailed; the deepest anxiety was depicted in every countenance; had an invading army been in the neighbourhood, threatening to sack the town, or had the pestilence which walks in darkness, ravaged its pavilions, greater consternation could not have prevailed; greater gloom could not have overspread the town, or stronger indications been exhibited, of a pending event big with the fate of three millions of people. During this deep and awful suspense, a report was started, which spread with the rapidity of lightning through the town, that Admiral Montague was about to seize the ships and dispose of their cargoes, at public auction, within twenty-four hours; which was believed to be a cunning device of Hutchinson, as this would as effectually have secured the duties, as if the teas had been sold at the stores of the consignees. This rumor was like an electric shock; leaving their employ-

ments, the people rushed into the streets, and with amazed and terrified countenances, every one seemed to say, what shall we do to prevent the consummation in so bold and daring a manner, of this iniquitous scheme. In a few moments, as if from an instinctive impulse, a vast crowd repaired to one of the most spacious churches in Boston, and organized themselves into a public meeting. Previously to taking any other step, a message was sent to the governor and the consignees, who with difficulty could be found, as they were afraid to encounter even the looks of an indignant and injured people. No satisfactory answers were returned; but instead of complying with their wishes, whilst the assembled multitude were quietly, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed, consulting on their critical situation, and the measures proper to be adopted, the sheriff entered with an order from the governor, styling them an illegal and seditious assembly, and ordering them immediately to disperse. But he did not bring with him the *possee comitatus*, as the power of the county was already assembled, and it was that, the sheriff was ordered to disperse: this mandate was treated with deserved contempt and the sheriff hissed out of the house, mortified and chagrined, and a confused murmur followed not only in the house but amongst the vast multitude without; but soon order was restored, and the meeting adjourned, without adopting any vote or resolution. The leaders probably supposed that such a meeting was not the place to discuss and devise measures to meet the crisis.

The bold measure was now conceived, and immediately proposed for execution, which surprised and agitated the two countries, and hurried on that memorable revolution which made them "Enemies in war, and in peace friends." The success of it, as well as the danger attending it, required secrecy and despatch. It has never been known with certainty, either who contrived or executed this bold expedient: but there is no reason to doubt, but that Mr. Samuel Adams and many of the leaders in the political affairs of the day, were its contrivers, and it is known that the hall of council was in the back room of Edes & Gill's printing office, at the corner of the alley lead-





View of the Harbour of London

ing from Court-Street to Brattle-Street Church. It is a singular circumstance, that this daring and desperate measure, for the maintenance of the liberties of the country, should have been counselled and contrived in an editorial closet of a newspaper, which was one of the organs of the public voice, and a vigilant sentinel of the liberties of the people. Since this period many political schemes have originated, in the "back rooms" of printing offices, but in general of a very different character.

In a few hours after the adjournment of the public meeting, the bold measure, on the success of which the great question of taxation hung suspended, was contrived, matured and ripened for execution; and the public were surprised with the sudden appearance in the streets, of a large number of *savages*, of persons disguised, clad, and every way counterfeiting the aborigines of the country; armed with a tomahawk in one hand, and a club over the shoulder, who, in a silent and solemn manner, not a voice being heard, marched in Indian file, through the streets amidst a crowd of astonished spectators, who knew not what to think of so unexpected and strange an exhibition; and its novelty and the surprise which it occasioned, may have prevented any steps being taken to oppose their designs. The *Indians*, whilst strongly attached to tobacco, in this instance at least appeared to have had a mortal antipathy to *tea*; and as though attracted by its noxious qualities, they proceeded directly towards the wharves where the tea ships lay; boarded them, demanded the keys, and without the least hesitation or delay knocked open the chests and emptied their contents, duties and all into the ocean, comprising several thousand weight of the finest teas. The deed was done in the face of the world, and although surrounded by the king's ships, no opposition was made or attempted; all was silence and amazement. Thus the teas which were designed as a means of extorting tribute from the Americans, became an offering to the "spirits of the vasty deep," and a sacrifice to the liberties of the country. The "Indians" having effected their object, shewed no marks of triumph; no savage warwhoop was heard; nor did they commit

any other violence or disorder, but in the same silent, solemn and orderly manner, marched back through the town, followed by a vast crowd. No movements on the part of the government, or disturbance by the people, followed this event; and it was observed at the time, that the stillest night succeeded, which Boston had enjoyed for several months.

No persons assisted the savages, in the destruction of the tea, except some boys or young men, who had assembled on the occasion, and voluntarily took a part in what was going on; one of these youths collected the tea which fell into his own shoes and those of several of his companions, put it in a phial and sealed it up; which is now in his possession, containing the same obnoxious tea, which in this instance was considered as more dangerous to the political health and constitution of the people, even than *strong drink*. The number of the savages manufactured for the occasion, has been variously estimated, from sixty to eighty: although several persons have been mentioned as among the number, none of them have ever been known with certainty; there are many and obvious reasons, why secrecy then, and concealment since, were necessary. Not any of those who it has been confidently asserted were of the party, have admitted the fact except some of the boys. Nearly all of the disguised persons have left this scene of strife, and their secret has died with them; and what few remain, if any, will probably be as prudent as those who have gone before them, and like them will suffer their knowledge to be buried with them, so that the great secret will shortly be beyond the reach of human research. The success of this bold and daring measure, astonished Governor Hutchinson and the British party, and seemed to convince him, that the "Sons of Liberty" were not quite so contemptible as he had represented them in his letters to the ministry; and it even astonished the whigs, in the other colonies, and contributed to fan the flames of liberty, and give them a deeper glow, and more intense heat.

When the intelligence of this event reached England, accompanied with all the exaggeration and colouring which Hutchinson could give to it, it produced the utmost excitement, and

indignation with the ministerial party, and even the opponents of the American revenue system, could not justify so rash and desperate a measure. Parliament at once determined to crush the devoted town, which was the seat and cause of this high handed resistance to its supremacy. Its omnipotent power, and all the terrors of its wrath, were to be concentrated and directed against this rebellious town. A bill was immediately introduced to "discontinue the landing and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town of Boston, or within the harbor." This bill, called the "Boston Port Bill," passed on the 25th of March, 1774, and when it was known, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation.— A general meeting was called, and spirited resolutions adopted, expressive, in strong terms, of their sense of the oppressive measure, and they requested all the colonies to unite in an engagement to discontinue all importations from Great Britain; and most of the colonies resolved to make common cause with Massachusetts, in her opposition to the unconstitutional measures of parliament. The first of June, when the port bill was to go into operation, was appointed to be kept as a day of fasting and prayer. This act was soon followed by another, "for the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay;" the object of which was to alter the charter, so as to make the judges and sheriffs dependant on the king, and removable at his pleasure. And this act was soon succeeded by another, which provided, that any persons indicted for murder, or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistrates, in enforcing the laws, might be sent by the governor either to any other colony, or to Great Britain for his trial. The Quebec Bill followed in rapid succession, enlarging the bounds of that province, and conferring many privileges on the Roman Catholics; the design of which was to secure the attachment of that province, and prevent its joining with the colonies in their measures of resistance. These measures instead of intimidating the colonies into submission, only confirmed their fears of the settled designs of Great Britain to deprive them of their chartered rights, and reduce the colonies

to the lowest state of political degradation and oppression. A sense of common danger led to an extensive correspondence, which resulted in the opinion that it was expedient to convene a general congress, to consist of deputies from all the colonies. This congress met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774; and comprised among its members, some of the most distinguished patriots, statesmen and orators in the country, or perhaps in any other. Notwithstanding the ferment which prevailed in most of the colonies, their proceedings were characterised by coolness, unanimity and firmness.

They published a long and solemn declaration of rights, as British subjects, and maintained in the strongest terms, their exemption from taxation by parliament; besides which, they prepared a petition to the king, which was refused to be answered; an address to the *people* of Great Britain, and another to the people of America. These documents were drawn up with a masterly hand, and exhibited great dignity and ability, and were in every respect worthy of the men who had confided to them the liberties of their country, and the destinies of three millions of their countrymen, threatened with slavery.

The proceedings of congress did not tend to allay public feeling, and as the royal agents in Massachusetts seemed determined to push matters to extremities, and reduce the people to unconditional submission, by arbitrary and forcible means, every thing now wore the appearance of civil war. A new council, and new judges were appointed by the crown; and the latter attempted to enter upon the execution of their offices; but the juries refused to be sworn under them; the people in some counties assembled to prevent their proceedings, and in Berkshire succeeded, thus setting an example which was afterwards followed by Shay's men, in violation of the laws of the state. About this time the famous "Tree of Liberty," in Boston, which had been pruned and ornamented with so much pride and care, "fell a victim to British vengeance, or to some individual to whom its shade had become offensive."

Previously to this period, General Gage had succeeded Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts; and, apprehending

danger from a general muster of the militia, he caused the magazines and ammunition at Charlestown and Cambridge, to be removed to Boston, and fortified the neck of land which joins Boston to the main land, at Roxbury. These measures occasioned an universal panic; delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk met, and spirited resolutions, and a remonstrance to the governor, were adopted. The general assembly had been summoned to meet at Salem; but from the turbulence of the times, the governor issued his proclamation, countermanding their meeting; yet, in defiance of the governor's mandate, ninety members met; resolved themselves into a provincial congress, chose Mr. Hancock president, and adjourned to Concord, nineteen miles from Boston. They fearlessly proceeded to business; after addressing the governor, and reiterating their grievances; in the face of British law and British troops, they proceeded to adopt the first measures, which were taken, directly and avowedly preparatory to an appeal to the sword, in defence of their rights and liberties; they regulated the militia, made provision for furnishing the people with arms, and for supplying the treasury; and such was the enthusiasm of the people, that their recommendations had the force of law. Governor Gage was filled with rage at these daring proceedings, and issued a proclamation, in which he insinuated that they amounted to rebellion.

Early in 1775, parliament passed the fishery bills, which prohibited the colonies from trading in fish with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, and from taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland. These acts were intended to operate on the town of Boston, which had become the devoted object of ministerial wrath. The various statutes, which were passed, occasioned deep and general distress in Boston and its vicinity; but their brethren in the other colonies sympathised with them, and promptly supplied them with provisions of every description for the relief of the sufferers.

This policy of the British government was not only oppressive, but mean and contemptible. Partial legislation is always odious and tyrannical; yet it consisted with the justice and

dignity of the British nation; and a series of acts were passed, and the power of the nation exerted, to crush the town of Boston, because it had shewn a more determined spirit of resistance to their oppressive and unconstitutional measures than had appeared in other places. The ministry were not sensible that the colonies considered themselves all-engaged in a common cause; they were in hopes to humble and crush the rebellious inhabitants of that devoted town, which they thought would be such a terrific example as would frighten all the colonies into submission. But their wicked designs recoiled on the heads of their authors; for these oppressive measures towards the Bostonians, only served to exasperate the people throughout all the colonies, who regarded them as cruel and detestable.

In March, 1775, the public indignation was greatly excited by the following base and most shameful transactions:—

“The people from the country, whose business called them into Boston, were suspected by the officers of purchasing guns from their soldiers. In order to furnish an opportunity to inflict punishment, and to raise occasion for a serious quarrel, Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbit, of the forty-seventh regiment, ordered a soldier to offer a countryman an old rusty musket. A man from Billerica was caught by this bait, and purchased the gun for three dollars. The unfortunate man was immediately seized by Nesbit and confined in the guard house all night. Early next morning they stripped him entirely naked, covered him over with warm tar, and then with feathers, placed him on a cart and conducted him through the streets as far as liberty-tree, where the people began to collect in vast numbers, and the military, fearing for their own safety, dismissed the man, and retreated to their barracks. The party consisted of about thirty grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, twenty drums and fifes playing the rogue’s march, headed by the redoubtable Nesbit with a drawn sword! What an honorable deed for a British field officer and grenadiers! The selectmen of Billerica remonstrated with General Gage respecting this outrage, but obtained no satisfaction.”*

* Thacher’s Military Journal.

It was about this time that the following ludicrous occurrence took place:—

“Some British officers, soon after Gage’s arrival in Boston, walking on Beacon Hill, after sunset, were affrighted by noises in the air, (supposed to be flying bugs and beetles,) which they took to be the sound of bullets. They left the hill with great precipitation, spread the alarm in their encampment, and wrote terrible accounts to England of being shot at with air-guns, as appeared by their letters, extracts of which were soon after published in London papers. Indeed, for some time they really believed that the Americans were possessed of a kind of magic white powder, which exploded and killed without a report.” In that much celebrated and admirable poem of the day, M’Fingal, the circumstance is thus satirised:

“No more the British colonel runs
From whizzing beetles as air guns;
Thinks hornbugs, bullets, or through fear,
Moschetos takes for musketeers;
Nor ’scapes, as if you’d gain’d supplies
From Beelzebub’s whole host of flies,
No bug these warlike hearts appals,
They better know the sound of balls.”

The breach between Britain and the colonies had now become so wide, as with the mass of the people, nearly to exclude all ideas of conciliation; and both parties began to make preparations for an appeal to the sword. No alternative was left the Americans but slavery, or resistance by force; measures were adopted for training the militia to the use of arms, to encourage the manufacture of gun-powder, and for collecting all kinds of military stores; and committees of public safety were appointed in all the towns in the province. The British government sent out a re-inforcement of troops to Boston, and in the mean time General Gage attempted to counteract the designs and measures of the provincials, and particularly to seize or destroy their military stores, and thus to deprive them of the means of resistance. To destroy the military stores at Concord, General Gage despatched in a secret manner, a regiment of grenadiers, who undertook to disperse, and fired upon a party of militia at

Lexington, several of whom were killed, which was the *first blood* spilt in that memorable war and revolution, that separated Great Britain and America forever; and gave to the latter not only a rank among the nations of the earth, but what only can exalt a nation—LIBERTY and *free institutions*, which are the durable foundations of its glory and rising prosperity; its tranquility and happiness, its increasing population and wealth, the rapidity of which is unexampled in the annals of the world.

THE
AMERICAN MILITARY BIOGRAPHY,
OF THE
OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

ETHAN ALLEN,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

GENERAL ALLEN was born in Salisbury, Conn. from whence while he was yet young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. By this circumstance he was deprived of the advantages of an early education. But, although he never felt its genial influence, nature had endowed him with strong powers of mind; and when called to take the field, he showed himself an able leader, and an intrepid soldier.

At the commencement of the disturbances in Vermont, about the year 1770, he took a most active part in favor of the Green Mountain Boys, as the settlers were then called, in opposition to the government of New-York. Bold, enterprising, and ambitious, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the inhabitants, and wrote several pamphlets to display the supposed injustice, and oppressive designs of the New-York proceedings. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners, seems to have assisted him in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land-jobbers. His writings produced effects so hostile to the views of the state of New-York, that an act of outlawry was passed against him, and five hundred guineas were offered for his apprehension. But his party was too numerous and faithful to permit him to be

disturbed by any apprehensions for his safety. In all the struggles of the day he was successful, and proved a valuable friend to those whose cause he had espoused.

The news of the battle of Lexington determined Allen to engage on the side of his country, and inspired him with the desire of demonstrating his attachment to liberty, by some bold exploit. While in this state of mind, a plan for taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by surprise, which was formed by several gentlemen in Connecticut, was communicated to him, and he readily engaged in the project. Receiving directions from the general assembly of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and conduct the enterprise, he collected 230 of the hardy settlers, and proceeded to Castleton. Here he was unexpectedly joined by Colonel Arnold, who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts committee to raise 400 men, and effect the same object which was now about to be accomplished. They reached the lake opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775. With the utmost difficulty boats were procured, and eighty-three men were landed near the garrison. Arnold now wished to assume the command, to lead on the men, and swore that he would go in himself the first. Allen swore that he should not. The dispute beginning to run high, some of the gentlemen present interposed, and it was agreed that both should go in together, Allen on the right hand, and Arnold on the left. The following is Allen's own account of the affair:—

“The first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take a part with my country. And while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony, now state of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and if possible with them to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook; and after first guarding all the several passes that lead thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake

opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However, I landed eighty-three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear guard, commanded by Col. Seth Warner; but the day began to dawn, and I found myself necessitated to attack the fort, before the rear could cross the lake; and as it was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following: 'Friends and fellow-soldiers, You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary powers. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the general assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock.'

"The men being at this time drawn up in three ranks, each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right; and at the head of the centre file I marched them immediately to the wicket gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me. I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade within the garrison, gave a halloo, and ran under a bomb proof. My party who followed me into the fort, I formed on the parade in such a manner, as to face the barracks, which faced each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, we gave three huzzas, which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him. My first thought was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which he dropped his gun and asked quarters, which I readily

granted him; and demanded the place where the commanding officer kept. He showed me a pair of stairs in the front of the garrison, which led up to a second story in said barracks, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Captain Delaplace, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison: At which time the captain came immediately to the door, with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly; he asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him, 'In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.' The authority of congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again, but I interrupted him, and with my drawn sword near his head, again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison; with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had given up the garrison. In the mean time, some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of said commander, a lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America. Happy it was for me, at that time, that the future pages of the book of fate, which afterward unfolded a miserable scene of two years and eight months imprisonment, were hid from my view.

This brilliant exploit secured to Allen a high reputation for intrepid valor throughout the country. In the fall of 1775, he was sent twice into Canada to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them if possible to the American cause. During one of these excursions he made a rash and romantic attempt upon Montreal. He had been sent by General Mont-

gomery with a guard of eighty men on a tour into the villages in the neighborhood. On his return he was met by a Major Brown, who had been on the same business. It was agreed between them to make a descent upon the island of Montreal. Allen was to cross the river, and land with his party a little north of the city; while Brown was to pass over a little to the south, with near two hundred men. Allen crossed the river in the night as had been proposed, but by some means Brown and his party failed. Instead of returning, Allen with great rashness, concluded to maintain his ground. General Carlton soon received intelligence of Allen's situation and the smallness of his numbers, and marched out against him with about 40 regulars and a considerable number of English, Canadians, and Indians, amounting in the whole to some hundreds. Allen attempted to defend himself, but it was to no purpose. Being deserted by several of his men, and having fifteen killed, he, with thirty-eight of his men, were taken prisoners.

He was now kept for some time in irons, and was treated with the most rigorous and unsparing cruelty. From his narrative it appears that the irons placed on him were uncommonly heavy, and so fastened, that he could not lie down, otherwise than on his back. A chest was his seat by day, and his bed by night. Soon after his capture, still loaded with irons, he was sent to England, being assured that the halter would be the reward of his rebellion, when he arrived there. Finding that threats and menaces had no effect upon him, high command and a large tract of the conquered country was afterward offered him, on condition he would join the British. To the last he replied, "that he viewed their offer of conquered United States land, to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ: to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon the earth."

After his arrival, about the middle of December, he was lodged, for a short time, in Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth. On the 8th of January, 1776, he was put on board a frigate, and by a circuitous route again carried to Halifax. Here he

remained closely confined in the jail from June to October, when he was removed to New-York. During the passage to this place, captain Burke, a daring prisoner, proposed to kill the British captain, and seize the frigate; but Allen refused to engage in the plot, and was probably the means of saving the life of captain Smith, who had treated him with kindness. He was kept at New-York about a year and a half, sometimes imprisoned, and sometimes permitted to be on parole. While here he had an opportunity to observe the inhuman manner in which the American prisoners were treated. In one of the churches in which they were crowded, he saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips from hunger. He calculated, that of the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington, near 2000 perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their prisons.

Col. Allen was exchanged for a Col. Campbell, May 6th, 1778, and after having repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to General Washington, in case his health should be restored, he returned to Vermont. His arrival on the evening of the last day of May, gave his friends great joy, and it was announced by the discharge of cannon. As an expression of confidence in his patriotism and military talents, he was very soon appointed to the command of the state militia. His intrepidity, however, was never again brought to the test, though his patriotism was tried by an unsuccessful attempt of the British to bribe him to attempt a union of Vermont with Canada. He died suddenly on his estate, February 13th, 1789.

Gen. Allen was brave, humane, and generous; yet his conduct does not seem to have been much influenced by considerations respecting that holy and merciful Being, whose character and whose commands are disclosed to us in the Scriptures. His notions with regard to religion were loose and absurd. He believed with Pythagoras, the heathen philosopher, that man, after death, would transmigrate into beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, &c. and often informed his friends that he himself expected to live again in the form of a large white horse.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL ALEXANDER, commonly called Lord Stirling, was a native of the city of New-York. He was considered, by many, as the rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although when he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government, yet, among his friends and acquaintances, he received, by courtesy, the title of Lord Stirling. In his youth his labors were arduous in the pursuit of science, and he discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, in which he attained great eminence.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, he attached himself to the cause of America, and entered the field against her enemies. He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer. In the battle on Long-Island, August 27th, 1776, he shared largely in the glory and disasters of the day. The part he bore in that engagement is described as follows;—"The fire towards Brooklyn gave the first intimation to the American right that the enemy had gained their rear. Lord Stirling, perceiving the danger with which he was threatened, and that he could only escape it by instantly retreating across the creek, by the Yellow Mills, not far from the cove, orders to this effect were immediately given, and the more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, he determined to attack, in person, a corps of the British, under Lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house somewhat above the place at which he proposed crossing the creek. About four hundred men were chosen out for this purpose; and the attack was made with great spirit. This small corps was brought up to the charge several times, and Lord Stirling stated that he was on the point of dislodging Lord Cornwallis from this post: but the force in his front increasing, and General Grant also advancing on his rear, the brave men he commanded were no longer able

to oppose the superior numbers which assailed them on every quarter, and those who survived were, with their general, made prisoners of war. This bold and well judged attempt, though unsuccessful, was productive of great advantages. It gave an opportunity to a large part of the detachment, to save themselves by crossing the creek.

Immediately after his exchange, Lord Stirling joined the army under the immediate command of General Washington. In the battle of Germantown, his division, and the brigade of Generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the corps of reserve. At the battle of Monmouth, he commanded the left wing of the American army. At an important period of the engagement, he brought up a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington, with some field pieces, which played with great effect on the enemy, who were pressing on to the charge. These pieces, with the aid of several parties of infantry, detached for the purpose, effectually put a stop to their advance. The American Artillery maintained their ground with admirable firmness, under a heavy fire from the British field artillery.

His attachment to Washington was proved in the latter part of 1777, by transmitting to him an account of the disaffection of General Conway to the Commander-in-Chief. In the letter he said, "such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect."

He died at Albany, January 15th, 1783, aged 57 years.

DANIEL BOONE,

The First Settler of Kentucky.

THE merit of opposing the hostile attacks of men regardless of every law of honor and humanity; counteracting the treacherous machinations of barbarians, who conceive an advantage can never be unjustly gained; and bearing up against continual party skirmishes, and uninterrupted harassments, in a contest for the unenclosed and unfrequented plains of nature, evident-

ly deserve commemoration. The general intrusted with the chief command of an army, who earns his fame by the capture of a troop, reduction of a town, province, or country, is stimulated by the fame, the natural consequence of his actions; and sees the speedy end of the contest; but the former expects no epic muse to sing his worthy actions; though his valour is equally tried, or rather teased, by the continual and petty insults of the disorganized and detached foe. To his courage he must add that persevering integrity which years of uninterrupted assaults cannot subdue. If personal bravery, united with disinterested zeal for the good of that community of which he was a member, merit our notice, Daniel Boone should not be passed over in silence. Though not designed by fortune to display those talents which in an important campaign between the civilized powers of Europe, would have enrolled his name in the list of worthies; yet fortunately for the cause of virtue, and the just success of his fame, his labors are not consigned to oblivion; but unlike some of those beauteous productions of nature in the lonely theatre of his actions, "born to waste their sweetness on the desert air," were by our author plucked from their native soil, and presented to his friends.

Daniel Boone was born, as we are informed, near Bridgenorth, in Somersetshire, (England,) about the year 1730.—While he was young, his parents emigrated to America, and settled in North-Carolina, where he was bred to the profession of arms, and was very early retained in the service of that country on the part of the English government. He passed through all the inferior gradations to the post of colonel, in which capacity he distinguished himself as the most active, zealous, and useful of the original settlers of Kentucky. It was his frequent combats with the Indians on that occasion, during the period of thirteen years, which render him the object of this memoir. The particulars of his campaigns, if they deserve that name, will be read with more pleasure as left us by himself, where, though devoid of art, and the ornaments a qualified biographer might have furnished, there may be seen

the stamp of unexaggerated authenticity, and lively feelings of the patriot, citizen, parent, and friend.

"It was on the first of May, 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceful habitation on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Money, and William Cool. On the seventh of June, after travelling through a mountainous wilderness, in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians; and from the top of an eminence saw with pleasure, the beautiful level of Kentucky. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on other settlements, browsing upon the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage of these extensive plains.— We saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with success until December. On the 22d of December, John Stuart and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature had here a series of wonders and a fund of delights.— Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully colored, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavored; and we were diverted with numberless animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near the Kentucky River, as we descended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake and made us prisoners. They plundered us, and kept us in confinement seven days. During this time, we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious; but in the dead of night, as we lay

by a large fire in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favourable opportunity and departed, directing our course towards our old camp; but found it plundered and our companions dispersed or gone home. About this time, my brother, Squire Boone, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded by hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness gave us the most sensible satisfaction. Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stuart, was killed by the savages; and the man that came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, among savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves. Thus, many hundred miles from our families, in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to protect us from the winter storms. We met with no disturbance during the winter. On the first of May, 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog. I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have exposed me to melancholy, if I had further indulged the thought. One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of the day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking round with astonishment and delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and

penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before, I had killed. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My excursion had fatigued my body and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a great part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first; after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes, to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but fortunately during my absence. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found in this country. Until the 27th of July I spent the time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Soon after we left the place, and proceeded to Cumberland River, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers. In March, 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise. On my return, I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm at Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the 25th of September, 1773, we bade farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined us in Powell's valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now settled parts of Kentucky; but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity. On the 10th of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into

extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles to Clinch River. We had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a S. W. and N. E. direction, are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over them nature has formed passes, less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. Until the 6th of June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clinch, when I and Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles, and took us sixty-two days. On my return, Governor Dunmore gave me the command of three garrisons, during the campaign against the Shawanese. In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south side of Kentucky River. After this I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements, through the wilderness to Kentucky. Having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed, I soon began this work. We proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two, and wounded two more. This was the 20th of March, 1775. Three days after they attacked us again; we had two killed and three wounded. After this we proceeded on to Kentucky River without opposition. On the first of April we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt lick, sixty yards from the river, on the south side. On the 4th, they killed one of our men. On the 14th of June, having finished the fort, I returned to my family, on the Clinch. Soon after, I removed my family to this fort; we arrived safe; my wife and daughters being the first white women that stood on the banks of Kentucky River. Decem-

ber 24th, the Indians killed one man and wounded another, seeming determined to persecute us for erecting this fort. July 14th, 1776, two of Col. Colway's daughters and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort: I immediately pursued the Indians with only 18 men. On the 16th I overtook them, killed two of them, and recovered the girls. The Indians had divided themselves into several parties, and attacked, on the same day, all our settlements and forts, doing a great deal of mischief. The husbandman was shot dead in the field, and most of the cattle were destroyed. They continued their hostilities until the 15th of April, 1777, when a party of one hundred of them attacked Boonsborough, and killed one man and wounded four. July 4th they attacked it again with two hundred men, and killed one of us, and wounded two. They remained forty-eight hours, during which we killed seven of them. All the settlements were attacked at the same time. July 19th, Colonel Logan's fort was besieged by two hundred Indians. They did much mischief: there were only fifteen men in the fort; they killed two and wounded four of them. Indians' loss unknown. July 25th, twenty-five men came from Carolina. About August 20th, Colonel Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and had skirmishes with the Indians almost every day. The savages now learned the superiority of the *long-knife*, as they call the Virginians; being out-generalled almost in every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect; the enemy did not now venture open war, but practised secret mischief. January 1st, 1778, I went with thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make salt for the different garrisons. February 7th, hunting by myself, to procure meat for the company, I met a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, marching against Boonsborough. They pursued and took me. The next day I capitulated for my men, knowing they could not escape. They were twenty-seven in number, three having gone home with salt. The Indians, according to the capitulation, used us generously. They carried us to Old Chillicothe, the principal Indian town on the Little Miami. On the 18th

of February we arrived there, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather. On the 10th of March, I and ten of my men were conducted to Detroit. On the 30th we arrived there, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity. The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused one hundred pounds sterling offered them by the governor, if they would leave me with the others, on purpose that he might send me home on my parole. Several English gentlemen there, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity. On the 10th of April, they brought me towards Old Chillicothe, where we arrived on the 25th day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chillicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affections of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently-gained their applause for my activity; at our shooting matches, I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they are in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me, and when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, treated me with profound respect and entire friendship, and often entrusted me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of my duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging were in common with them; not so good, indeed, as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable. I now began to meditate an escape, but carefully avoided giving suspicion.

Until the first of June I continued at Old Chillicothe, and then was taken to the salt springs on the Sciota, and kept there ten days making salt. During this time I hunted with them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucky, if possible, and remarkably well watered. On my return to Chillicothe, 450 of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough, painted and armed in a dreadful manner. This alarmed me, and I determined to escape. On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th; a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortress in a bad state; but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow-prisoners, escaping after me, brought advice, that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off the expedition for three weeks. About August 1st, I set out with nineteen men to surprise Point Creek Town on Sciota. Within four miles we fell in with thirty Indians going against Boonsborough. We fought and the enemy gave way. We suffered no loss. The enemy had one killed and two wounded. We took three horses, and all their baggage. The Indians having evacuated their town, and gone altogether against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the 6th day, and on the 7th arrived safe at Boonsborough. On the 8th, the Indian army, 444 in number, commanded by Captain Dugnesne, and eleven other Frenchmen, and their own chiefs, came and summoned the fort. I requested two days consideration, which they granted. During this, we brought in, through the posterns, all the horses and other cattle we could collect. On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said, if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians told us, it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man.

as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners; but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safely, except one that was wounded by a heavy fire from their army. On this they began to undermine the fort, beginning at the water-mark of Kentucky River, which is sixty yards from the fort. We discovered this by the water being made muddy with the clay, and countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterranean passage. The enemy, discovering this by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted. On the 20th of August they raised the siege. During this dreadful siege we had two men killed and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. We killed 37 of the enemy and wounded a great number. We picked up 125 pounds of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort. Soon after this I went into the settlement, and nothing worthy of notice passed for some time. In July, 1779, during my absence, Colonel Bowman, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chillicothe. He arrived undiscovered; a battle ensued, which lasted till 10 in the morning, when Colonel Bowman retreated 30 miles. The Indians collected all their strength and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to Colonel Bowman's advantage. Colonel Harrod proposed to mount a number of horses, and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine men killed and one wounded. The enemy's loss was uncertain, only two scalps being taken. June 22d, 1780, about 600 Indians, and Canadians under Colonel Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's stations, and the forts of Licking River, with 6 pieces of artillery: they took all the inhabitants captive, and killed one man and two women, and loaded the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed in the journey were tomahawked. The hostile disposition of the savages caused General Clark, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the prince

pal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took 17 scalps and burned the town to ashes, with the loss of 17 men. About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; for during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses, through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father's house in North Carolina. The history of my difficulties in going and returning, is too long to be inserted here. On the 6th of October, 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks; and on our return he was shot by a party of Indians; they followed me by the scent of a dog, which I shot and escaped. The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucky, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on Buffaloes' flesh. In the spring, 1782, the Indians harassed us. In May, they killed one man at Ashton's station, and took a negro. Captain Ashton pursued them with 25 men; and, in an engagement which lasted two hours, he was obliged to retreat, having eight killed and four mortally wounded; their brave commander fell in the action. August 10, two boys were carried off from Major Hoy's station. Captain Holder pursued with 17 men; they were also defeated, and lost four and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country, killing men at every opportunity. In a field, near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy. All the Indian nations were now united against us. August 15, 500 Indians and Canadians came against Briant's station, five miles from Lexington; they assaulted the fort, and killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed, they retired the third day, having about 30 killed, their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and three wounded. August 18, Colonel Todd, Colonel Trigg, Major Harland and myself, speedily collected 176 men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks, to a remarkable bend of the main fork of the Licking

River, about forty-three miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th. The savages observing us, gave way; and we, ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in situation, they formed their line of battle from one bend of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The battle was exceedingly fierce for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoner. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland, and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards told, that the Indians, on numbering their dead, finding they had four more killed than we, four of our people that they had taken, were given up to their young warriors, to be put to death after their barbarous manner. On our retreat we were met by Colonel Logan, who was hastening to join us with a number of well armed men: this powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle. The enemy said, one more fire from us would have made them give way. I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene but sorrow fills my heart: a zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight; some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing, in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback; a few on foot; and being dispersed every where, a few hours brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing I am able to describe. Being reinforced we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: some torn and eaten by wild beasts: those in the river eaten by fish; all in such a putrified

condition that no one could be distinguished from another. When General Clark, at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages. We overtook them within two miles of their towns, and we should have obtained a great victory had not some of them met us when about 200 poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes old Chillicothe, Peccaway, New-Chillicothe, Wills-Town, and Chillicothe; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits, and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners and five scalps, and lost only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves.

This campaign damped the enemy, yet they made secret incursions. In October, a party attacked Crab Orchard; and one of them, being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved too strong for him and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe, whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up, and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rusty gun-barrel through a crevice, the savages went off. From that time until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Soon after, the Indians desired peace. Two darling sons and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken forty valuable horses, and an abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by summer's sun, and pinched by winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed; peace crowns the sylvan shade.

DANIEL BOONE,

Fayette county, Kentucky.

JOHN CADWALADER,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

THIS zealous and inflexible friend of America was born in Philadelphia, 1742. He was distinguished for his intrepidity as a soldier, in upholding the cause of freedom during the most discouraging periods of danger and misfortune, that America ever beheld.

At the dawn of the revolution, he commanded a corps of volunteers, designated as "*the silk-stocking company*," of which nearly all the members were appointed to commissions in the line of the army. He afterward was appointed colonel of one of the city battalions, and being thence promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, was intrusted with the command of the Pennsylvania troops, in the important operations of the winter campaign of 1776 and 1777. He acted with this command, as a volunteer, in the actions of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and on other occasions, and received the thanks of General Washington, whose confidence and regard he uniformly enjoyed.

The merits and services of General Cadwalader, induced congress, early in 1778, to compliment him by a unanimous vote, with the appointment of general of cavalry; which appointment he declined under an impression that he could be more useful to his country, in the sphere in which he had been acting.

He was strongly and ardently attached to General Washington, and his celebrated duel with General Conway, arose from his spirited opposition to the intrigues of that officer, to undermine the standing of the Commander-in-Chief. The following anecdote of the rencounter, is related in the "*Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War*."

"The particulars of this duel, originating in the honorable feelings of General Cadwalader, indignant at the attempt of his adversary to injure the reputation of the Commander-in-Chief, by representing him as unqualified for the exalted station

which he held, appears worthy of record. Nor ought the coolness observed on the occasion by the parties, to be forgotten, as it evinces very strongly, that though imperious circumstances may compel men of nice feeling to meet, that the dictates of honor may be satisfied, without the smallest deviation from the most rigid rules of politeness. When arrived at the appointed rendezvous, General Cadwaladar, accompanied by General Dickinson of Pennsylvania, General Conway by Colonel Morgan of Princeton, it was agreed upon by the seconds, that, on the word being given, the principals might fire in their own time, and at discretion, either by an off-hand shot, or by taking a deliberate aim. The parties having declared themselves ready, the word was given to proceed. General Conway immediately raised his pistol, and fired with great composure, but without effect. General Cadwalader was about to do so, when a sudden gust of wind occurring, he kept his pistol down and remained tranquil. 'Why do you not fire, General Cadwalader?' exclaimed Conway. 'Because,' replied General Cadwalader, 'we came not here to trifle. Let the gale pass, and I shall act my part.' 'You shall have a fair chance of performing it well,' rejoined Conway, and immediately presented a full front. General Cadwalader fired, and his ball entering the mouth of his antagonist, he fell directly forward on his face. Colonel Morgan running to his assistance, found the blood spouting from behind his neck, and lifting up the club of hair, saw the ball drop from it. It had passed through his head greatly to the derangement of his tongue and teeth, but did not inflict a mortal wound. As soon as the blood was sufficiently washed away to allow him to speak, General Conway, turning to his opponent, said, good humoredly, 'You fire, General, with much deliberation, and certainly with a great deal of effect.' The parties then parted, free from all resentment."

This patriotic and exemplary man died February 10th, 1786. In his private life he exemplified all the virtues that ennoble the character of man. His conduct was not marked with the least degree of malevolence, or party spirit. Those who

honestly differed from him in opinion, he always treated with singular tenderness. In sociability, and cheerfulness of temper, honesty, and goodness of heart, independence of spirit, and warmth of his friendship, he had no superior. Never did any man die more lamented by his friends and neighbours; to his family and relations, his death was a stroke still more severe.

JAMES CLINTON,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL CLINTON was the fourth son of Colonel Charles Clinton, and was born in Ulster county, N. Y. August 19th, 1736. In common with his brothers, he received an excellent education.

In the critical and eventful affairs of nations, when their rights and their interests are invaded, Providence, in the plenitude of its beneficence, has generally provided men qualified to raise the standard of resistance, and has infused a redeeming spirit into the community, which enables it to rise superior to the calamities that menaced its liberty and its prosperity.—History does not record a more brilliant illustration of this truth than the American revolution. In defiance of the most appalling considerations, constellations of the most illustrious men, pierced the dark and gloomy clouds which enveloped this oppressed people, and shone forth in the councils and the armies of the nation. Their wisdom drew forth the resources, and their energy vindicated the rights of America. They took their lives in their hands, and liberty or death was inscribed on their hearts. Amidst this gallant band, General Clinton stood deservedly conspicuous. To an iron constitution and an invincible courage, he added great coolness in action and perseverance in effort. The predominant inclination of his mind was to a military life, and by a close attention to the studies connected with it, he prepared himself to perform those duties which afterward devolved upon him, and thereby established his character as an intrepid and skilful officer.

In the war of 1756, usually denominated the French war, Clinton first encountered the fatigues and dangers of a military life. He was a captain under Colonel Bradstreet, at the capture of Fort Fontenac, and rendered essential service in that expedition by the capture of a sloop of war on Lake Ontario.

“His company was placed in row-galleys, and favored by a calm, compelled the French vessel to strike after an obstinate resistance. His designation as captain commandant of the four companies, raised for the protection of the western frontiers of the counties of Orange and Ulster, was a post of great responsibility and hazard, and demonstrated the confidence of the government. The safety of a line of settlements, extending at least fifty miles, was intrusted to his vigilance and intrepidity. The ascendancy of the French over the ruthless savages, was always predominant, and the inhabitant of the frontiers was compelled to hold the plough with one hand for his sustenance, and to grasp his gun with the other, for his defence; and he was constantly in danger of being awakened, in the hour of darkness, by the war-whoop of the savages, to witness the conflagration of his dwelling and the murder of his family.

After the termination of the French war, Mr. Clinton married Mary De Witt, and he retired from the camp to enjoy the repose of domestic life.

When the American revolution was on the eve of its commencement, he was appointed on the 30th June, 1775, by the continental congress, colonel of the 3d regiment of New York forces. On the 25th of October following, he was appointed by the provincial congress of New-York, colonel of the regiment of foot in Ulster county; on the 8th of March, 1776, by the continental congress, colonel of the second battalion of New-York troops; and on the 9th of August, 1776, a Brigadier-General in the army of the United States; in which station he continued during the greater part of the war, having the command of the New-York line, or the troops of that state; and at its close he was constituted a Major-General.

In 1775, his regiment composed part of the army under General Montgomery, which invaded Canada; and he parti-

icipated in all the fatigues, dangers, and privations, of that celebrated but unfortunate expedition.

In October, 1777, he commanded at Fort Clinton, which, together with its neighbor, Fort Montgomery, constituted the defence of the Hudson river, against the ascent of an enemy. His brother, the governor, commanded in chief at both forts.—Sir Henry Clinton, with a view to create a division in favour of General Burgoyne, moved up the Hudson with an army of 4000 men, and attacked those works, which were very imperfectly fortified, and only defended by 500 men, composed principally of militia. After a most gallant resistance, the forts were carried by storm. General Clinton, was the last man who left the works, and not until he was severely wounded by the thrust of a bayonet; pursued and fired at by the enemy, and his attending servant killed. He bled profusely, and when he dismounted from his war-horse, in order to effect his escape from the enemy, who were close on him, it occurred to him that he must either perish on the mountains or be captured, unless he could supply himself with another horse; an animal which sometimes roamed at large in that wild region. In this emergency he took the bridle from his horse, and slid down a precipice of one hundred feet to the ravine of the creek which separated the forts, and feeling cautiously his way along its precipitous banks, he reached the mountain at a distance from the enemy, after having fallen into the stream, the cold water of which arrested a copious effusion of blood. The return of light furnished him with the sight of a horse, which conveyed him to his house, about sixteen miles from the fort, where he arrived about noon, covered with blood and laboring under a severe fever. In his helpless condition the British passed up the Hudson, within a few miles of his house, and destroyed the town of Kingston.

The cruel ravages and horrible irruptions of the Iroquois, or six nations of Indians, on our frontier settlements, rendered it necessary to inflict a terrible chastisement, which would prevent a repetition of their atrocities. An expedition was accordingly planned, and their principal command was com-

mitted to General Sullivan, who was to proceed up the Susquehanna, with the main body of the army, while General Clinton was to join him by the way of the Mohawk.

The Iroquois inhabited, or occasionally occupied that immense and fertile region which composes the western parts of New-York and Pennsylvania, and besides their own ravages, from the vicinity of their settlements to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. When General Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by General Clinton with upwards of sixteen hundred men. The latter had gone up the Mohawk in batteaux, from Schenectady, and after ascending that river about fifty-four miles, he conveyed his batteaux from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego Lake, one of the sources of the Susquehanna. Finding the stream of water, in that river, too low to float his boats, he erected a dam across the mouth of the lake, which soon rose to the altitude of the dam. Having got his batteaux ready, he opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high, that he was enabled to embark all his troops: to float them down to Tioga, and to join General Sullivan in good season. The Indians collected their strength at Newtown; took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment, and on the 29th August, 1779, an attack was made on them; their works were forced, and their consternation was so great, that they abandoned all further resistance; for, as the Americans advanced into their settlements, they retreated before them without throwing any obstructions in their way. The army passed between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by Geneva and Canandaigua, and as far west as the Genesee River, destroying large settlements and villages, and fields of corn; orchards of fruit-trees, and gardens abounding with esculent vegetables. The progress of the Indians in agriculture, struck the Americans with astonishment. Many of their ears of corn measured 22 inches in length.—They had horses, cows, and hogs, in abundance. They manufactured salt and sugar, and raised, the best of apples and peaches, and their dwellings were large and commodious.—

The desolation of their settlements, the destruction of their provisions, and the conflagration of their houses, drove them to the British fortresses of Niagara for subsistence, where, living on salt provisions, to which they were unaccustomed, they died in great numbers, and the effect of this expedition, was to diminish their population; to damp their ardour; to check their arrogance; to restrain their cruelty, and to inflict an irrecoverable blow on their resources of extensive aggression.

For a considerable portion of the war, General Clinton was stationed at Albany, where he commanded, in the northern department of the union, a place of high responsibility and requiring uncommon vigilance and continual exertion. An incident occurred, when on this command which strongly illustrates his character. A regiment which had been ordered to march, mutinied under arms, and peremptorily refused obedience. The general, on being apprised of this, immediately repaired with his pistols to the ground; he went up to the head of the regiment and ordered it to march: a silence ensued, and the order was not complied with. He then presented a pistol to the breast of a sergeant, who was the ringleader, and commanded him to proceed on pain of death; and so in succession along the line, and his command was, in every instance, obeyed, and the regiment restored to entire and complete subordination and submission.

General Clinton was at the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis, where he distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity.

His last appearance in arms, was on the evacuation of the city of New-York, by the British. He then bid the commander-in-chief a final and affectionate adieu, and retired to his ample estates, where he enjoyed that repose which was required by a long period of fatigue and privation.

He was, however, frequently called from his retirement by the unsolicited voice of his fellow-citizens, to perform civic duties. He was appointed a commissioner to adjust the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New-York, which important measure was amicably and successfully accomplished. He was

also selected by the legislature for an interesting mission to settle controversies about lands in the west, which also terminated favorably. He represented his native county in the assembly and in the convention that adopted the present constitution of the United States, and he was elected, without opposition, a senator from the Middle District; all which trusts he executed with perfect integrity, with solid intelligence, and with the full approbation of his constituents.

The temper of General Clinton was mild and affectionate, but when raised by unprovoked or unmerited injury, he exhibited extraordinary and appalling energy. In battle he was as cool and as collected as if sitting by his fireside. Nature intended him for a gallant and efficient soldier, when she endowed him with the faculty of entire self-possession in the midst of the greatest dangers.

He died on the 22d of December, 1812, and was interred in the family burial-place in Orange county, and his monumental stone bears the following inscription:

“Underneath are interred the remains of James Clinton, Esquire.

“He was born the 9th of August, 1736; and died the 22d of December, 1812.

“His life was principally devoted to the military service of his country, and he had filled with fidelity and honor, several distinguished civil offices.

“He was an officer in the revolutionary war, and the war preceding; and, at the close of the former, was a major-general in the army of the United States. He was a good man and a sincere patriot, performing, in the most exemplary manner, all the duties of life: and he died, as he lived, without fear, and without reproach.”

[Biographical Dictionary.]

GEORGE CLINTON,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

AMONG the many distinguished patriots of the revolution, who have become tenants of the tomb, the services of none will be more readily acknowledged, than those of the late venerable George Clinton. He is descended from a respectable and worthy family, and was born on the 26th July, 1739, in the county of Ulster, in the colony of New-York. His father, Colonel Charles Clinton was an emigrant from Ireland.

In early youth he was put to the study of law, but long before he became a man, he rallied under the standard of his country, and assisted Amherst in the reduction of Montreal. In this campaign he nobly distinguished himself in a conflict on the northern waters, when, with four gun-boats, after a severe engagement, he captured a French brig of 18 guns.

This war being ended, he returned again to his favorite pursuit, the science of the law, and placed himself under the tuition of Chief Justice Smith, where he became a student with Governor Morris, between whom and himself, a difference of political opinion, in after life, wrought a separation.

He had scarcely commenced as a practitioner, when, in 1765, the storm appeared to gather round his native land, and the tyrannic disposition of the mother country was manifested. Foreseeing the evil at hand, with a mind glowing with patriotism, correct and quick in its perceptions; and like time, steady and fixed to the achievement of its objects, he abandoned the advantages of the profession to which he had been educated, and became a member of the colonial legislature; where he ever displayed a love of liberty, an inflexible attachment to the rights of his country, and that undaunted firmness and integrity, without which this nation never would have been free; and which has ever formed the most brilliant, though by no means the most useful trait of his character. He was chief of the Whig party.

In this situation he remained, contending against the doctrine of British supremacy; and with great strength of argu-

ment, and force of popularity, supporting the rights of America, till the crisis arrived when, in 1775, he was returned a member of that patriotic congress, who laid the foundation of our independence. While in this venerable body, it may be said of him with truth, that "he strengthened the feeble knees, and the hands that hang down." On the 4th of July, 1776, he was present at the glorious declaration of independence, and assented with his usual energy and decision, to that measure, but having been appointed a brigadier-general in the militia, and also in the continental army, the exigencies of his country at that trying hour, rendered it necessary for him to take the field in person, and he therefore retired from congress immediately after his vote was given, and before the instrument was transcribed for the signature of the members; for which reason his name does not appear among the signers.

A constitution having been adopted for the state of New-York, in April, 1777, he was chosen at the first election under it, both governor and lieutenant-governor, and was continued in the former office for eighteen years. In this year he was also appointed by congress to command the post of the Highlands, a most important and arduous duty. The design of the enemy was to separate New-England from the rest of the nation, and by preventing succor from the east, to lay waste the middle and southern country. Had this plan been carried into effect, American liberty would probably have expired in its cradle. It was then that his vast and comprehensive genius viewed in its true light the magnitude of the evil contemplated; and he roused to a degree of energy unknown and unexpected. It was then that Burgoyne was, with the best appointed army ever seen in America, attempting to force his way to Albany, and Howe, attempting to effect a junction with him at that important place.

The crisis was all important, and Clinton did not hesitate—he determined at all hazards to save his country. With this view, when Howe attempted to ascend the river, Clinton from every height and angle assailed him. His gallant defence of Fort Montgomery, with a handful of men, against a powerful

force commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, was equally honorable to his intrepidity and his skill. The following are the particulars of his gallant conduct at the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton, in October, 1777.

“When the British reinforcements under General Robertson, amounting to nearly two thousand men, arrived from Europe, Sir Henry Clinton used the greatest exertion, and availed himself of every favorable circumstance, to put these troops into immediate operation. Many were sent to suitable vessels, and united in the expedition, which consisted of about 4000 men, against the forts in the Highlands. Having made the necessary arrangements, he moved up the North River, and landed on the 4th of October at Tarry-town, purposely to impress General Putnam, under whose command a thousand continental troops had been left, with a belief, that his post at Peek’skill was the object of attack. At eight o’clock at night, the general communicated the intelligence to Governor Clinton, of the arrival of the British, and at the same time expressed his opinion respecting their destination. The designs of Sir Henry were immediately perceived by the governor, who prorogued the assembly on the following day, and arrived that night at Fort Montgomery. The British troops in the mean time, were secretly conveyed across the river, and assaults upon our forts were meditated to be made on the 6th, which were accordingly put in execution, by attacking the American advanced party at Doodletown, about two miles and a half from Fort Montgomery. The Americans received the fire of the British, and retreated to Fort Clinton. The enemy then advanced to the west side of the mountain, in order to attack our troops in the rear. Governor Clinton immediately ordered out a detachment of one hundred men towards Doodletown, and another of sixty, with a brass field piece, to an eligible spot on another road. They were both soon attacked by the whole force of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. It has been remarked, that the talents, as well as the temper of a commander, are put to as severe a test in conducting a retreat, as in achieving a victory. The truth of this Governor Clinton

experienced, when, with great bravery, and the most perfect order, he retired till he reached the fort. He lost no time in placing his men in the best manner that circumstances would admit. His post however, as well as Fort Clinton, in a few minutes were invaded on every side. In the midst of this disheartening and appalling disaster, he was summoned, when the sun was only an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but his gallant spirit sternly refused to obey the call. In a short time after, the British made a general and most desperate attack on both posts, which was received by the Americans with undiminished courage and resistance. Officers and men, militia and continentals, all behaved alike brave. An incessant fire was kept up till dusk, when our troops were overpowered by numbers, who forced the lines and redoubts at both posts. Many of the Americans fought their way out, others accidentally mixed with the enemy, and thus made their escape effectually; for, besides being favored by the night, they knew the various avenues in the mountains. The governor, as well as his brother, Gen. James Clinton, who was wounded, were not taken."*

Howe, driven to madness by the manly resistance of his foes, inconsiderately landed and marched into the country, and immortalized his name by burning Kingston and other villages. But the great object of the expedition, the forming a conjunction with Burgoyne, was happily defeated by the capture of that general, and America was free.

From this moment, for eighteen years in succession, he remained the governor of New-York, re-elected to that important station by a generous and wise people, who knew how to appreciate his wisdom and virtue, and their own blessings. During this period, he was president of the convention of that state, which ratified the national constitution: when, as in all other situations, he undeviatingly manifested an ardent attachment to civil liberty.

After the life of labor and usefulness, here faintly portrayed; worn with the fatigues of duty, and with a disease which

* American Biographical Dictionary.

then afflicted him, but which had been removed for the last eight years of his life; having led his native state to eminent, if not unrivalled importance and prosperity, he retired from public life, with a mind resolved not to mingle again with governmental concerns, and to taste those sweets which result from reflecting on a life well spent.

In 1805 he was chosen Vice-President of the United States, by the same number of votes that elevated Mr. Jefferson to the presidency; in which station he discharged his duties with unremitted attention; presiding with great dignity in the Senate, and evincing, by his votes and his opinions, his decided hostility to constructive authority, and to innovations on the established principles of republican government.

He died at Washington, when attending to his duties as Vice-President, and was interred in that city, where a monument was erected by the filial piety of his children, with this inscription, written by his nephew:—

“To the memory of George Clinton. He was born in the state of New York, on the 26th July, 1739, and died in the city of Washington, on the 20th April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age.”

“He was a soldier and statesman of the revolution. Eminent in council, and distinguished in war, he filled with unexampled usefulness, purity, and ability, among many other offices, those of Governor of his native state, and of Vice-President of the U. States. While he lived, his virtue, wisdom, and valor were the pride, the ornament, and security of his country, and when he died, he left an illustrious example of a well spent life, worthy of all imitation.”

THOMAS CONWAY,

Major-General in the American Army.

“This gentleman was born in Ireland, and went with his parents to France, at the age of six years, and was from his youth educated to the profession of arms. He had obtained con-

siderable reputation as a military officer, and as a man of sound understanding and judgment. He arrived from France with ample recommendations, and congress appointed him a brigadier-general in May, 1777. He soon became conspicuously inimical to General Washington, and sought occasions to traduce his character. In this he found support from a faction in congress, who were desirous that the commander-in-chief should be superseded. The congress not long after elected General Conway to the office of Inspector-General to our army, with the rank of Major-General, though he had insulted the commander-in-chief, and justified himself in doing so. This gave umbrage to the brigadiers over whom he was promoted, and they remonstrated to congress against the proceeding, as implicating their honor and character. Conway now smarting under the imputation of having instigated a hostile faction against the illustrious Washington, and being extremely unpopular among the officers in general, and finding his situation did not accord with his feelings and views, resigned his commission without having commenced the duties of inspector. He was believed to be an unprincipled intriguer, and after his resignation, his calumny and detraction of the commander-in-chief, and the army generally was exercised with unrestrained virulence and outrage.

No man was more zealously engaged in the scheme of elevating General Gates to the station of commander-in-chief. His vile insinuations and direct assertions in the public newspapers, and in private conversation, relative to the incapacity of Washington to conduct the operations of the army, received countenance from several members of congress, who were induced to declare their want of confidence in him, and the affair assumed an aspect threatening the most disastrous consequences. Conway maintained a correspondence with General Gates on the subject, and in one of his letters, he thus expresses himself: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." He was himself at that time one of the counsellors, against whom he so basely inveighs. Envy and malice ever are attendant on

exalted genius and merit. But the delusion was of short continuance, the name of Washington proved unassailable, and the base intrigue of Conway recoiled with bitterness on his own head."*

General Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, indignant at the attempt to vilify the character of Washington, resolved to avenge himself on the aggressor in personal combat. The particulars of this meeting are given in the biography of General Cadwalader. General Conway, conceiving his wound to be mortal, and believing death to be near, acted honorably, in addressing to General Washington, whom he had perfidiously slandered, the following letter of apology:

"Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1778.

SIR—I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, esteem, and veneration of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble Servant,

THOS. CONWAY."

WILLIAM DAVIDSON,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

WILLIAM DAVIDSON, Lieutenant-Colonel commandant in the North Carolina line, and Brigadier-General in the militia of that state, was the youngest son of George Davidson, who removed with his family from Lancaster county, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1750, to Rowan county, in North Carolina.

William was born in the year 1746, and was educated in a plain country manner, at an Academy in Charlotte, the county town of Mecklenburgh, which adjoins Rowan.

Like most of the enterprising youth of America, Davidson repaired to the standard of his country, on the commencement of the revolutionary war, and was appointed a Major in one of the first regiments formed by the government of North Carolina.

In this character he marched with the North Carolina line, under Brigadier-General Nash, to the main army in New-Jersey, where he served under the commander-in-chief, until the North Carolina line was detached in November, 1779, to re-inforce the southern army, commanded by Major-General Lincoln.— Previous to this event, Major Davidson was promoted to the command of a regiment, with the rank of a lieutenant-colonel commandant.

As he passed through North Carolina, Davidson obtained permission to visit his family, from which he had been absent nearly three years. The delay produced by this visit saved him from captivity, as he found Charleston so closely invested when he arrived in its neighborhood, as to prevent his rejunction with his regiment.

Soon after the surrender of General Lincoln and his army, the loyalists of North Carolina, not doubting the complete success of the royal forces, began to embody themselves for the purpose of contributing their active aid in the field to the subsequent operations of the British general. They were numerous in the western parts of the state, and especially in the highland settlement about Cross Creek. Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson put himself at the head of some of our militia, called out to quell the expected insurrection. He proceeded with vigour in the execution of his trust; and in an engagement with a party of loyalists near Calson's mill, he was severely wounded; the ball entered the umbilical region, and passed through his body near the kidneys. This confined him for eight weeks; when recovering, he instantly took the field, having been recently appointed Brigadier-General by the government of North Carolina, in the place of Brigadier-General Rutherford,

taken at the battle of Camden. He exerted himself, in conjunction with General Sumner and Colonel Davie, to interrupt the progress of Lord Cornwallis in his advance towards Salisbury, and throughout that eventful period, gave unceasing evidences of his zeal and firmness in upholding his falling country.

After the victory obtained by Morgan at the Cowpens, Davidson was among the most active of his countrymen in assembling the militia of his district, to enable General Greene, who had joined the light corps under Morgan, to stop the progress of the advancing enemy, and was detached by General Greene, on the night of the last day of January, to guard the very ford selected by Lord Cornwallis for his passage of the Catawba River on the next morning. Davidson possessed himself of the post in the night, at the head of three hundred men; and having placed a picquet near the shore, stationed his corps at some small distance from the ford.

General Henry Lee, from whose memoirs of the war in the Southern department of the United States, we copy the present sketch of General Davidson, gives the following account of the battle:

“A disposition was immediately made to dislodge Davidson, which the British General O’Harra, with the guards, effected. Lieutenant-Colonel Hall, led with the light company, followed by the grenadiers. The current was rapid, the stream waist deep, and five hundred yards in width. The soldiers crossed in platoons, supporting each other’s steps. When Lieutenant-Colonel Hall reached the river, he was descried by the American sentinels, whose challenge and fire brought Davidson’s corps into array. Deserted by his guide, Hall passed directly across, not knowing the landing place, which lay below him.—This deviation from the common course, rendered it necessary for Davidson to incline to the right; but this manœuvre, although promptly performed, was not effected until the light infantry had gained the shore. A fierce conflict ensued, which was well supported by Davidson and his inferior force. The militia at length yielded, and Davidson, while mounting his

horse to direct the retreat, was killed. The corps dispersed and sought safety in the woods. Our loss was small excepting General Davidson, an active, zealous, and influential officer.— The British Lieutenant-Colonel Hall was also killed, with three of the light infantry, and thirty-six were wounded. Lord Cornwallis's horse was shot under him, and fell as soon as he got upon the shore. Leslee's horses were carried down the stream, and with difficulty saved; and O'Harra's tumbled over with him into the water."

The loss of Brigadier-General Davidson would always have been felt in any stage of the war. It was particularly detrimental in its effect at this period, as he was the chief instrument relied upon by General Greene for the assemblage of the militia; an event all important at this crisis, and anxiously desired by the American general. The ball passed through his breast, and he instantly fell dead.

This promising soldier was thus lost to his country in the meridian of life, and at a moment when his services would have been highly beneficial to her. He was a man of popular manners, pleasing address, active and indefatigable. Enamoured with the profession of arms, and devoted to the great cause for which he fought, his future usefulness may be inferred from his former conduct.

The Congress of the United States, in gratitude for his services, and in commemoration of their sense of his worth, passed the following resolution, directing the erection of a monument to his memory:—

Resolved, That the governor and state of North Carolina, be desired to erect a monument, at the expense of the United States, not exceeding the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late Brigadier-General Davidson, who commanded the militia of the district of Salisbury, in the state of North Carolina, and was killed on the first day of February last, fighting gallantly in the defence of the liberty and independence of these states."*

*American Biographical Dictionary.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE,

Colonel Commandant of the State Cavalry of North Carolina.

COLONEL DAVIE was born in the village of Egremont, in England, on the 20th June, 1759. His father, visiting South Carolina soon after the peace of 1763, brought with him his son; and returning to England, confided him to the Rev. William Richardson, his maternal uncle; who becoming much attached to his nephew, not only took charge of his education, but adopted him as his son and heir. At the proper age, William was sent to an academy in North Carolina; from whence he was, after a few years, removed to the college of Nassau Hall, in Princeton, New-Jersey, then becoming the resort of most of the southern youth under the auspices of the learned and respectable Dr. Witherspoon. Here he finished his education, graduating in the autumn of 1776, a year memorable in our military as well as civil annals.

Returning home, young Davie found himself shut out for a time from the army, as the commissions for the troops just levied had been issued. He went to Salisbury, where he commenced the study of law. The war continuing, contrary to the expectations which generally prevailed when it began, Davie could no longer resist the wish to plant himself among the defenders of his country. Inducing a worthy and popular friend, rather too old for military service, to raise a troop of dragoons as the readiest mode of accomplishing his object, Davie obtained a lieutenancy in this troop. Without delay the captain joined the Southern army, and soon afterwards returned home on a furlough. The command of the troop devolving on Lieutenant Davie, it was, at his request, annexed to the legion of Count Pulaski, where Captain Davie continued, until promoted by Major-General Lincoln to the station of Brigade-Major of cavalry. In this office Davie served until the affair of Stono, devoting his leisure to the acquirement of professional knowledge, and rising fast in the esteem of the general and army. When Lincoln attempted to dislodge Lieutenant-Colonel Mait-

land from his entrenched camp on the Stono, Davie received a severe wound, and was removed from camp to the hospital in Charleston, where he was confined five months.

Soon after his recovery he was empowered by the government of North Carolina to raise a small legionary corps, consisting of one troop of dragoons and two companies of mounted infantry; at the head of which he was placed with the rank of major.

Quickly succeeding in completing his corps, in whose equipment he expended the last remaining shilling of an estate bequeathed to him by his uncle, he took the field, and was sedulously engaged in protecting the country between Charlotte and Camden, from the enemy's predatory excursions. On the fatal 19th of August he was hastening with his corps to join the army, when he met our dispersed and flying troops. He nevertheless continued to advance toward the conqueror; and by his prudence, zeal, and vigilance, saved a few of our wagons, and many of our stragglers. Acquainted with the movement of Sumpter, and justly apprehending that he would be destroyed unless speedily advised of the defeat of Gates, he despatched immediately a courier to that officer, communicating what had happened, performing, in the midst of distress and confusion, the part of an experienced captain.

So much was his conduct respected by the government of North Carolina, that he was in the course of September promoted to the rank of colonel commandant of the cavalry of the state.

At the two gloomiest epochs of the southern war, soon after the fall of Charleston and the overthrow of Gates, it was the good fortune of Colonel Davie, to be the first to shed a gleam through the surrounding darkness, and give hope to the country, by the brilliancy of his exploits. In one instance, without loss or injury, on his part, he entirely destroyed an escort of provisions, taking 40 prisoners, with their horses and arms. In the other, under the immediate eye of a large British force, which was actually beating to arms, to attack him, he routed a party stronger than his own, killing and wounding 60 of the

enemy, and carrying off with him 96 horses and 120 stand of arms.

When Lord Cornwallis entered Charlotte, a small village in North Carolina, Colonel Davie, at the head of his detachment, threw himself in his front determined to give him a specimen of the firmness and gallantry, with which the inhabitants of the place were prepared to dispute with his lordship their native soil.

Colonel Tarlton's legion formed the British van, led by Major Hanger, the commander himself being confined by sickness. When that celebrated corps had advanced near to the centre of the village, where the Americans were posted, Davie poured into it so destructive a fire, that it immediately wheeled, and retired in disorder. Being rallied on the commons, and again led on to the charge, it received on the same spot, another fire with similar effect.

Lord Cornwallis witnessing the confusion, thus produced, among his choicest troops, rode up in person, and in a tone of dissatisfaction, upbraided the legion with unsoldierly conduct, reminding it of its former exploits and reputation.

Pressed on his flanks by the British infantry, Colonel Davie had now fallen back to a new and well selected position. To dislodge him from this, the legion cavalry advanced on him, a third time, in rapid charge, in full view of their commander-in-chief, but in vain. Another fire from the American marksmen, killed several of their officers, wounded Major Hanger, and repulsed them again with increased confusion.

The main body of the British being now within musket shot, the American leader abandoned the contest.

It was by strokes like these, that he seriously crippled and intimidated his enemy, acquired an elevated standing in the estimation of his friends and served very essentially the interest of freedom.

In this station he was found by General Greene, on assuming the command of the southern army; whose attention had been occupied from his entrance into North Carolina, in remedying

the disorder in the quarter-master and commissary departments. To the first, Carrington had been called; and Davie was now induced to take upon himself the last, much as he preferred the station he then possessed. At the head of this department, Colonel Davie remained throughout the trying campaign which followed; contributing greatly by his talents, his zeal, his local knowledge, and his influence, to the maintenance of the difficult and successful operations which followed. While before Ninety-six, Greene, foreseeing the difficulties again to be encountered, in consequence of the accession of force to the enemy by the arrival of three regiments of infantry from Ireland, determined to send a confidential officer to the legislature of North Carolina, then in session, to represent to them his relative condition, and to urge their adoption of effectual measures without delay, for the collection of magazines of provisions and the reinforcement of the army. Colonel Davie was selected by Greene for this important mission, and immediately repaired to the seat of government, where he ably and faithfully exerted himself to give effect to the views of his general.

The effect of the capture of Cornwallis assuring the quick return of peace, Colonel Davie returned home, and resumed the profession with the practice of the law in the town of Halifax, on the Roanoke.

He was afterward governor of North Carolina, and one of our ambassadors to France, at a very portentous conjuncture.

The war in the south was ennobled by great and signal instances of individual and partizan valour and enterprise. Scarcely do the most high drawn heroes of fiction, surpass, in their darings and extraordinary achievements, many of the real ones of Pickens, Marion, Sumpter, and Davie, who figured in the southern states, during the conflict of the revolution.

Colonel Davie, although younger by several years, possessed talents of a higher order, and was much more accomplished, in education and manners, than either of his three competitors for fame. For the comeliness of his person, his martial air, his excellence in horsemanship, and his consummate powers of field eloquence, he had scarcely an equal in the armies of

his country. But his chief excellence lay in the magnanimity and generosity of his soul, his daring courage, his vigilance and address, and his unrelaxing activity and endurance of toil. If he was less frequently engaged in actual combat, than either of his three compeers, it was not because he was inferior to either of them in enterprise, or love of battle. His district being more interior, was, at first, less frequently invaded by British detachments. When, however, Lord Cornwallis ultimately advanced into that quarter, his scouts and foraging parties, found in Colonel Davie, and his brave associates, as formidable an enemy as they had ever encountered.

HENRY DEARBORN,

Colonel in the American Army.

THE subjoined sketch of the revolutionary services rendered by General Dearborn, is collected from his brothers in arms.

When the British sent a detachment to destroy the military stores in the vicinity of Lexington, Mr. Dearborn, then a young gentleman in the study of medicine, resided at Nottingham, in New-Hampshire. Animated by the patriotic resistance of the Americans, immediately on being informed of the battle, he assembled the inhabitants, and observed that the time had now arrived, when the rights of the American people must be vindicated by arms, or an odious despotism would for ever be riveted upon them. The militia had already gathered; and impressed with these sentiments, a company of 65 men, armed and accoutred, paraded at 10 o'clock of the next day after the battle of Lexington. Dearborn advanced with them in such rapidity, that they reached Cambridge common, a distance of fifty miles, in twenty hours. After remaining at Cambridge for several days, there being no immediate occasion for their services, they returned. Dearborn was soon after commissioned a captain in one of the New-Hampshire regiments, under the command of Colonel Stark, and such was his popularity and the confidence of the people in his bravery and conduct.

that in ten days from the time he received his commission, he enlisted a full company, and again marched to Cambridge. On the glorious *seventeenth of June*, information was received at Mystic (now Medford) where Dearborn was stationed, that the British were preparing to come out from Boston, and storm the works which had been thrown up on Breed's Hill the night before, by the Americans. . .

The regiment to which he was attached was immediately paraded, and marched to Charlestown Neck. Dearborn's company composed the flank guard to the regiment. They crossed the Neck under a galling fire from the British men of war and floating batteries, and having sustained some loss, arrived at the heights. The action soon commenced, and the Americans stood their ground until their ammunition was expended, and they could no longer beat off the British bayonets with the but-ends of their muskets. Dearborn carried a fusce into the battle of Bunker's Hill, and fired regularly with his men.

The next arduous service in which he was engaged, was the expedition to Canada, through the wilds of Kennebec, under the command of General Arnold. He was not ordered on this dangerous and difficult service, but persuaded a captain, who was drafted, to exchange places with him. Thirty-two days were employed in traversing the hideous wilderness between the settlements on the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, in which every hardship and fatigue, of which human nature is capable, was endured indiscriminately by the officers and troops. On the highlands between the Kennebec and St. Lawrence, the remnant of provisions was divided among the companies, who were directed to make the best of their way in separate divisions to the settlement of Chaudiere. The last payment of food in Dearborn's company was shortly consumed, and he was reduced to the extremity of dividing a large dog which accompanied him with his associates. When they reached the Chaudiere, from colds, extreme hardship, and want of sustenance, his strength failed him, and he was unable to walk but a short distance without walking into the river to refrigerate and stimulate his limbs. With difficulty he reached

a poor hut, on the Chaudiere, where he told his men he could accompany them no further, animated them forward to a glorious discharge of their duty, and would suffer no one to remain to attend him in his illness. His company left him with tears in their eyes, expecting to see him no more. Dearborn was here seized with a violent fever, during which his life was in danger for ten days, without physician or medicine, and with scarcely the common necessities of life. His fine constitution at last surmounted his disease, and as soon as he was able to mount a horse, he proceeded to Point Levi, crossed over to Wolf's Cove, and made his unexpected appearance at the head of his company a few days before the assault on Quebec. At four o'clock in the morning of the 31st December, in a severe snow storm, and in a climate that vies with Norway in tempest and in intense cold, the attack was commenced. Dearborn was attached to the corps under General Arnold, who was wounded early in the action, and carried from the field. Morgan succeeded to the command, and "with a voice louder than the tempest," animated the troops as they stormed the first barrier and entered the town. Montgomery had already bled on immortal ground, and his division being repulsed, the corps under Morgan was exposed to a sanguinary but unavailing contest. From the windows of the store-houses, each a castle, and from the tops of the parapets, a destructive fire was poured upon the assailants. In vain was the second barrier gained by scaling ladders; double ranks of soldiers presented a forest of bayonets below, and threatened inevitable destruction to any one who should leap from the walls. Dearborn maintained for a long time this desperate warfare, until at last he and the remnant of his company were overpowered by a sortie of 200 men with field pieces, who attacked him in front and rear, in a short street, and compelled him to surrender. The whole corps, originally led on by Arnold, were killed or made prisoners of war.

Dearborn was now put into rigid confinement, with a number of other officers, who were not allowed to converse with each other, unless in the presence of the officer of the guard.

While in prison he was urgently solicited by the English officers to join the British; was promised a colonel's commission if he would accept, and was assured if he refused, that he would be sent out to England in the spring, and be inevitably hanged as a rebel. The only reply he made to their solicitations or menaces, was, that he had taken up arms in defence of the liberties and the rights of his country: that he never would disgrace himself, or dishonor his profession by receiving any appointment under Great Britain, but was ready to meet death in any shape rather than relinquish the glorious cause he had espoused.

In May, 1776, Colonel Meigs and himself were permitted to return on their parole. They were sent round to Halifax in a ship of war, and treated with the usual contempt and hauteur of English officers, who would not deign to speak to Americans, nor even allow them to walk the same side of the quarter deck with themselves. They were put ashore in Penobscot Bay, and returned by land. In the March following Dearborn, was exchanged, and appointed Major to the 3d New-Hampshire regiment, commanded by Colonel Scammel. In May he arrived at Ticonderoga, and was constantly in the rear guard, skirmishing with the British and Indians, in the retreat of St. Clair, when pressed on by Burgoyne's army.

When the advance of Burgoyne was checked, and he encamped on the heights of Saratoga, Dearborn was appointed Lieut. Col. commandant of a partizan corps of 300 men, stationed in front, to act as a corps of observation in concert with Morgan's riflemen. In the famous engagement of the 19th of September, Colonel Morgan himself commenced the encounter by driving in the out-posts and picket-guards of the right wing of the British army, which was commanded by General Burgoyne in person. In the hard fought battle of the 7th of October, he was in the division of General Arnold, who commenced a furious and persevering attack on the right wing of the British forces. Whilst Arnold pressed hard on the enemy, Dearborn was ordered to pass the right, and take possession of eight heavy cannon, which played over the British into the

American lines. In executing this order he was charged by a corps of light infantry, which he repulsed with fixed bayonets, gained the eminence, took the cannon and the corps of artillery attached to them, and having disposed of them, made a rapid movement into the rear of the British lines, and gave a full fire before his approach was discovered. The British were soon after forced to a precipitate retreat, and Dearborn assisted in storming their works through the whole extent, under a tremendous fire of grape and musketry. Arnold was wounded in the same leg, which suffered when Dearborn followed him to the assault of Quebec, and was repulsed from the works after having gained a temporary possession of them; but Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks having gained the left of the encampment, was enabled to maintain his ground. During the long contested battle, which decided the fate of Burgoyne's army, Dearborn was unable to rest, or take any refreshments, from daylight until late at night. The succeeding winter he passed in camp at Valley Forge, with the main body of the American army, commanded by General Washington in person.

At the battle of Monmouth, the spirited conduct of Colonel Dearborn, and the corps under his command, attracted particularly the attention of the commander-in-chief. After Lee had made a precipitate and unexpected retreat, Washington, among other measures which he took to check the advance of the British, ordered Dearborn with 350 men, to attack a body of troops which were passing through an orchard on the right wing of the enemy. The Americans advanced under a heavy fire, with a rapid movement, and shouldered arms. The enemy filed off and formed on the edge of a morass; the Americans wheeled to the right, received their second fire with shouldered arms; marched up until within eight rods, dressed, gave a full fire, and charged bayonets. The British having sustained considerable loss, fled with precipitation across the morass, where they were protected by the main body of the army. "What troops are those?" inquired Washington, with evident pleasure at their gallant conduct:—"Full blooded Yankees from New-Hampshire, sir," replied Dearborn.

When the disaffection and treason of Arnold transpired, he was stationed at West Point, and was officer of the day at the execution of Major Andre.

In 1781, he was appointed Deputy-Quartermaster-General, with the rank of Colonel, and served in that capacity at the siege of Yorktown. In short, there was scarcely a battle between Yorktown and Quebec, during the long protracted war, in which Colonel Dearborn did not take a brave, active, and conspicuous part.

EVAN EDWARDS,

Major in the American Army.

THE following interesting account is taken from Garden's "Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War."

"Among the meritorious officers who gained distinction in the service, there were few who better deserved, or in a more extensive degree obtained the respect of the public, and affectionate esteem of his military associates, than Major Edwards.

"The Major was of the Baptist persuasion, and originally designed for the Ministry, but imbibing the military spirit of the times, entered the army, and appeared at the commencement of the war, as one of the defenders of Fort Washington. A brave and stubborn resistance could not save the post, which fell into the hands of the enemy, and Edwards became a prisoner. I have often heard him make a jest of the whimsical and fantastical figure which he exhibited on this occasion. 'It was not to be wondered,' he said, 'that starch in person, emaciated as an anatomy, with rueful countenance, rendered more ghastly by misfortune, my dress partly military, but showing much of a clerical cut, that the risibility of the conquerors should have been very highly excited. One of the leaders, however, of the successful assailants, anxious to excite a still higher degree of merriment, ordered me to ascend a cart, and as a genuine specimen of a rebel officer, directed that I should be paraded through the principal streets of New-York. It

was at the entrance of Canvass Town, that I was much amused by the exclamation of a Scottish female follower of the camp, who called to a companion—‘Quick, quick, lassie, rin hither a wee, and devarte yoursel’, they’ve cotch’d a braw and bonny rebel, ’twill do ye guid to laugh at him.’ Hooting and derision attended my whole career, and at the conclusion of the farce I was committed to prison.’

“In the eventful changes of the war it so happened that the very individual who had so ungenerously abused his power, became a captive, experiencing the additional mortification of yielding his sword into the hands of the man so lately treated with scornful indignity. Struck with the singularity of the rencounter, and thoroughly ashamed of his former behaviour, he with frankness said: ‘You are the last man, sir, that I wished to meet on such an occasion, for no one have I ever so wantonly offended; from *you* I have nothing to look for but merited retaliation.’ ‘Not a word more on the subject, I beseech you, sir, was the reply of Edwards, ‘the surrender of your sword destroyed every recollection of former animosity: rest assured, therefore, that while you remain with us, it will be equally my pride and pleasure to soothe the pains of captivity, and to render you every service in my power.’

“The cheerful disposition of Edwards, rendered him, as I have already stated, an universal favorite. The occasional indulgence of satirical propensities, peculiarly so of General Charles Lee, who made him his Aid-de-Camp, and at his death left him a third of his estate. I never knew him, however, make an ill-natured remark, where he was not provoked to do so—then, indeed, he spared not.

“A Colonel in the army, who was too much inclined to be poetical in his prose, telling Edwards, that he had heard a report concerning him, that had greatly amused him, the Major assured him that it was altogether without foundation. ‘O, no,’ said the Colonel, “deny it not—it must be true, and I will report and give it currency.’ ‘Thank you, thank you, kind Sir,’ rejoined Edwards, ‘*your* doing so, will save me the trouble of contradicting it.’ ”

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,

Brigadier-General, and Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina.

THIS venerable patriot of the revolution, was born in Charleston, about the year 1724. He was sent to England by his father, while a youth, where he was educated. At the age of sixteen he returned to Carolina, and finished his education in the counting house of Mr. Lawrence of Philadelphia.

General Gadsden had naturally a strong love for independence. He was born a republican. Under a well ordered government, he was a good subject, but could not brook the encroachments of any man, or body of men to entrench on his rights.

"As early as 1766," says Judge Johnson, "there was at least one man in South Carolina, who foresaid and foretold the views of the British government, and explicitly urged his adherents to the resolution, to resist even to death. General Gadsden, it is well known, always favored the most decisive and energetic measures. He thought it folly to temporize, and insisted that cordial reconciliation, on honorable terms, was impossible. When the news of the repeal of the stamp-act, arrived, and the whole community was in ecstasy at the event, he, on the contrary, received it with indignation, and privately convening a party of his friends, he harangued them at considerable length on the folly of relaxing their opposition and vigilance, or indulging the fallacious hope, that Great Britain would relinquish her designs, or pretensions. He drew their attention to the preamble of the act, and forcibly pressed upon them the absurdity of rejoicing at an act that still asserted and maintained the absolute dominion over them. And then reviewing all the chances of succeeding in a struggle to break the fetters, when again imposed upon them, he pressed them to prepare their minds for the event. The address was received with silent but profound devotion, and with linked hands, the whole party pledged themselves to resist; a pledge that was faithfully redeemed, when the hour of trial arrived."

"In June 1775, when the provincial congress determined to raise troops, Gadsden, though absent on public duty at Philadelphia, was, without his consent or knowledge, elected colonel of the first regiment. For personal courage he was inferior to no man. In knowledge of the military art he had several equals, and some superiors; but from the great confidence reposed in his patriotism, and the popularity of his name, he was put at the head of the new military establishment. He left congress and repaired to the camp in Carolina, declaring that "wherever his country placed him, whether in the civil or military department; and if in the latter, whether as corporal or colonel, he would cheerfully serve to the utmost of his ability."

In the next year he was promoted by congress to the rank of brigadier-general. He commanded at Fort Johnson, when the fort on Sullivan's Island was attacked; and he was prepared to receive the enemy in their progress to Charleston. The repulse of the British prevented his coming into action. Their retreat relieved South Carolina from the pressure of war for two years. In this period, Gadsden resigned his military command, but continued to serve in the assembly and the privy council, and was very active in preparing for and endeavoring to repel the successive invasions of the state by the British in 1779, and 1780. He was the friend of every vigorous measure, and always ready to undertake the most laborious duties, and to put himself in the front of danger.

When Charleston surrendered by capitulation, he was lieutenant-governor, and paroled as such, and honorably kept his engagement. For the three months which followed, he was undisturbed; but on the defeat of Gates in August 1780, the British resolved that he and several others who discovered no disposition to return to the condition of British subjects, should be sent out of the country. He was accordingly taken in his own house by a file of soldiers, and put on board a vessel in the harbor. He knew not why he was taken up, nor what was intended to be done with him, but supposed it was introductory to a trial for treason or rebellion, as the British gave out that country was completely conquered.

He was soon joined by twenty-eight compatriots, who were also taken up on the same day.

He drew from his pocket half a dollar, and turning to his associates with a cheerful countenance, assured them that was all the money he had at his command. The conquerors sent him and his companions to St. Augustine, then a British garrison.

On their landing, limits of some extent were offered to them on condition of their renewing the parole they had given in Charleston, "to do nothing injurious to the British interest." When this was tendered to General Gadsden, he replied, "that he had already given one, and honorably observed it; that in violation of his rights as a prisoner under a capitulation, he had been sent from Charleston, and that therefore he saw no use in giving a second parole." The commanding officer replied, "he would enter into no arguments, but demanded an explicit answer whether he would or would not renew his parole." General Gadsden answered with that high-minded republican spirit which misfortunes could not keep down, "I will not. In God I put my trust, and fear no consequences." "Think better of it sir," said the officer, "a second refusal will fix your destiny; a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it then," said the inflexible patriot, "I will give no parole, *so help me God.*"—He was instantly hurried off to the castle, and there confined for ten months in a small room, and in a state of complete separation from his fellow prisoners, and in total ignorance of the advantages gained by his countrymen, but with most ample details of their defeats, and particularly of the sequestration of his estate with that of the other Carolina rebels.

After Andre's arrest, Colonel Glazier, the governor of the castle, sent to advise General Gadsden to prepare himself for the worst, intimating that as General Washington had been assured of retaliation, if Andre was executed, it was not unlikely that he would be the person selected. To this message he magnanimously replied, "That he was always prepared to die for his country, and that he would rather ascend the scaffold than purchase with his life the dishonour of his country."

"In the course of 1781, the victories of General Greene procured an equivalent for the release of all the prisoners belonging to South Carolina. Mr. Gadsden was discharged from close confinement and rejoined his fellow-prisoners. The reciprocal congratulations on the change of circumstances and on seeing each other after ten months separation, though in the same garrison, may be more easily conceived than expressed. They were all conveyed by water from St. Augustine to Philadelphia, and there delivered. On their arrival they were informed, for the first time, of the happy turn American affairs had taken subsequent to Gates' defeat. General Gadsden hastened back to Carolina to aid in recovering it from the British. He was elected a member of the assembly which met at Jacksonborough, in 1782.

General Gadsden continued in the country throughout the year 1782, serving as one of the governor's council. On the 14th of December, 1782, he, with the American army and citizens, made their triumphant entry into Charleston in the rear of the evacuating British. In the first moment of his return, after an absence of more than two years, he had the pleasure of seeing the British fleet, upward of 300 sail, in the act of departing from the port, and the capital, as well as the country, restored to its proper owners. Mr. Gadsden henceforward devoted himself to private pursuits, but occasionally served in the assembly, and with unspeakable delight in the two state conventions; the one for the ratification of the national constitution in 1788, and the other for revising the state constitution in 1790.

He survived his 81st year, generally enjoying good health, and at last died more from the consequences of an accidental fall than the weight of disease or decays of nature.

His opinions of lawyers were not favorable. He considered their pleadings as generally tending to obscure what was plain, and to make difficulties where there were none; and much more subservient to render their trade lucrative than to advance justice. He adhered to that clause of Mr. Locke's fundamental constitution, which makes it "a base and vile thing

to plead for money or reward;" and wished that the lawyers, when necessary to justice, should be provided with salaries at the public expense, like the judges, that they might be saved from the shame of hiring their tongues to the first who offered or gave the largest fee. Of physicians he thought very little. He considered temperance and exercise superior to all their prescriptions, and that in most cases they rendered them altogether unnecessary. In many things he was particular. His passions were strong, and required all his religion and philosophy to curb them. His patriotism was both disinterested and ardent. He declined all offices of profit, and through life refused to take the compensations annexed by law to such offices of trust as were conferred on him. His character was impressed with the hardihood of antiquity; and he possessed an erect, firm, and intrepid mind, which was well calculated for buffeting with revolutionary storms."*

HORATIO GATES,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL GATES was a native of England, and was born in the year 1728. He was educated to the military profession, and entered the British army at an early age, in the capacity of lieutenant, where he laid the foundation of his future military excellence. Without purchase he obtained the rank of Major. He was aid to General Monckton, at the capture of Martinico, and after the peace of Aix la Chapelle he was among the first troops which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was an officer in the army which accompanied the unfortunate Braddock, in the expedition against Fort du Quesne, in the year 1755, and was shot through the body.

When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war, in 1775. Having evinced his zeal and attachment to the violated rights of his adopted country, and sustaining a

*Ramsay's History of South Carolina.

high military reputation, he was appointed by congress adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier, and he accompanied Gen. Washington to the American camp at Cambridge, in July, 1775, where he was employed for some time in a subordinate, but highly useful capacity.

In June, 1776, Gates was appointed to the command of the army of Canada, and on reaching Ticonderoga he still claimed the command of it, though it was no longer in Canada, and was in the department of Gen. Schuyler, a senior officer, who had rendered eminent services in that command. On representation to congress, it was declared not to be their intention to place Gates over Schuyler, and it was recommended to these officers to endeavor to co-operate harmoniously. Gen. Schuyler was, however, shortly after directed by congress to resume the command of the northern department, and General Gates withdrew himself from it; after which he repaired to headquarters, and joined the army under General Washington in Jersey.

Owing to the prevalent dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Schuyler, in the evacuation of Ticonderoga,* Gates was again directed to take command. He arrived about the 21st of August, and continued the exertions to restore the affairs of the department, which had been so much depressed by the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was fortunate for General Gates, that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable, but unrequited labors of Schuyler, and the courage of Stark and his mountaineers had already ensured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side and encamped on the height, about two miles from Gates' camp: which was three miles above Stillwater. This movement was the subject of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature, before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in

* Vide Biography of Gen. Schuyler.

New-York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and made the ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable. The Americans, elated with their successes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution.

The attack began a little before mid-day, September 19th, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders of both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. The British artillery fell into our possession at every charge, but we could neither turn the pieces upon the enemy nor bring them off, so sudden were the alternate advantages. It was a gallant conflict, in which death, by familiarity lost his terrors; and such was the order of the Americans, that, as General Wilkinson states, the wounded men, after having their wounds dressed, in many instances returned again into the battle. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves on high trees, and, as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterised by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon.

The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British artillerists were killed or wounded. The 62d British regiment, which was 500 strong, when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men, and 4 or 5 officers. In this engagement General Gates, assisted



by Generals Lincoln and Arnold, commanded the American army, and General Burgoyne was at the head of his army, and Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer, with their respective commands, were actively engaged.

This battle was fought by the general concert and zealous co-operation of the corps engaged, and was sustained more by individual courage than military discipline. General Arnold who afterwards traitorously deserted his country, behaved with the most undaunted courage, leading on the troops and encouraging them by his personal efforts and daring exposure. The gallant Colonel Morgan obtained immortal honor on this day. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, with the eighth Massachusetts regiment remained in the field till about eleven o'clock, and was the last who retired. Major Hull commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought with such signal ardor, that more than half of them were killed. The whole number of Americans engaged in this action was about two thousand five hundred; the remainder of the army, from its unfavorable situation, took little or no part in the action.

Each army claimed the victory, and each believed himself to have beaten, with only part of its force, nearly the whole of the enemy. The advantage, however, was decidedly in favor of the Americans. In every quarter they had been the assailants, and after an encounter of several hours they had not lost a single inch of ground.

General Gates, whose numbers increased daily, remained on his old ground. His right, which extended to the river, had been rendered unassailable, and he used great industry to strengthen his left.

Both armies retained their position until the 7th of October; Burgoyne, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Henry Clinton, and Gates in the confidence of growing stronger every day, and of rendering the destruction of his enemy more certain. But receiving no further intelligence from Sir Henry, the British General determined to make one more trial of strength with his adversary. The following account of the brilliant affair of the 7th Oct. 1777, is given in Thacher's Military Journal:

“I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th inst. The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact, about three o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action, and rushed courageously on the British grenadiers, commanded by Major Ackland; and the furious attack was firmly resisted. In all parts of the field, the conflict became extremely arduous and obstinate; an unconquerable spirit on each side disdaining to yield the palm of victory.—Death appeared to have lost his terrors; breaches in the ranks were no sooner made than supplied by fresh combatants, awaiting a similar fate. At length the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines; these were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier-General Learned, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, at the head of their respective commands, with such intrepidity, that the works were carried, and their brave commander, Lieut. Colonel Breyman was slain. The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade fell into our hands. Colonel Cilley, of General Poor's brigade, having acquitted himself honorably, was seen astride on a brass field-piece, exulting in the capture. Major Hull of the Massachusetts line was among those who so bravely stormed the enemy's entrenchment, and acted a conspicuous part. General Arnold, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with General Gates, was not vested with any command, by which he was exceedingly chagrined and irritated. He entered the field, however, and his conduct was marked with intemperate rashness; flourishing his sword and animating the troops, he struck an officer on the head without cause, and gave him a considerable wound. He exposed himself to every danger, and with a small

party of riflemen, rushed into the rear of the enemy, where he received a ball which fractured his leg, and his horse was killed under him. Nightfall put a stop to our brilliant career, though the victory was most decisive, and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery. Besides Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman slain, General Frazer, one of the most valuable officers in the British service, was mortally wounded, and survived but a few hours. Frazer was the soul of the British army, and was just changing the disposition of a part of the troops to repel a strong impression which the Americans had made, and were still making, on the British right, when Morgan called together two or three of his best marksmen, and pointing to Frazer said, 'Do you see that gallant officer? that is General Frazer,—I respect and honor him; but it is necessary he should die.' This was enough. Frazer immediately received his mortal wound, and was carried off the field. Sir Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, was brought into our camp with a mortal wound, and Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers, was wounded through both legs, and is our prisoner. Several other officers, and about two hundred privates, are prisoners in our hands, with nine pieces of cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition, which was much wanted for our troops. The loss on our side is supposed not to exceed thirty killed, and one hundred wounded, in obtaining this signal victory."

The position of the British Army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous that an immediate and total change of position became necessary, and Burgoyne took immediate measures to regain his former camp at Saratoga. There he arrived, with little molestation from his adversary. His provisions being now reduced to the supply of a few days, the transports of artillery and baggage towards Canada, being rendered impracticable by the judicious measures of his adversary, the British general resolved upon a rapid retreat, merely with what the soldiers could carry. On examination, however, it was found that they were deprived even of this resource, as the passes through which their route lay, were so strongly guarded, that nothing

but artillery could clear them. In this desperate situation a parley took place, and on the 16th of October, the whole army surrendered to General Gates.

The prize obtained consisted of more than five thousand prisoners, forty-two pieces of brass ordnance, seven thousand muskets, clothing for seven thousand men, with a great quantity of tents and other military stores.

Soon after the convention was signed; the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there until the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected honor on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies met at General Gates' quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies.

General Wilkinson gives the following account of the meeting between General Burgoyne and General Gates:—

“General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp; Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. I then named the gentleman, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat, most gracefully said, ‘The fortune of war, Gen. Gates, has made me your prisoner;’ to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, ‘I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency.’”

The thanks of Congress were voted to Gen. Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this great event, was ordered to be struck; to be presented to him by the President, in the name of the United States.

It was not long after that the wonderful discovery was supposed to be made, that the illustrious Washington was incompetent to the task of conducting the operations of the American

army, and that General Gates, if elevated to the chief command, would speedily meliorate the condition of our affairs. There were those that imputed to General Gates himself, a principal agency in the affair, which, however, he promptly disavowed. But certain it is, that a private correspondence was maintained between him and the intriguing General Conway, in which the measures pursued by General Washington are criticised and reprobated, and in one of Conway's letters, he pointedly ascribes our want of success to a weak general and bad counselors. General Gates, on finding that General Washington had been apprised of the correspondence, addressed his Excellency, requesting that he would disclose the name of his informant, and in violation of the rules of decorum, he addressed the commander-in-chief on a subject of extreme delicacy in an open letter transmitted to the president of congress. Gen. Washington, however, did not hesitate to disclose the name and the circumstances which brought the affair to light. Gen. Gates, then, with inexcusable disingenuousness, attempted to vindicate the conduct of Conway, and to deny that the letter contained the reprehensible expressions in question, but utterly refused to produce the original letter. This subject, however, was so ably and candidly discussed by General Washington, as to cover his adversary with shame and humiliation. It was thought inexcusable in Gates, that he neglected to communicate to the commander-in-chief an account of so important an event as the capture of the British army at Saratoga, but left his Excellency to obtain the information by common report.

Dr. Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, relates the following anecdote:—"Mr. T——, an ensign in our regiment, has, for some time, discovered symptoms of mental derangement. Yesterday he intruded himself at Gen. Gates' head-quarters, and after some amusing conversation, he put himself in the attitude of devotion, and prayed that God would pardon Gen. Gates for endeavoring to supersede that god-like man, Washington. The general appeared to be much disturbed, and directed Mr. Pierce, his aid-de-camp, to take him away."

On the 13th of June, 1780, Gen. Gates was appointed to the chief command of the southern army. Rich in fame from the fields of Saratoga, he hastened to execute the high and important trust; and the arrival of an officer so exalted in reputation, had an immediate and happy effect on the spirits of the soldiery and the hopes of the people. It was anticipated that he who had humbled Great Britain on the heights of the Hudson, and liberated New-York from a formidable invasion, would prove no less successful in the south, and become the deliverer of Carolina and Georgia from lawless rapine and military rule. But anticipations were vain, and the best founded hopes were blighted! In the first and only encounter which he had with Lord Cornwallis, at Camden, August 15th, he suffered a total defeat, and was obliged to fly from the enemy for personal safety.

Proudly calculating on the weight of his name, and too confident in his own superiority, he slighted the counsel which he ought to have respected, and hurrying impetuously into the field of battle, his tide of popularity ebbed as fast at Camden as it had flowed at Saratoga.*

It would be great injustice, however, to attribute the misfortune altogether to the commander, under his peculiar circumstances. A large proportion of his force consisted of raw militia, who were panic struck and fled at the first fire;—their rout was absolute and irretrievable. In vain did Gates attempt to rally them. That their speed might be the greater, they threw away their arms and accoutrements, and dashed into the woods and swamps for safety. A rout more perfectly wild and disorderly, or marked with greater consternation and dismay, was never witnessed. Honor, manhood, country, home, every recollection sacred to the feelings of the soldier, and the soul of the brave, was merged in an ignominious love of life.

But from the moment General Gates assumed the command in the south, his former judgment and fortune seemed to for-

* When the appointment of Gen. Gates to the chief command of the southern Army was announced, Gen. Lee remarked, that "*his northern laurels would soon be exchanged for southern willows.*"

save him. He was anxious to come to action immediately, and to terminate the war by a few bold and energetic measures; and two days after his arrival in camp, he began his march to meet the enemy, without properly estimating his force.

The active spirits of the place being roused and encouraged by the presence of a considerable army, and daily flocking to the standard of their country, General Gates, by a delay of action, had much to gain in point of numbers. To the prospects of the enemy, on the contrary, delay would have been ruinous. To them there was no alternative but immediate battle and victory, or immediate retreat. Such, however, was the nature of the country, and the distance and relative position of the two armies, that to compel the Americans to action was impossible. The imprudence of the American general in hazarding an engagement, at this time, is further manifested by the fact, that in troops, on whose firmness he could safely rely, he was greatly inferior to his foe, they amounting to sixteen hundred veteran and highly disciplined regulars, and he having less than a thousand continentals.

General Gates having retreated to Salisbury, and thence to Hillsborough, he there succeeded in collecting around him the fragments of an army. Being soon after reinforced by several small bodies of regulars and militia, he again advanced towards the south, and took post in Charlotte. Here he continued in command until the 5th day of October, fifty days after his defeat at Camden, when congress passed a resolution requiring the commander-in-chief to order a court of inquiry on his conduct, as commander of the southern army, and to appoint some other officer to that command. The inquiry resulted in his acquittal: and it was the general opinion that he was not treated by congress with that delicacy, or indeed gratitude, that was due to an officer of his acknowledged merit. He, however, received the order of his supersedure and suspension, and resigned the command to General Greene with becoming dignity, as is manifested, much to his credit, in the following order:—

"Head-Quarters, Charlotte, 3d December, 1780.

Parole, Springfield—countersign, Greene.

The honorable Major-General Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his excellency Gen. Washington, with the approbation of the honorable congress, to the command of the southern army, all orders will, for the future, issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him.

General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith, and that victory, and the glorious advantages of it, may be the future portion of the southern army."

General Greene had already been, and continued to be, the firm advocate of the reputation of General Gates, particularly if he heard it assailed with asperity; and still believed and asserted, that if there was any mistake in the conduct of Gates, it was in hazarding an action at all against such superior force; and when informed of his appointment to supersede him, declared his confidence in his military talents, and his willingness "to serve under him."

General Gates was reinstated in his military command in the main army, in 1782; but the great scenes of war were now passed, and he could only participate in the painful scene of a final separation.

In the midst of his misfortune, General Gates was called to mourn the afflicted dispensation of Providence, in the death of his only son. Major Garden, in his excellent publication, has recorded the following affecting anecdote, which he received from Dr. William Reed:—

"Having occasion to call on General Gates, relative to the business of the department under my immediate charge, I found him traversing the apartment which he occupied, under the influence of high excitement; his agitation was excessive—every feature of his countenance, every gesture betrayed it.

Official despatches informing him that he was superseded, and that the command of the southern army had been transferred to General Greene, had just been received and perused by him. His countenance, however, betrayed no expression of irritation or resentment; it was sensibility alone that caused his emotion. An open letter, which he held in his hand, was often raised to his lips, and kissed with devotion, while the exclamation repeatedly escaped them—"Great man! Noble, generous procedure!" When the tumult of his mind had subsided, and his thoughts found utterance, he, with strong expression of feeling, exclaimed: "I have received this day a communication from the commander-in-chief, which has conveyed more consolation to my bosom, more ineffable delight to my heart, than I had believed it possible for it ever to have felt again. With affectionate tenderness he sympathises with me in my domestic misfortunes, and condoles with me on the loss I have sustained by the recent death of an only son; and then with peculiar delicacy, lamenting my misfortune in battle, assures me that his confidence in my zeal and capacity is so little impaired, that the command of the right wing of the army will be bestowed on me so soon as I can make it convenient to join him.'"

After the peace, he retired to his farm in Berkley county, Va. where he remained until the year 1790, when he went to reside in New-York, having first emancipated his slaves, and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him, but continued in his family.

On his arrival at New-York, the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1800 he accepted a seat in the legislature, but he retained it no longer than he conceived his services might be useful to the cause of liberty, which he never abandoned.

His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens whose views differed widely from his own. He had a handsome person, and was gentlemanly in his manners, remarkably courteous to all, and gave indisputable marks

of a social, amiable, and benevolent disposition. A few weeks before his death, he closed a letter to a friend in the following words:—"I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I have to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honour." He died without posterity, at his abode near New-York, on the 10th day of April, 1806, aged 78 years.

NATHANIEL GREENE,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL GREENE, although descended from ancestors of elevated standing, was not indebted to the condition of his family, for any part of the real lustre and reputation he possessed. He was literally the founder of his own fortune, and the author of his own fame. He was the second son of Nathaniel Greene, a member of the society of Friends, an anchor-smith.

He was born in the year 1741, in the town of Warwick, and County of Kent, in the province of Rhode-Island. Being intended by his father for the business which he himself pursued, young Greene received at school, nothing but the elements of a common English education. But to him, an education so limited, was unsatisfactory. With such funds as he was able to raise, he purchased a small, but well selected library, and spent his evenings, and all the time he could redeem from his father's business, in regular study.

At a period of life, unusually early, Greene was elevated, by a very flattering suffrage, to a seat in the legislature of his native colony. This was the commencement of a public career, which, heightening as it advanced, and flourishing in the midst of difficulties, closed with a lustre that was peculiarly dazzling.

Thus introduced into the councils of his country, at a time when the rights of the subject, and the powers of the ruler, were beginning to be topics of liberal discussion, he felt it his

duty to avow his sentiments on the momentous question. Nor did he pause or waver, as to the principles he should adopt, and the decision he should form. He was inflexibly opposed to tyranny and oppression in every shape, and manfully avowed it. But his character, although forming, was not completely developed until the commencement of the troubles which terminated in our independence. It was then that he aspired to a head in the public councils; and throwing from him, as unsuitable to the times, the peaceful habits in which he had been educated, sternly declared for a redress of grievances, or open resistance. This open departure from the sectarian principles in which he had been educated, was followed, of course, by his immediate dismission from the society of friends.

The sword was earliest unsheathed in the colony of Massachusetts; and on the plains of Lexington and Concord, the blood of British soldier and American subjects, mingled first in hostile strife. Nor was Rhode-Island, after that sanguinary affair, behind her sister colonies, in gallantry of spirit, and promptitude of preparation.

Greene commenced his military pupilage in the capacity of a *private soldier*, in Oct. 1774, in a military association, commanded by James M. Varnum, afterward brigadier-general. But Rhode-Island having in the month of May, 1775, raised three regiments of militia, she placed them under the command of Greene, who without loss of time conducted them to headquarters, in the village of Cambridge.

On the 2d of July, 1775, General Washington, invested by congress with the command in chief of the armies of his country, arrived at Boston. Greene availed himself of an early opportunity amid the public demonstration of joy, to welcome the commander-in-chief, in a personal address, in which, with much warmth of feeling, and kindness of expression, he avowed his attachment to his person, and the high gratification he derived from the prospect of being associated with him in arms, and serving under him in defence of the violated rights of his country.

This was a happy prelude to a friendship between these two great and illustrious officers, which death alone had the power to dissolve. It is a fact of notoriety, that when time and acquaintance had made him thoroughly acquainted with the character and merits of General Greene, Washington entertained, and frequently expressed an anxious wish, that, in case of his death he might be appointed his successor to the supreme command.

During the investment of Boston, by the American forces, a state of things, which lasted for months, no opportunity presented itself to Greene, to acquire distinction by personal exploit. But his love of action, and spirit of adventure, were strongly manifested; for he was one of the few officers of rank, who concurred with General Washington, in the propriety of attempting to carry the town by assault.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British, the American troops were permitted to repose from their toils, and to exchange for a time, the hardships and privations of a field encampment, for the enjoyment of plenty, in comfortable barracks. During this period of relaxation, Greene continued with unabating industry, his military studies, and as far as opportunity served, his attention to the practical duties of the field. This course steadily pursued, under the immediate supervision of Washington, could scarcely fail to procure rank and lead to eminence. Accordingly, on the 26th of August, 1776, he was promoted by congress to the rank of major-general in the regular army.

A crisis, most glowing and portentous to the cause of freedom, had now arrived. In the retreat which now commenced, through New-Jersey, General Washington was accompanied by General Greene, and received from him all the aid, that under circumstances so dark and unpromising, talents, devotion, and firmness could afford. Possessed alike of an ardent temperament, hearts that neither danger nor misfortune could appal, and an inspiring trust in the righteousness of their cause, it belonged to the character of these two great and illustrious commanders, never for a moment to despair of their country. Hope and confidence, even now, beamed from their countenances.

ces, and they encouraged their followers, and supported them under the pressure of defeat and misfortune.

Greene was one of the counsel of Washington, who resolved on the enterprise on the 26th of December 1776, against the post of the enemy at Trenton. The issue is known, and is glorious in our history. About one thousand Hessians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with their arms, field equipage, and artillery, were the trophies of that glowing morning, which opened on the friends of American freedom, with the day-star of hope. He was again of the council of the commander-in-chief, in planning the daring attack of the 2d January, 1777, on the British garrison at Princeton, as well as his associate in achieving its execution. In both these brilliant actions, his gallantry, prudence and skill being alike conspicuous, he received the applauses of his commander. He continued the associate and most confidential counsellor of Washington through the gloomy and ominous period that followed.

In the obstinate and bloody battle of Brandywine, General Greene, by his distinguished conduct, added greatly to his former renown. In the course of it, a detachment of American troops commanded by General Sullivan, being unexpectedly attacked by the enemy, retreated in disorder. General Greene, at the head of Weedon's Virginia brigade, flew to their support. On approaching, he found the defeat of General Sullivan a perfect rout. Not a moment was to be lost. Throwing himself into the rear of his flying countrymen, and retreating slowly, he kept up, especially from his cannon, so destructive a fire as greatly to retard the advance of the enemy. Aiming at length at a narrow defile, secured on the right and left by thick woods, he halted, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of danger, in case of his being compelled to a hasty retreat, and formed his troops, determined to dispute the pass with his small arms. This he effected with complete success, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the assailants; until after a conflict of more than an hour and a half, night came on, and brought it to a close. But for this quick sighted interposition, Sullivan's detachment must have been nearly annihilated.

On this occasion, only, did the slightest misunderstanding ever occur, between General Greene and the Commander-in-Chief. In his general orders after the battle, the latter neglected to bestow any special applause on Weedon's brigade. Against this General Greene remonstrated in person.

General Washington replied, "You, Sir, are considered my favorite officer. Weedon's brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them for their achievement, under your command, I shall be charged with partiality: jealousy will be excited, and the service injured."

"Sir," exclaimed Greene, with considerable emotion, "I trust your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not selfish. In my own behalf I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please; I shall not complain. However richly I prize your Excellency's good opinion and applause, a consciousness that I have endeavored to do my duty, constitutes at present, my richest reward. But do not, Sir, let me entreat you, on account of the jealousy that may arise in little minds withhold justice from the brave fellows I had the honor to command."

Convinced that prudence forbade the special notice requested, the commander-in-chief persisted in his silence. Greene, on cool reflection, appreciated the motives of his general, and lost no time in apologising for his intemperate manner, if not for his expressions. Delighted with his frankness and magnanimity, Washington replied with a smile,—“An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once in two years, deserves to be forgiven,”—With that he offered him his hand and the matter terminated.

Following General Greene in his military career, he next presents himself on the plains of Germantown. In this daring assault he commanded the left wing of the American army, and his utmost endeavors were used to retrieve the fortune of the day, in which his conduct met the approbation of the commander-in-chief. Lord Cornwallis to whom he was often opposed, had the magnanimity to bestow upon him a lofty encomium. "Greene," said he, "is as dangerous as Washington.

He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighborhood."

At this period the quarter-master department in the American army, was in a very defective and alarming condition, and required a speedy and radical reform: and General Washington declared that such reform could be effected only by the appointment of a quarter-master-general, of great resources, well versed in business, and possessing practical talents of the first order. When requested by Congress to look out for such an officer, he, at once, fixed his eye on Gen. Greene.

Washington well knew that the soul of Greene was indissolubly wedded to the duties of his line. Notwithstanding this, he expressed in conversation with a member of Congress, his entire persuasion, that if Gen. Greene could be convinced of his ability to render his country greater services in the quarter-master department, than in the field, he would at once accept the appointment. "There is not," said he, "an officer of the army, nor a man in America, more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote their interests, in the character of a *corporal*, he would exchange as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulet for the knot. For although he is not without ambition; that ambition has not for its object the highest rank, so much as the *greatest good*."

When the appointment was first offered Gen. Greene, he declined it, but after a conference with the commander-in-chief, he consented to an acceptance, on condition that he should forfeit nothing of his right to command, in time of action. On these terms he received the appointment on the 22d of March, 1778, and entered immediately on the duties of the office.

In this station he fully answered the expectations formed of his abilities; and enabled the American army to move with additional celerity and vigor.

During his administration of the quarter-master department, he took, on two occasions, a high and distinguished part in the field; the first in the battle of Monmouth; the second in a very brilliant expedition against the enemy in Rhode-Island, under

the command of Gen. Sullivan. At the battle of Monmouth, the commander-in-chief, disgusted with the behaviour of Gen. Lee, deposed him in the field of battle, and appointed General Greene to command the right wing, where he greatly contributed to retrieve the errors of his predecessor, and to the subsequent events of the day.

His return to his native state was hailed by the inhabitants, with general and lively demonstrations of joy. Even the leading members of the Society of Friends, who had reluctantly excluded him from their communion, often visited him at his quarters and expressed their sincere satisfaction at the elevation he had attained in the confidence of his country. One of these plain gentlemen being asked in jest, by a young officer, how he, as an advocate of peace, could reconcile it with his conscience, to keep so much company with General Greene, whose profession was war?—promptly replied, “Friend, it is not a suit of uniform that can either make or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many colored apparel, (to the officer’s dress,) but whatever may be the form or color of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head and virtuous heart, that gained him the love and esteem of our Society.”

During the year 1779, General Greene was occupied exclusively in the extensive concerns of the quarter-master department.

About this time Gen. Greene was called to the performance of a duty, the most trying and painful he had ever encountered. We allude to the melancholy affair of Major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, who was captured in disguise within the American lines. Washington detailed a court for this trial, composed of fourteen general officers, La Fayette and Steuben being two of the number, and appointed General Greene to preside.

When summoned to this trial, Andre frankly disclosed without interrogatory, what bore heaviest on his own life, but inviolably concealed whatever might endanger the safety of others. His confessions were conclusive, and no witness was examined against him. The court were unanimous, that he had been ta-

ken as a spy, and must suffer death. Of this sentence he did not complain, but wished that he might be permitted to close a life of honor by a professional death, and not be compelled, like a common felon, to expire on a gibbet. To effect this, he made in a letter to General Washington, one of the most powerful and pathetic appeals, that ever fell from the pen of a mortal.

Staggered in his resolution, the commander-in-chief referred the subject, accompanied by the letter, to his general officers, who, with one exception, became unanimous in their desire that Andre should be shot.

That exception was found in General Greene, the president of the court. "Andre," said he, "is either a spy or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him in any way will be murder; if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it, short of the execution of the prisoner, as a common spy; a character of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicion, which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general, that, in the cause of Major Andre, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity, beyond what he received—perhaps, entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free."

This reasoning being considered conclusive, the prisoner suffered as a common spy.

We have now advanced to that period of the revolutionary war, in which the situation of Greene, is about to experience an entire change. No longer acting in the vicinity, or subject to the immediate orders of a superior, we are to behold him, in future, removed to a distance, and virtually invested with the supreme command of a large section of the United States.

Congress, dissatisfied with the loss of the southern army, resolved that the conduct of Gen. Gates be submitted to the examination of a court of inquiry, and the commander-in-chief directed to appoint an officer to succeed him. In compliance with the latter part of the resolution, Gen. Washington, without hesitation, offered the appointment to Gen. Greene. In a letter to Congress, recommending the general to the support of that body, he made the most honorable mention of him as "an officer in whose abilities, fortitude, and integrity, from a long and intimate experience of them, he had the most entire confidence." Writing to Mr. Mathews, a member from Charleston, he says, "You have your wish, in the officer appointed to the southern command. I think I am giving you a general; but what can a general do without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions."

General Greene arrived at Charlotte, the head-quarters of General Gates, Dec. 2d, 1780, and in entering on the duties of his command, he found himself in a situation that was fearfully embarrassing. His army, consisting mostly of militia, amounted to less than two thousand men, and he found on hand but three days' provision, and a very defective supply of ammunition. In front was an enemy, proud in victory, and too strong to be encountered. With such means, and under such circumstances, to recover two states, already conquered, and protect a third, constituted a task that was almost hopeless.

It was not merely to meet an enemy in the field, to command skilfully, and fight bravely, either in proffered or accepted battle. These operations depend on mere professional qualifications, that can be readily acquired by moderate capacities. But to raise and provide for an army in a dispirited and devastated country, creating resources where they do not exist, to operate with an incompetent force on an extended and broken line of frontier; to hold in check in many points, and to avoid coming into contact in any, with an enemy superior in numbers and discipline;—to conduct a scheme of warfare like this, and such, precisely, was that which tested the abilities of Gen. Greene, requires a genius of the highest order, combined with indefatigable industry and skill.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign, Greene's first care was to prepare for his troops subsistence and ammunition, and in effecting this, he derived great aid from his personal experience in the business of the commissary and quartermaster's departments. This qualification for such a diversity of duties, presented him to his troops in the two-fold relation of their supporter and commander. Much of the moral strength of an army consists in a confidence in its leader, an attachment to his person, and a spirit of subordination, founded on principle. To such an extent was this true, that even the common soldiery, sensible of the superintendence of a superior intellect, predicted confidently a change of fortune. Their defeat at Camden was soon forgotten by them, in their anticipations of future victory. They fancied themselves ready once more to take the field, and felt a solicitude to regain their lost reputation, and signalize their prowess in presence of their new and beloved commander.

But, notwithstanding the spirit and confidence of his troops, Greene found himself unable to meet the enemy in the field. With Washington in his eye, and his own genius to devise his measures, he resolved on cautious movements and protracted war. Yet, to sustain the spirit of the country, it was necessary that he should not altogether shun his enemy; but watching and confronting his scouts and foraging parties, fight, cripple, and beat him in detail, and in all his movements it was necessary for him to maintain a communication with Virginia, from which he was to receive supplies of provisions, munitions, and men.

General Greene's first movement, from the village of Charlotte, was productive of the happiest effect. In the month of December he marched, with his main army, to the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles to the right of Lord Cornwallis, despatching, at the same time, General Morgan, with four hundred continentals under Colonel Howard, Colonel Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to six hundred, to take a position on the British left, distant from them about fifty miles.

This judicious disposition, which formed a rallying point for the friends of independence, both in the east and west, and facilitated the procurement of provisions for the troops, excited his Lordship's apprehensions, for the safety of Ninety-Six, and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan, and gave rise to a train of movements which terminated in the celebrated battle of the Cowpens.

Cornwallis, immediately on learning the movements of Greene, despatched Colonel Tarlton with a strong detachment, amounting, in horse and foot, to near a thousand, for the protection of Ninety-Six, with orders to bring General Morgan, if possible, to battle. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first to fall back rapidly. But this was not long continued. Glorifying in action, and relying with great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, Morgan halted at the Cowpens, and prepared to give his adversary battle. The opportunity was eagerly seized by Tarlton. An engagement was the immediate consequence, and complete victory was obtained by the Americans.* Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms and were made prisoners, and a very considerable number were killed. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage wagons fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

The victory of the Cowpens, although achieved under the immediate command of Morgan, was the first stroke of General Greene's policy in the south, and augured favorably of his future career. It led to one of the most arduous, ably conducted, and memorable operations, that occurred in the course of the revolutionary war—the retreat of Greene, and the pursuit of Cornwallis, during the inclemencies of winter a distance of two hundred and thirty miles.

Galled in his pride, and crippled in his schemes, by the overthrow of Tarlton, Lord Cornwallis resolved, by a se-

*Vide Biography of General Morgan.

ries of prompt and vigorous measures, to avenge the injury and retrieve the loss which the royal arms had sustained at the Cowpens. His meditated operations for this purpose, were to advance rapidly on Morgan retake his prisoners, and destroy his force; to maintain an intermediate position, and prevent his union with Gen. Greene: or, in case of the junction of the two armies to cut off their retreat toward Virginia, and force them to action.

But General Greene no less vigilant and provident than himself, informed by express, of the defeat of Tarlton, instantly perceived the object of his Lordship, and ordering his troops to proceed under General Huger, to Salisbury, where meditated a junction with Morgan's detachment, he himself, escorted by a few dragoons, set out for the head quarters of that officer, and joined him shortly after.

Cornwallis having committed to the flames his heavy baggage, and reduced his army to the condition of light troops, dashed towards Morgan. And here commenced the retreat of General Greene, in the course of which he displayed such resources, and gained, in the end, such lasting renown. Sensible of the immense prize for which he was contending. he tasked his genius to the uttermost. On the issue of the struggle was staked, not merely the lives of a few brave men; not alone the existence of the whole army, but the fate of the south and the integrity of the Union. But his genius was equal to the crisis. By the most masterly movements, Greene effected a junction of the two divisions of his little army.

To his great mortification, Lord Cornwallis now perceived that in two of his objects, the destruction of Morgan's detachment, and the prevention of its union with the main division, he was completely frustrated by the activity of Greene. But to cut off the retreat of the Americans into Virginia, after their union, and to compel them to action, was still, perhaps, practicable, and to the achievement of this, he now directed his undivided energies.

The genius of Greene, however, did not desert him on this trying occasion. Self-collected, and adapting his conduct to

the nature of the crisis, his firmness grew with the increase of danger; and the measure of his greatness, was the extent of the difficulties he was called to encounter. Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in safety into Virginia, and to crown the whole, no loss was sustained by him, either in men, munitions, artillery, or any thing that enters into the equipment of an army.

Frustrated thus in all his purposes, Lord Cornwallis, although the pursuing party, must be acknowledged to have been fairly vanquished. Victory is the successful issue of a struggle for superiority. Military leaders contend for different objects; to vanquish their enemies in open conflict; to attack and overthrow them by stratagem and surprise; to exhaust their resources by delay of action; or to elude them, in retreat, until strengthened by reinforcements, they may be able to turn and meet them in the field. Of this last description, was the victory of Greene, in this memorable retreat.

In Virginia, General Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more; on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of Lord Cornwallis' army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that, during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority; and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving succors from the royalists.

About the beginning of March he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander, without loss of time, "being persuaded," as he declared in his subsequent despatches, "that if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy, and, if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him." On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford Court-House, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two-thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred; all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under Lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprised of General Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines: the militia of North Carolina were in front; the second line was composed of those of Virginia; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford Court-House.

The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o'clock by a brisk cannonade; after which the British advanced in three columns, and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. These, who probably had never been in action before, were panic-struck at the approach of the enemy: and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired; but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them; but neither the advantages of position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful conduct had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery; and were thrown into disorder; rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline, carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half: and was terminated by General Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops."*

*American Biographical Dictionary.

This was a hard fought action, and the exertions of the two rival generals, both in preparing for this action, and during the course of it, were never surpassed. Forgetful of every thing, but the fortune of the day, they, on several occasions, mingled in the danger, like common soldiers.

The loss sustained by the Americans, in this battle, amounted in killed and wounded, to only about 400; while in its effect on the enemy it was murderous; nearly one third of them, including many officers of distinction, were killed and wounded.

The result of this conflict, although technically a defeat, was virtually a victory on the part of Gen. Greene. In its relation to his adversary, it placed him on higher ground than he had previously occupied; enabling him, immediately afterward, instead of retreating, to become the pursuing party. This is evidenced by his conduct soon after the action.

Not doubting that Lord Cornwallis would follow him, he retreated slowly and in good order from the field of battle, until attaining, at the distance of a few miles, an advantageous position, he again drew up his forces, determined to renew the contest on the arrival of his enemy. But his Lordship was in no condition to pursue. Having, by past experience, not to be forgotten, learnt that his adversary was a Ulysses in wisdom, he now perceived that he was an Ajax in strength. Alike expert in every mode of warfare, and not to be vanquished either by stratagem or force, he found him too formidable to be again approached.

Influenced by these sentiments, Lord Cornwallis, instead of pursuing his foe, or even maintaining his ground, commenced his retreat, leaving behind him about seventy of his wounded, whom he recommended, in a letter written by himself, to the humanity and attention of the American chief.

Had General Greene been in a situation to pursue his Lordship, as soon as he commenced his retreat, the destruction of that officer and his army would have been inevitable. Some spots on the plains of Carolina, would have witnessed the surrender that was reserved for Virginia; and the hero of the south would have won the laurels which, shortly afterwards,

decorated the brow of the hero of the nation. But Greene's military stores were so far expended that he could not pursue, until he received a supply; and the delay, thus occasioned, gave time to the British commander to effect his escape.

Having received his supplies, Greene immediately pursued the enemy: but the advanced position of Lord Cornwallis, and the impracticable condition of the roads, frustrated every exertion that General Greene could make to compel the enemy to a second engagement,—convinced of this, he halted to indulge his troops in that refreshment and repose which they so much needed.

Were we to indicate the period in the life of General Greene most strongly marked by the operations, and irradiated by the genius of a great commander, we would, without hesitation, select that which extends from the commencement of his retreat before Cornwallis, to the termination of his pursuit of him at this time. Perhaps a brighter era does not adorn the military career of any leader. It was in the course of it that he turned the current of adverse fortune consequent on the defeat of Gates, which he afterward directed with such certain aim and irresistible force, as to keep the enemy from his numerous strong holds in the southern department, and contributed so pre-eminently to the speedy and felicitous issue of the war.

Having abandoned the pursuit of the British army, the general again found himself encircled with difficulties. Of the southern department of the Union, over which Greene's command extended, the enemy was in force in three large and important sections. Georgia and South Carolina were entirely in their possession; Lord Cornwallis had taken post in the maritime district of North Carolina, and part of Virginia was occupied by a powerful detachment of British troops, under the command of Gen. Phillips. At a loss to determine in which of these points he should act in person, he consulted his officers, and found them greatly divided in opinion. He, however, resolved, in accordance to the views of Col. Lee, that, leaving his lordship, whose object evidently was the invasion of Virginia, to be met by the energies of that state, with such assistance

as might arrive from the north, he should penetrate South Carolina, his army divided into two columns, attack and beat the enemy at their different posts, without permitting them to concentrate their forces, and thus recover that rich and important member of the union.

An officer who had distinguished himself in the late action, not satisfied with the proposed plan of operations, asked General Greene by way of remonstrance,—“What will you do Sir, in case Lord Cornwallis throws himself in your rear, and cuts off your communication with Virginia?”—“I will punish his temerity,” replied the general with great pleasantness, “by ordering you to charge him as you did at the battle of Guilford. But never fear, Sir; his lordship has too much good sense ever again to risk his safety so far from the sea-board. He has just escaped ruin, and he knows it, and I am greatly mistaken in his character as an officer, if he has not the capacity to profit by experience.”

On the seventh of April, Gen. Greene broke up his encampment, and with the main column of his army, moving to the south, took position on Hobkirk’s Hill, in front of Camden, the head-quarters of Lord Rawdon, now the commander-in-chief of the British forces in the south.

The strength of the British position, which was covered on the south and east side by a river and creek; and to the westward and northward by six redoubts, rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm, with the small army Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, the militia having gone home. He, therefore, encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantage of such favorable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon’s situation was extremely delicate. Colonel Watson, whom he had some time before detached, for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on the intelligence of General Greene’s intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by General Marion, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship’s supplies were moreover, very precarious; and should General Greene’s

reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested, as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient that suggested itself, was a bold attack; for which purpose, he armed every person with him capable of carrying a musket, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the 25th of April, and attacked General Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate; and for some part of the engagement the advantage appeared to be in favor of America. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was snatched from General Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred killed, wounded and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty-eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, Lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterward obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, Lord Rawdon had the honor of the field; but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of General Greene, and the several officers he employed, gave a new complexion to affairs in South Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established. The numerous forts, garrisoned by the enemy, fell one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburgh, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and others, Fort Ninety-Six excepted, were surrendered; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d May, General Greene sat down before Ninety-Six, with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on for a considerable time with great spirit; and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length the works

were so far reduced, that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement of three regiments, from Europe, arrived at Charleston, which enabled Lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced General Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit; and an attack was made, on the morning of the 19th of June. He was repulsed with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramsay, speaking of the state of affairs about this period says, "truly distressing was the situation of the American army; when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to a hazardous assault, and afterward to abandon a siege. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity; and after subduing the greatest part of the force sent against them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation, there were not wanting persons who advised General Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, "I will recover the country, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided." *

Greene, having, without loss, made good his passage over the rivers in front, Lord Rawdon, perceiving the futility of any further attempt to overtake him, abandoned the pursuit, and retreating to Ninety-Six, prepared for its evacuation. Thus did the policy of Greene, which is moral strength, compel the surrender of that fortress, although from a want of physical strength, he failed to carry it by the sword.

* American Biographical Dictionary.

No sooner had Lord Rawdon commenced his retrograde movement towards Ninety-Six than General Greene changed his front, and moved in the same direction. On the breaking up of the garrison of Ninety-Six, and the return of Lord Rawdon towards Charleston, which immediately ensued, the British army moved in two columns, at a considerable distance from each other. It was then that General Greene became, in reality, the pursuing party, exceedingly anxious to bring the enemy to battle. But this he was unable to accomplish until September.

September the 9th, General Greene having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who under the command of Colonel Stewart, were posted at the Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines: the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and Colonel de Malmédy. The second, which consisted of continental troops, from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by General Sumpter, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Williams: Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and Lieut. Colonel Henderson with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry under Lieut. Col. Washington, and the Delaware troops under Capt. Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy at about two or three miles ahead of the main body. These being closely pursued, were driven back, and the action soon became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In the hottest part of the engagement, General Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. "Nothing," says Dr. Ramsay, "could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them." The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them were taken prisoners. They, however, made a fresh stand in a favora-

ble position, in impenetrable shrubs and a piqueted garden. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavors to drive them from their station, being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a very strong piquet on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honored by Congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement, "for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory."

In the evening of the succeeding day, Colonel Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance, but in vain.

In Dr. Caldwell's memoirs of the life of Gen. Greene, we have the following interesting story as connected with the severe conflict at Eutaw Springs.

"Two young officers, bearing the same rank, met in personal combat. The American, perceiving that the Briton had a decided superiority in the use of the sabre, and being himself of great activity and personal strength, almost gigantic, closed with his adversary, and made him his prisoner.

"Gentlemanly, generous, and high minded, this event, added to a personal resemblance which they were observed to bear to each other, produced between these two youthful warriors, an intimacy, which increased in a short time to a mutual attachment.

"Not long after the action, the American officer returning home, on furlough, to settle some private business, obtained permission for his friend to accompany him.

"Travelling without attendants or guard, they were both armed and well mounted. Part of their route lay through a settlement highly disaffected to the American cause.

"When in the midst of this, having, in consequence of a shower of rain, thrown around them their cloaks, which concealed their uniforms, they were suddenly encountered by a detachment of tories.

"The young American, determined to die rather than become a prisoner, especially to men whom he held in abhorrence for disloyalty to their country, and the generous Briton resolved not to survive one by whom he had been distinguished and treated so kindly, they both together, with great spirit and self-possession, charged the royalists, having first made signals in their rear, as if directing others to follow them; and thus, without injury on either side, had the address and good fortune to put the party to flight.

"Arriving in safety at their place of destination, what was their surprise and augmented satisfaction, on finding, from some questions proposed by the American officer's father, that they were first cousins.

"With increasing delight, the young Briton passed several weeks in the family of his kinsman, where the writer of this narrative saw him daily, and often listened with the rapture of a child, to the checkered story of his military adventures.

"To heighten the occurrence, and render it more romantic, the American officer had a sister, beautiful and accomplished, whose heart soon felt for the gallant stranger, more than the affection due to a cousin. The attachment was mutual.

"But here the adventure assumed a tragical cast. The youthful foreigner, being exchanged, was summoned to return to his regiment. The message was fatal to his peace. But military honor demanded the sacrifice; and the lady, generous and high-minded as himself, would not be instrumental in dimming his laurels. The parting scene was a high-wrought picture of tenderness and sorrow. On taking leave, the parties mutually bound themselves, by a solemn promise, to remain single a certain number of years, in the hope that an arrangement contemplated, might again bring them together. A few weeks afterward, the lady expired under an attack of the small-pox. The fate of the officer we never learnt."*

* American Biographical Dictionary.

Judge Johnson in his life of General Greene, says—"At the battle of the Eutaw Springs, Greene says, 'that hundreds of my men were naked as they were born.' Posterity will scarcely believe that the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes, while a folded rag or a tuft of moss protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will inquire, by what magic was the army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?"

General Greene in his letters to the secretary at war, says—"We have three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so naked that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature." Again he says—"Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties. I have more embarrassments than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. *I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes.*"

The battle of Eutaw Springs being terminated, Gen. Greene ordered the light troops under Lee and Marion to march circuitously, and gain a position in the British rear. But the British leader was so prompt in his measures, and so precipitate in his movements, that leaving his sick and wounded behind him, he made good his retreat. The only injury he received in his flight, was from Lee and Marion, who cut off part of his rear guard, galled him in his flanks, killed several, and made a number of prisoners.

Such was the issue of the battle of Eutaw. Like that of every other fought by Gen. Greene, it manifested in him judgment and sagacity, of the highest order. Although he was repeatedly forced from the field, it may be truly said of that officer, that he never *lost* an action—the consequences, at least, being always in his favor. In no instance did he fail to reduce his enemy to a condition, relatively much worse than that in which he met him, his own condition, of course, being relatively improved.

The battle of the Eutaw Springs, was the last essay in arms, in which it was the fortune of Gen. Greene to command, and was succeeded by the abandonment of the whole of South Carolina by the enemy, except Charleston. During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed, by some mutinous persons of the army, to deliver up their brave general to the British. The plot was discovered and defeated; the ringleader apprehended, tried, and shot, and twelve of the most guilty of his associates, deserted to the enemy. To the honor of the American character, no native of the country was known to be concerned in this conspiracy. Foreigners alone were its projectors and abettors.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been, by the British ministry, expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter. The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to acknowledge her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented field, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happiness. Gen. Greene immediately withdrew from the south, and returned to the bosom of his native state.

The reception he there experienced, was cordial and joyous. The authorities welcomed him home, with congratulatory addresses, and the chief men of the place waited upon him at his dwelling, eager to testify their gratitude for his services, their admiration of his talents and virtues, and the pride with which they recognized him as a native of Rhode-Island.

On the close of the war, the three southern states that had been the most essentially benefitted by his wisdom and valor, manifested at once their sense of justice, and their gratitude to General Greene, by liberal donations. South Carolina presented him with an estate, valued at ten thousand pounds sterling; Georgia, with an estate, a few miles from the city of Savannah.

worth five thousand pounds; and North Carolina, with twenty-five thousand acres of land in the state of Tennessee.

Having spent about two years in his native state, in the adjustment of his private affairs, he sailed for Georgia, in October, 1785, and settled with his family, on his estate near Savannah. Engaging here in agricultural pursuits, he employed himself closely in arrangement for planting, exhibiting the fairest promise to become as eminent in the practice of the peaceful virtues, as he had already shown himself in the occupations of war.

But it was the will of Heaven, that in this new sphere of action, his course should be limited. The short period of seven months was destined to witness its commencement and its close.

Walking over his grounds, as was his custom, without his hat, on the afternoon of the 15th June, 1786, the day being intensely hot, he was suddenly attacked with such a vertigo and prostration of strength as to be unable to return to his house without assistance. The affection was what was denominated a "stroke of the sun." It was succeeded by fever, accompanied with stupor, delirium, and a disordered stomach. All efforts to subdue it proving fruitless, it terminated fatally on the 19th of the month.

Intelligence of the event being conveyed to Savannah, but one feeling pervaded the place. Sorrow was universal; and the whole town instinctively assumed the aspect of mourning. All business was suspended, the dwelling-houses, stores, and shops were closed, and the shipping in the harbor half-masted their colors.

On the following day, the body of the deceased being conveyed to the town, at the request of the inhabitants, was interred in a private cemetery with military honors, the magistrates of the place, and other public officers, the society of the Cincinnati, and the citizens generally, joined in the procession.*

On the 12th of August, of the year in which the General died, the Congress of the United States unanimously resolved, "That a monument be erected to the memory of the Honorable Nathaniel Greene, at the seat of the Federal Government, with the following inscription:

* Gen. Greene left behind him a wife and five children.

SACRED

to the memory of the
HON. NATHANIEL GREENE,
who departed this life
the 19th of June, MDCCLXXXVI,
late Major-General in the
service of the U. S. and
Commander of the Army in the
Southern Department.

The United States, in Congress
assembled, in honor of

HIS PATRIOTISM, VALOR, AND ABILITY,
have erected this

MONUMENT.

To the disgrace of the nation, no monument has been erected; nor, for the want of a headstone, can any one at present designate the spot, where the relics of the *Hero of the South* lie interred.

In estimating the military character of Gen. Greene, facts authorized the inference, that he possessed a genius adapted by nature to military command. After resorting to arms, his attainment to rank was much more rapid, than that of any other officer our country had produced; perhaps the most rapid that history records. These offices, so high in responsibility and honor, were conferred on him, not as matters of personal favor, or family influence, nor yet through the instrumentality of political intrigue. They were rewards of pre-eminent merit, and tokens of recognized fitness for the highest functions of military service.

It is said, that, on his very first appearance in the camp at Cambridge, from the ardor of his zeal, unremitted activity, and strict attention to every duty, he was pronounced by soldiers of distinction,* a man of real military genius.

“His knowledge” (said Gen. Knox to a distinguished citizen of South Carolina) “is intuitive. He came to us the rawest, and most untutored being I ever met with; but in less than

* Colonel Pickering and others.

twelve months, he was equal in military knowledge to any general officer in the army, and very superior to most of them." Even the enemy he conquered, did homage to his pre-eminent talents for war. Tarlton, who had strong ground to know him, is reported to have pronounced him, on a public occasion, the most able and accomplished commander that America had produced.

When acting under the order of others, he never failed to discharge, to their satisfaction, the duties intrusted to him, however arduous. But it is the southern department of the union, that constitutes the theatre of his achievements and fame. It was there, where his views were unshackled, and his genius free; that by performing the part of a great captain, he erected for himself a monument of reputation, durable as history, lofty as victory and conquest could render it, and brightened by all that glory could bestow.

In compliment to his brilliant successes, the chivalric De la Luzerne, the Minister of France, who as a Knight of Malta, must be considered as a competent judge of military merit, thus speaks of him: "Other Generals subdue their enemies, by the means with which their country or their sovereign furnished them, but Greene appears to subdue his enemy by his own means. He commenced his campaign, without either an army, provisions, or military stores. He has asked for nothing since; and yet, scarcely a post arrives from the south, that does not bring intelligence of some new advantage gained over his foe. He conquers by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this."

NATHAN HALE,

Captain in the American Army.

AFTER the unfortunate engagement on Long Island, General Washington called a council of war, who determined on an immediate retreat to New-York. The intention was prudently concealed from the army, who knew not whither they were going, but imagined it was to attack the enemy. The field

artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9,000 men were conveyed to the city of New-York, over the East River, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. Providence in a remarkable manner, favored the retreating army. The wind, which seemed to prevent the troops getting over at the appointed hour, afterward shifted to their wishes.

Perhaps the fate of America was never suspended by a more brittle thread than previously to this memorable retreat. A spectacle is here presented of an army, destined for the defence of a great continent, driven to the narrow borders of an island, with a victorious army double its number in front, with navigable waters in its rear; constantly liable to have its communication cut off by the enemy's navy, and every moment exposed to an attack. The presence of mind which animated the commander-in-chief in this critical situation, the prudence with which all the necessary measures were executed, redounded as much or more to his honor than the most brilliant victories. An army, to which America looked for safety, preserved; a general, who was considered as an host himself, saved for the future necessities of his country. Had not, however, the circumstances of the night, of the wind and weather, been favorable, the plan, however well concerted, must have been defeated. To a good Providence, therefore, are the people of America indebted for the complete success of an enterprise so important in its consequences.

This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength, and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose Gen. Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the rear of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Captain NATHAN HALE, of Connecticut, who was a captain in his regiment.

This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, and examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return he was apprehended; carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views. Sir William Howe at once gave an order to have him executed the next morning.

This order was accordingly executed in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage, as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a Bible for a few moments' devotion was not procured, although he wished it. Letters, which on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother, and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost-martial, "THAT THE REBELS SHOULD NOT KNOW THEY HAD A MAN IN THEIR ARMY WHO COULD DIE WITH SO MUCH FIRMNESS."

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this as his dying observation: that "HE ONLY LAMENTED THAT HE HAD BUT ONE LIFE TO LOSE FOR HIS COUNTRY."

Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, but justice to the character of Captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances. Neither expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the general good became honorable by being

necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprise by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this most unfortunate young man, excites the most interesting reflections. To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

Should a comparison be drawn between Major Andre and Captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. While almost every historian of the American revolution has celebrated the virtues and lamented the fate of Andre, Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known such a character existed.

To the memory of Andre his country has erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honors and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale, not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult!

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Inspector-General in the American Army.

COLONEL HAMILTON was a native of the Island of St. Croix, and was born in 1757. His father was the younger son of an English family, and his mother was an American lady, of respectable connexions. At the age of sixteen, he accompanied his mother to New-York, and entered a student of Columbia College, in which he continued about three years. While a member of this institution, the first buddings of his intellect gave presages of his future eminence.

The contest with Great Britain called forth the first talents on each side, and his juvenile pen asserted the violated rights of the American colonies against the most respectable writers.

His papers exhibited such evidence of intellect and wisdom, that they were ascribed to Mr. Jay; and when the truth was discovered, America saw, with astonishment, a lad of seventeen, in the list of her able advocates.

The first sound of war awakened his martial spirit, and, at the age of eighteen he entered the army as captain, in the corps of artillery. Soon after the war was transferred to the Hudson, in 1777, his superior endowments recommended him to the attention of the commander-in-chief, into whose family, before completing his twenty-first year, he was invited to enter, as an aid, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. Equally brave and intelligent, he continued in this situation to display a degree of firmness and capacity which commanded the confidence and esteem of the principal officers in the army.

His sound understanding, comprehensive views, application and promptitude soon gained him the entire confidence of Gen. Washington. In such a school, it was impossible but that his genius should be nourished. By intercourse with his general, by surveying his plans, observing his consummate prudence, and by a minute inspection of the springs of national operations, he became fitted for command.

Throughout the campaign, which terminated in the capture of Lord Cornwallis, Col. Hamilton commanded a battalion of light infantry. At the siege of York, in 1781, when the second parallel was opened, two redoubts, which flanked it, and were advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works, very much annoyed the men in the trenches: it was resolved to possess them; and to prevent jealousies, the attack of the one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The detachment of the Americans was commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette; and Colonel Hamilton, at his own earnest request, led the advanced corps, consisting of two battalions.—Towards the close of the day, on the fourteenth of October, the troops rushed to the charge without firing a single gun; and so great was their ardour that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assailed the works with irresistible impetuosity on all sides at

once, and entered them with such rapidity that their loss was inconsiderable. The irritation produced by the recent carnage at Fort Griswold, had not so far subdued the humanity of the American character as to induce retaliation. Not a man was killed except in action. "Incapable," said Colonel Hamilton, in his report, "of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocation, the soldiery spared every man that ceased to resist."

Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, Hamilton sheathed his sword, and being encumbered with a family, and destitute of funds, at the age of twenty-five, applied to the study of the law. In this profession he soon rose to distinction. But the critical circumstances of the existing government, induced him to accept a seat in the Congress of the United States. In all the important acts of the day, he performed a conspicuous part, and was greatly distinguished among those distinguished characters whom the crisis had attracted to the councils of the country. Being a member of Congress, while the question of the commutation of the half pay of the army for a sum in gross, was in debate, delicacy, and a desire to be useful to the army, by removing the idea of his having an interest in the question, induced him to write to the secretary of war, and relinquish his claim to half pay, which, or the equivalent, he never received.

We have now arrived at an interesting and important period in the life of Hamilton. After witnessing the debility of the old confederation, and its inefficiency to accomplish the objects proposed by its articles, viz. "common defence, security of liberty, and general welfare," a convention of the states was agreed upon, for the purpose of forming an efficient federal government. In this convention was collected the sound wisdom of the country—the patriots and sages, who, by their valor and their prudence, had carried her triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution, and had given her a name among the nations of the earth. To this convention Hamilton was appointed a delegate from the state of New-York. It convened at the state house in Philadelphia, May 25, 1787. A unanimous vote placed General Washington in the chair.

“It was soon found,” says Mr. Martin, one of the delegates from Maryland, “there were among us three different parties, of very different sentiments and views. One party, whose object and wish it was to abolish and annihilate all state governments, and to bring forward one general government over this extensive continent, of a monarchical nature, under certain restrictions and limitations:—those who openly avowed this sentiment were, it is true, but few, yet it is equally true, sir, that there was a considerable number who did not openly avow it, who were, by myself, and many others of the convention, considered as being in reality favorers of that sentiment, and acting upon those principles, covertly endeavoring to carry into effect what they well knew openly and avowedly could not be accomplished.

“The second party was not for the abolition of the state governments, nor for the introduction of a monarchical government under any form: but they wished to establish such a system as could give their own states undue power and influence in the government over the other states.

“A third party was what I considered truly federal and republican; this party was nearly equal in number with the other two, and were composed of the delegations from Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Delaware, and in part from Maryland; also of some individuals from other representations.”

During the heat of party animosity, much was said and written of the monarchical views of Hamilton, and of his attempts in the convention which formed our constitution, to carry those views into effect. How far the sentiments imputed to him are correct, the following paper, read by him, as containing his ideas of a suitable plan of government for the United States will show:—

“1. The supreme legislative power of the United States of America to be vested in two distinct bodies of men, the one to be called the assembly, the other the senate, who, together shall form the legislature of the United States, with power to pass all laws whatsoever, subject to the negative hereafter mentioned.

“2. The assembly to consist of persons elected by the people, to serve for three years.

“3. The senate to consist of persons elected to serve during good behaviour; their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people. In order to this, the states to be divided into election districts. On the death, removal, or resignation of any senator, his place to be filled out of the district from which he came.

“4. The supreme executive authority of the United States to be vested in a governor, to be elected to serve during good behaviour. His election to be made by electors, chosen by electors, chosen by the people, in the election districts aforesaid. His authorities and functions to be as follows:—

“To have a negative upon all laws about to be passed, and the executive of all laws passed; to have the entire direction of war, when authorized, or begun; to have, with the advice and approbation of the senate, the power of making all treaties; to have the sole appointment of the heads or chief officers of the departments of finance, war, and foreign affairs; to have the nomination of all other officers, (ambassadors to foreign nations included) subject to the approbation or rejection of the senate; to have the power of pardoning all offences, except treason, which he shall not pardon, without the approbation of the senate.

“5. On the death, resignation, or removal of the governor, his authorities to be exercised by the president of the senate, until a successor be appointed.

“6. The senate to have the sole power of declaring war, the power of advising and approving all treaties; the power of approving or rejecting all appointments of officers, except the heads or chiefs of the departments of finance, war, and foreign affairs.

“7. The supreme judicial authority of the United States to be vested in judges, to hold their offices during good behaviour, with adequate and permanent salaries. This court to have original jurisdiction in all cases of capture; and an appellate jurisdiction in all causes, in which the revenues of the general government, or the citizens of foreign nations, are concerned.

“8. The legislature of the United States to have power to

institute courts in each state, for the determination of all matters of general concern.

“9. The governors, senators, and all officers of the United States, to be liable to impeachment, for mal and corrupt conduct; and, upon conviction, to be removed from office, and disqualified for holding any place of trust or profit. All impeachments to be tried by a court to consist of the chief, or senior judge of the superior court of law in each state; provided, that such judge hold his place during good behaviour, and have a permanent salary.

“10. All laws of the particular states, contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States, to be utterly void. And the better to prevent such laws being passed, the governor or president of each state shall be appointed by the general government, and shall have a negative upon the laws about to be passed in the state of which he is governor, or president.

“11. No state to have any forces, land or naval; and the militia of all the states to be under the sole and exclusive direction of the United States; the officers of which to be appointed and commissioned by them.”

Such being the views of Hamilton, the constitution, framed by the convention, did not completely meet his wishes. He was afraid it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation, and that in consequence we should share the fate of many other republics, and pass through anarchy to despotism. He was in favor of a more permanent executive and senate.—He wished for a strong government, which would not be shaken by the conflict of different interests through an extensive territory, and which should be adequate to all the forms of national exigency. He was apprehensive, that the increased wealth and population of the states would lead to encroachments on the union. These were his views and feelings, and he freely and honestly expressed them.

A respectable member of the convention once remarked, that if the constitution did not succeed, on trial, Mr. Hamilton was less responsible for that result than any other member, for he fully and frankly pointed out to the convention what he ap-

prehended were the infirmities to which it was liable. And that if it answered the fond expectations of the public, the community would be more indebted to Mr. Hamilton than to any other member; for after its essential outlines were agreed to, he labored most indefatigably to heal those infirmities, and to guard against the evils to which they might expose it.

The patriotism of Hamilton was not of that kind which yields every thing because it cannot accomplish all that it desires. Believing the constitution incomparably superior to the old confederation, he exerted all his talents in its support.

After the publication of the constitution, Hamilton, in concert with Mr. Jay, and Mr. Madison, commenced the "Federalist," a series of essays, addressed to the people of the state of New-York, in favor of the adoption of the constitution. These papers first made their appearance in the daily prints, early in November, 1787, and the work was not concluded until a short time previous to the meeting of the state convention, in June, 1788. It was well understood that Mr. Hamilton was the principal author, and wrote at least three-fourths of the numbers. This work is not to be classed among the ephemeral productions which are calculated to produce a party purpose, and when that purpose is answered, to expire for ever. It is a profound and learned disquisition on the principles of a federal representative government, and combines an ardent attachment to public liberty. This work will no doubt endure as long as any of the republican institutions of this country, on which it is so luminous and elegant a commentary.

His voice co-operated with his pen. In the convention of the state, which met to deliberate on the federal constitution, he was returned a member, and was always heard with awe, perhaps with conviction, though not always with success. But when the crisis arrived; when a vote was to determine whether New-York should retain or relinquish her place in the union; and preceding occurrences made it probable that she would choose the worst part of the alternative, Hamilton arose in redoubled strength. He argued, he remonstrated, he entreated, he warned, he painted, till apathy itself was moved, and the

most relentless of human things, a *preconcerted majority*, was staggered and broken. Truth was again victorious, and New-York enrolled herself under the standard of the federal constitution.

The constitution having gone into operation, and the executive departments being established, Mr. Hamilton was appointed in the summer of 1789, to the office of secretary of the treasury. The task of recruiting public credit, of drawing order and arrangement from the chaotic confusion in which the finances of America were involved, and of devising means which should render the revenue productive, and commensurate with the demand, in a manner least burdensome to the people, was justly classed among the most arduous of the duties which devolved on the new government.

This office he held between five and six years; and when we look back to the measures that within that period he originated, matured and vindicated, we are astonished in the contemplation of the various powers of his ingenious and exalted mind. Mr. Hamilton is justly considered the *Founder* of the *Public Credit* of this country.

The manner in which the several states entered into and conducted the war of the revolution will be recollected. Acting in some respect separately, and in others conjointly, for the attainment of a common object, their resources were exerted, sometimes under the authority of Congress, sometimes under the authority of the local governments, to repel the enemy wherever he came. The debt incurred in support of the war was therefore, in the first instance, contracted partly by the continent, and partly by the states. When the system of requisition was adopted, the transactions of the union were carried on, in a great degree, through the agency of the states, and when the measure of compensating the army, for the depreciation of their pay, became necessary, this burden, under the recommendation of Congress, was assumed by the respective states. In their exertions to meet the calls of Congress, some degree of inequality had obtained, and they looked anxiously to a settlement of accounts between them.

To assume these debts, and to fund them in common with that which continued to be the proper debt of the union, was proposed by Mr. Hamilton, in his first report to congress, as Secretary of the Treasury.

This celebrated report, which has been alike the fruitful theme of extravagant praise and bitter censure, was rigorously opposed in congress. It was agreed by all, that the foreign debt should be provided for in the manner proposed by the Secretary, but with respect to the domestic debt, the same unanimity was far from prevailing. It was contended that the general government would acquire an undue influence, and that the state governments would be annihilated by the measure. Not only would all the influence of the public creditors, be thrown into the scale of the former, but it would absorb all the powers of taxation, and leave the latter only the shadow of a government. This would probably terminate in rendering the state governments useless, and would destroy the system so recently established.

The constitutional authority of the federal government to assume these debts was questioned.

On the ground of policy it was objected, that the assumption would impose on the United States a burden, the weight of which was unascertained, and which would require an extension of taxation beyond the limits which prudence would prescribe. That the debt, by being thus accumulated, would be perpetuated, and the Secretary was charged with the doctrine, "that a public debt was a public blessing."

The measure was said to be unwise too, as it would affect the public credit. Such an augmentation of the debt must inevitably depreciate its value; since it was the character of paper, whatever denomination it might assume, to diminish in value in proportion to the quantity in circulation.

In support of the assumption, the debts of the states were traced to their origin. America, it was said, had engaged in a war, the object of which was equally interesting to every part of the union. It was not the war of a particular state, but of the United States. It was not the liberty and independence

of a part, but of the whole, for which they had contended, and which they had acquired. The cause was a common cause. As brethren, the American people had consented to hazard property and life in its defence. All the sums expended in this great object, whatever might be the authority under which they were raised or appropriated, conduced to the same end. Troops were raised and military stores were purchased, before congress assumed the command of the army, or controul of the war. The ammunition which repulsed the enemy at Bunker's Hill, was purchased by Massachusetts, and formed a part of the debt of that state.

The great moving principle which governed Hamilton in his department, was good faith. "Public credit," said he, "could only be maintained by good faith, by a punctual performance of contracts;" and, good faith was recommended not only by the strongest inducements of political expediency, but was enforced by considerations of still higher authority. There are arguments for it which rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation. And in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate in the order of Providence, an intimate connexion between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnancy to a violation of those principles.

"This reflection," he said, "derived additional strength from the nature of the debt of the United States. *It was the price of liberty.* The faith of America had been repeatedly pledged for it, and with solemnities that gave peculiar force to the obligation."

His report, though strenuously opposed, was finally adopted, and under his administration, the finances advanced to a state of prosperity beyond all expectation, and so as to engage the attention, and command the confidence of Europe. The effect was electrical. Commerce revived, the ploughshare glittered, property recovered its value; credit was established; revenue created; the treasury filled.

The insinuation that has often been inculcated, that Hamilton patronized the doctrine, that a public debt was a public blessing, is without the shadow of a foundation. He inculcates with great solicitude in his reports, that "the progressive accu-

mulation of debts was the natural *disease* of governments; that it ought to be guarded against with provident foresight and inflexible perseverance; that it ought to be a fundamental maxim in the system of public credit, *that the creation of public debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment.*"

The beneficial effects of the measures recommended by Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury; and which are known and felt constantly, have at last accomplished what argument alone could not do—they forced a universal conviction on the public mind; and all the dread spectres which were conjured up at the time to terrify the imagination and blind the judgment, have long since disappeared before the light of experience. He has left to his successor little more to do than to follow his precepts, and to shine by the lustre of his example.

Mr. Hamilton, in his character of Secretary of the Treasury, was also one of the constitutional advisers of the president, in relation generally to the duties of his office.

In January, 1795, Hamilton resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and once more returned to private life. In the rage and rancor of party, at the time, no wonder that the tongue of slander followed him. So fair was the opportunity of acquiring a princely fortune which was presented to him, and the disposition to profit by it so little at variance with the common estimate of honorable gain, that few supposed it possible to resist the temptation. The fact being presumed, every petty politician erected himself into a critic; while the gazettes, the streets, the polls of election, resounded with the millions amassed by the Secretary. It is natural that the idolaters of gold should treat the contempt of it as a chimera. But gold was not the idol of HAMILTON. Exquisitely delicate toward official character, he touched none of the advantages which he put within the reach of others; he vested not a dollar in the public funds. He entered into the public service with property of his own, the well-earned reward of professional talent; he continued in it till his funds were gone; and left it, to get bread for a suffering family. It was surely enough that he had impoverished himself while he was enriching the commonwealth; but

it was beyond measure insulting to charge him, under such circumstances, with invading the public purse.

The last great occasion which called Hamilton upon the theatre of public action, existed in the spring of the year 1798. It will be recollected that France had been long making piratical depredations upon our commerce; that our ministers had been treated with the grossest indignity, and money demanded of the United States on terms the most degrading. Open and determined war was the consequence.

Washington was appointed Lieutenant-General and commander-in-chief. The following letter from him to President Adams, on the subject of appointing Hamilton to the second in command, shows his high standing in the opinion of the illustrious Washington.

“*Mount Vernon, Sept. 25, 1798.*”

“It is an invidious task, at all times, to draw comparisons, and I shall avoid it as much as possible; but I have no hesitation in declaring, that if the public is to be deprived of the services of Col. Hamilton in the military line, the post he was destined to fill will not easily be supplied—and that this is the sentiment of the public, I think I may venture to pronounce. Although Colonel Hamilton has never acted in the character of a general officer, yet his opportunities, as the *principal and most confidential aid* of the commander-in-chief, afforded him the means of viewing every thing on a larger scale than those who had only divisions and brigades to attend to; who knew nothing of the correspondences of the commander-in-chief, or of the various orders to, or transactions with, the general staff of the army. These advantages, and his having served with usefulness in the old congress, in the general convention, and having filled one of the most important departments of government with acknowledged abilities and integrity, have placed him on high ground, and made him a conspicuous character in the United States, and even in Europe. To these, as a matter of no small consideration, may be added, that as a lucrative practice in the line of his profession is his most certain dependence, the inducement to relinquish it must in some degree be commensurate,

By some he is considered as an ambitious man, and therefore a dangerous one. That he is *ambitious* I shall readily grant, but it is of that *laudable kind, which prompts a man to excel in whatever he takes in hand.*

“He is enterprising, quick in his perceptions—and his judgment intuitively great: qualities essential to a great military character; and therefore I repeat, *that his loss will be irreparable.*

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Hamilton was accordingly appointed Inspector-General, agreeable to the wishes of Washington. On the death of that great man, he succeeded to the office of commander-in-chief, and continued in that character until the army was disbanded in the summer of 1800, when he returned again to his profession in the city of New-York. In this place he passed the remainder of his days.

In June, 1804, Colonel Burr, Vice-president of the United States, addressed a letter to General Hamilton, requiring his acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression derogatory to the honor of the former. Perhaps the most satisfactory manner of introducing the reader to this subject, will be to begin with the correspondence which led to the fatal interview. It is as follows:

New-York, June 18, 1804.

SIR—I send for your perusal a letter signed Charles D. Cooper, which, though apparently published some time ago, has but very recently come to my knowledge. Mr. Van Ness, who does me the favor to deliver this, will point out to you that clause of the letter to which I particularly request your attention.

You must perceive, Sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression which would warrant the assertions of Dr. Cooper.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

A. BURR.

Gen. HAMILTON.

New-York, June 20, 1804.

SIR—I have maturely reflected on the subject of your letter of the 18th inst. and the more I have reflected the more I have

become convinced that I could not, without manifest impropriety, make the avowal or disavowal which you seem to think necessary. The clause pointed out by Mr. Van Ness is in these terms: "I could detail to you a *still more despicable* opinion which General Hamilton *has expressed* of Mr. Burr." To endeavour to discover the meaning of this declaration, I was obliged to seek in the antecedent part of this letter, for the opinion to which it referred, as having been already disclosed. I found it in these words:—"General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government."

The language of Dr. Cooper plainly implies, that he considered this opinion of you, which he attributes to me, as a despicable one; but he affirms that I have expressed some other, more despicable, without, however, mentioning to whom, when or where. 'Tis evident that the phrase "*still more despicable*," admits of infinite shades, from very light to very dark. How am I to judge of the degree intended? or how shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?

Between gentlemen, *despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of distinction: when, therefore, you do not interrogate me, as to the opinion which is specifically ascribed to me, I must conclude, that you view it as within the limits to which the animadversions of political opponents upon each other may justifiably extend, and consequently as not warranting the idea of it which Dr. Cooper appears to entertain. If so, what precise inference could you draw, as a guide for your conduct, were I to acknowledge that I had expressed an opinion of you *still more despicable* than the one which is particularized? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?

But I forbear further comment on the embarrassment, to which the requisition you have made naturally leads. The occasion forbids a more ample illustration, though nothing could be more easy than to pursue it.

Repeating that I cannot reconcile it with propriety to make the acknowledgment or denial you desire, I will add that I deem it inadmissible on principle, to consent to be interrogated as to the justness of the *inferences* which may be drawn by others from whatever I may have said of a political opponent, in the course of fifteen years competition. If there were no other objection to it, this is sufficient, that it would tend to expose my sincerity and delicacy to injurious imputations from every person who may at any time have conceived the *import* of my expressions, differently from what I may then have intended or may afterward recollect. I stand ready to avow or disavow promptly and explicitly any precise or definite opinion which I may be charged with having declared of any gentleman.—More than this cannot be fitly expected from me; and especially it cannot be reasonably expected that I shall enter into an explanation upon a basis so vague as that which you have adopted. I trust, on more reflection, you will see the matter in the same light with me. If not, I can only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequences.

The publication of Dr. Cooper was never seen by me till after the receipt of your letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

A. HAMILTON.

Col. BURR,

New-York, 21st June, 1804.

SIR—Your letter of the 20th instant, has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value.

Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor, and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others.

The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper, the idea of dishonor. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but

whether you have authorized this application, either directly or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to my honor. The time "when" is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable.

Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient,

Gen. HAMILTON.

A. BURR.

On Saturday, the 22d of June, General Hamilton, for the first time, called on Mr. Pendleton, and communicated to him the preceding correspondence. He informed him that in a conversation with Mr. Van Ness, at the time of, receiving the last letter, he told Mr. Van Ness that he considered that letter as rude and offensive, and that it was not possible for him to give it any other answer than that Mr. Burr must take such steps as he might think proper. He said further, that Mr. Van Ness requested him to take time to deliberate, and then return an answer, when he might possibly entertain a different opinion, and that he would call on him to receive it. That his reply to Mr. Van Ness was, that he did not perceive it possible for him to give any other answer than that he had mentioned, unless Mr. Burr would take back his last letter and write one which would admit of a different reply. He then gave Mr. Pendleton the letter hereafter mentioned, of the 22d June, to be delivered to Mr. Van Ness, when he should call on Mr. Pendleton for an answer, and went to his country house.

The next day General Hamilton received while there, the following letter:—

June 23d, 1804.

SIR—In the afternoon of yesterday, I reported to Col. Burr the result of my last interview with you, and appointed the evening to receive his further instructions. Some private engagements, however, prevented me from calling on him till this

morning. On my return to the city, I found, upon enquiry, both at your office and house, that you had returned to your residence in the country. Lest an interview there might be less agreeable to you than elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of addressing you this note to inquire when and where it will be most convenient for you to receive a communication.

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

Gen. HAMILTON.

Mr. Pendleton understood from General Hamilton that he immediately answered, that if the communication was pressing he would receive it at his country house that day; if not, he would be at his house in town the next morning at nine o'clock. But he did not give Mr. Pendleton any copy of this note.

New-York, June 22d, 1804.

SIR—Your first letter, in a style too peremptory, made a demand, in my opinion, unprecedented and unwarrantable. My answer, pointing out the embarrassment, gave you an opportunity to take a less exceptionable course. You have not chosen to do it; but by your last letter, received this day, containing expressions *indecorous* and improper, you have increased the difficulties to explanation intrinsically incident to the nature of your application.

If by a "definite reply," you mean the direct avowal or disavowal required in your first letter, I have no other answer to give, than that which has already been given. If you mean any thing different, admitting of greater latitude, it is requisite you should explain.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

ALEX. HAMILTON.

AARON BURR, Esq.

This letter, although dated on the 22d of June, remained in Mr. Pendleton's possession until the 25th, within which period he had several conversations with Mr. Van Ness. In these conversations Mr. Pendleton endeavored to illustrate and enforce

the propriety of the ground General Hamilton had taken. Mr. Pendleton mentioned to Mr. Van Ness as the result, that if Col. Burr would write a letter, requesting to know in substance whether, in the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, any particular instance of dishonorable conduct was imputed to Col. Burr, or whether there was any impeachment of his private character, General Hamilton would declare to the best of his recollection, what passed in that conversation; and Mr. Pendleton read to Mr. Van Ness a paper containing the substance of what General Hamilton would say on that subject, which is as follows:—

“General Hamilton says he cannot imagine to what Dr. Cooper may have alluded, unless it were to a conversation at Mr. Tayler’s in Albany, last winter, (at which he and Gen. Hamilton were present.) Gen. Hamilton cannot recollect distinctly the particulars of that conversation so as to undertake to repeat them, without running the risk of varying, or omitting what might be deemed important circumstances. The expressions are entirely forgotten, and the specific ideas imperfectly remembered; but to the best of his recollection it consisted of comments on the political principles and views of Colonel Burr, and the result that might be expected from them in the event of his election as governor, without reference to any particular instance of past conduct, or to private character.”

After the delivery of the letter of the 22d, as above mentioned, in another interview with Mr. Van Ness, he desired Mr. Pendleton to give him *in writing* the substance of what he had proposed on the part of General Hamilton, which Mr. Pendleton did in the words following:—

“In answer to a letter properly adapted to obtain from General Hamilton a declaration whether he had charged Col. Burr with any particular instance of dishonorable conduct, or had impeached his private character, either in the conversation alluded to by Dr. Cooper, or in any other particular instance to be specified: he would be able to answer consistently with his honour, and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded, turned wholly on political topics, and did

not attribute to Col. Burr any instance of dishonorable conduct, nor relate to his private character; and in relation to any other language or conversation of General Hamilton which Colonel Burr will specify, a prompt and frank avowel or denial will be given."

On the 26th of June Mr. Pendleton received the following letter:

SIR—The letter which you yesterday delivered me, and your subsequent communication, in Col. Burr's opinion, evince no disposition, on the part of Gen. Hamilton to come to a satisfactory accommodation. The injury complained of, and the reparation expected, are so definitely expressed in Colonel Burr's letter of the 21st instant, that there is not perceived a necessity for further explanation on his part. The difficulty that would result from confining the inquiry to any particular times and occasions must be manifest. The denial of a specified conversation only, would leave strong implications that on other occasions improper language had been used. When and where injurious opinions and expressions have been uttered by General Hamilton, must be best known to him, and of him only will Colonel Burr inquire. *No denial or declaration will be satisfactory, unless it be general, so as wholly to exclude the idea that rumours derogatory to Col. Burr's honor have originated with Gen. Hamilton, or have been fairly inferred from any thing he has said.* A definite reply to a requisition of this nature was demanded by Col. Burr's letter of the 21st instant. This being refused, invites the alternative alluded to in Gen. Hamilton's letter of the 20th.

It was required by the position in which the controversy was placed by General Hamilton, on Friday* last, and I was immediately furnished with a communication demanding a personal interview. The necessity of this measure has not, in the opinion of Colonel Burr, been diminished by the General's last letter, or any communication which has since been received. I am consequently again instructed to deliver you a message, as soon as it may be convenient for you to receive it. I beg, therefore, you

* June 22d.

will be so good as to inform me at what hour I can have the pleasure of seeing you.

Your most obedient and
very humble servant,

W. P. VAN NESS.

NATH'L. PENDLETON, Esq.

June 26th.

26th June, 1804.

SIR—I have communicated the letter which you did me the honor to write to me of this date, to General Hamilton. The expectations now disclosed on the part of Col. Burr, appear to him to have greatly extended the original ground of inquiry, and instead of presenting a particular and definite case of explanation, seemed to aim at nothing less than an inquisition into his most confidential conversations, as well as others, through the whole period of his acquaintance with Col. Burr.

While he was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it admissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to every thing that he may possibly have said, in relation to the character of Col. Burr, at any time or upon any occasion. Though he is not conscious that any charges which are in circulation to the prejudice of Col. Burr, have originated with him, except one which may have been so considered, and which has long since been fully explained between Col. Burr and himself—yet he cannot consent to be questioned generally as to any *rumours* which may be afloat derogatory to the character of Col. Burr, without specification of the several rumours, many of them probably unknown to him. He does not, however, mean to authorize any conclusion as to the real nature of his conduct in relation to Col. Burr, by his declining so loose and vague a basis of explanation, and he disavows an unwillingness to come to a satisfactory, provided it be an honorable accommodation. His objection is, the very indefinite ground which Colonel Burr has assumed, in which he is sorry to be able to discern nothing short of predetermined hostility. Presuming, therefore, that it will be adhered to, he has instructed me to receive the message which you have it in charge to

deliver. For this purpose I shall be at home, and at your command, to-morrow morning, from eight to ten o'clock.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

your obedient servant,

NATH'L. PENDLETON.

WM. P. VAN NESS, Esq.

SIR—The letter which I had the honor to receive from you under date of yesterday, states, among other things, that in Gen. Hamilton's opinion, Col. Burr has taken a very indefinite ground, in which he evinces nothing short of predetermined hostility, and that Gen. Hamilton thinks it inadmissible that the inquiry should extend to his confidential as well as other conversations. In this Colonel Burr can only reply, that secret whispers traducing his fame, and impeaching his honor, are, at least, equally injurious with slanders publicly uttered; that Gen. Hamilton had, at no time, and in no place, a right to use any such injurious expressions; and that the partial negative he is disposed to give, with the reservations he wishes to make, are proofs that he has done the injury specified.

Col. Burr's request was, in the first instance, proposed in a form the most simple, in order that Gen. Hamilton might give to the affair that course to which he might be induced by his temper and his knowledge of facts. Col. Burr trusted with confidence, that from the frankness of a soldier and the candor of a gentleman, he might expect an ingenuous declaration. That if, as he had reason to believe, Gen. Hamilton had used expressions derogatory to his honor, he would have had the magnanimity to retract them; and that if, from his language, injurious inferences had been improperly drawn, he would have perceived the propriety of correcting errors, which might thus have been widely diffused. With these impressions, Col. Burr was greatly surprised at receiving a letter which he considered as evasive, and which in manner he deemed not altogether decorous. In one expectation, however, he was not wholly deceived, for the close of General Hamilton's letter contained an intimation that if Col. Burr should dislike his refusal to acknowledge or deny, he was ready to meet the consequences. This Col. Burr deemed

a sort of defiance, and would have felt justified in making it the basis of an immediate message. But as the communication contained something concerning the indefiniteness of the request; as he believed it rather the offspring of false pride than of reflection, and as he felt the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities, while any other hope remained, his request was repeated in terms more explicit. The replies and propositions on the part of General Hamilton have, in Col. Burr's opinion, been constantly in substance the same.

Colonel Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury. He feels as a gentleman should feel when his honor is impeached or assailed; and without sensations of hostility or wishes of revenge he is determined to vindicate that honor at such hazard as the nature of the case demands.

The length to which this correspondence has extended, only tending to prove that the satisfactory redress, earnestly desired, cannot be obtained, he deems it useless to offer any proposition except the simple message which I shall now have the honor to deliver.

I have the honor to be,

with great respect, your very humble serv't.

W. P. VAN NESS.

Wednesday Morning, June 27th, 1804.

With this letter a message was received such as was to be expected, containing an invitation, which was accepted, and Mr. Pendleton informed Mr. Van Ness he should hear from him the next day as to further particulars.

This letter was delivered to Gen. Hamilton on the same evening, and a very short conversation ensued between him and Mr. Pendleton, who was to call on him early the next morning for a further conference.—When he did so, Gen. Hamilton said he had not understood whether the message and answer was definitely concluded, or whether another meeting was to take place for that purpose between Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Van Ness. Under the latter impression, and as the last letter contained matter that naturally led to animadversion, he gave Mr.

Pendleton a paper of remarks in his own handwriting, to be communicated to Mr. Van Ness, if the state of the affair rendered it proper.

In the interview with Mr. Van Ness on the same day, after explaining the causes which had induced Gen. Hamilton to suppose that the state of the affair did not render it improper, Mr. Pendleton offered his paper to Mr. Van Ness, but he declined receiving it, alleging that he considered the correspondence as closed by the acceptance of the message that he had delivered.

Mr. Pendleton then informed Mr. Van Ness of the inducements mentioned by General Hamilton in the paper, for at least postponing the meeting until the close of the circuit; and as this was uncertain, Mr. Pendleton was to let him know when it would be convenient.

Here we think it most proper to introduce the paper itself. The reader will form his own judgment whether it was not Mr. Van Ness' duty to have received it, and shown it to his principal; he will probably exercise his own conjecture too as to Mr. Van Ness' motives for not doing so. It follows:—

Remarks on the letter of June 27, 1804.

“Whether the observations on this letter are designed merely to justify the result which is indicated in the close of the letter, or may be intended to give an opening for rendering any thing explicit which may have been deemed vague heretofore, can only be judged of by the sequel. At any rate, it appears to me necessary not to be misunderstood. Mr. Pendleton is therefore authorized to say, that in the course of the present discussion, written or verbal, there has been no intention to evade, defy, or insult, but a sincere disposition to avoid extremities if it could be done with propriety. With this view, Gen. Hamilton has been ready to enter into a frank and free explanation on any and every object of a specific nature; but not to answer a general and abstract inquiry, embracing a period too long for any accurate recollection, and exposing him to unpleasant criticisms from, or unpleasant discussions with, any and every person, who may have understood him in an unfavorable sense. This (ad-

mitting that he could answer it in a manner the most satisfactory to Col. Burr, he should deem inadmissible, in principle and precedent, and humiliating in practice. To this therefore he can never submit. Frequent allusion has been made to slanders, said to be in circulation. Whether they are openly or in whispers, they have a form and shape, and might be specified.

“If the alternative alluded to in the close of the letter is definitively tendered, it must be accepted; the time, place, and manner, to be afterwards regulated, I should not think it right in the midst of a Circuit Court to withdraw my services from those who may have confided important interests to me, and expose them to the embarrassment of seeking other counsel, who may not have time to be sufficiently instructed in their causes, I shall also want a little time to make some arrangements respecting my own affairs.”

On Friday, the 6th of July, the circuit being closed, Mr. Pendleton informed Mr. Van Ness that General Hamilton would be ready at any time after the Sunday following. On Monday the particulars were arranged—on Wednesday the parties met at Weahawk, on the Jersey shore, at 7 o'clock, A. M. The particulars of what then took place will appear from the following statement.

It was nearly seven in the morning when the boat which carried General Hamilton, his friend Mr. Pendleton, and the surgeon mutually agreed on, Doctor Hossack, reached that part of the Jersey shore called the *Weahawk*. There they found Mr. Burr and his friend Mr. Van Ness, who, as I am told, had been employed since their arrival, with coats off, in clearing away the bushes, limbs of trees, &c. so as to make a fair opening. The parties in a few moments were at their allotted situation: when Mr. Pendleton gave the word, Mr. Burr raised his arm slowly, deliberately took his aim, and fired. His ball entered General Hamilton's right side: as soon as the bullet struck him, he raised himself involuntarily on his toes, turned a little to the left (at which moment his pistol went off,) and fell upon his face. Mr. Pendleton immediately called out for Dr. Hossack, who, in running to the spot, had to pass Mr. Van Ness and Col. Burr; but

Mr. Van Ness had the cool precaution to cover his principal with an umbrella, so that Dr. Hossack should not be able to swear that he saw him on the field. What passed after this, the reader will have in the following letter from Dr. Hossack himself.

August 17th, 1804.

“DEAR SIR—To comply with your request is a painful task; but I will repress my feelings while I endeavor to furnish you with an enumeration of such particulars relative to the melancholy end of our beloved friend Hamilton, as dwell most forcibly on my recollection.

“When called to him, upon his receiving the fatal wound, I found him half sitting on the ground, supported in the arms of Mr. Pendleton. His countenance of death I shall never forget—He had at that instant just strength to say, “This is a mortal wound, Doctor;” when he sunk away, and became to all appearance lifeless. I immediately stripped up his clothes, and soon, alas! ascertained that the direction of the ball must have been through some vital part. His pulses were not be felt; his respiration was entirely suspended; and upon laying my hand on his heart and perceiving no motion there, I considered him as irrecoverably gone. I however observed to Mr. Pendleton, that the only chance for his reviving was immediately to get him upon the water. We therefore lifted him up, and carried him out of the wood, to the margin of the bank, where the bargemen aided us in conveying him into the boat, which immediately put off. During all this time I could not discover the least symptom of returning life. I now rubbed his face, lips, and temples, with spirits of hartshorn, applied it to his neck and breast, and to the wrists and palms of his hands, and endeavored to pour some into his mouth. When we had got, as I should judge, abou’ fifty yards from the shore, some imperfect efforts to breathe were for the first time manifest; in a few minutes he sighed, and became sensible to the impression of the hartshorn, or the fresh air of the water: he breathed: his eyes, hardly opened, wandered, without fixing upon any objects: to our great joy he at length spoke: “My vision is indistinct,”

were his first words. His pulse became more perceptible: his respiration more regular; his sight returned. I then examined the wound to know if there was any dangerous discharge of blood: upon slightly pressing his side it gave him pain; on which I desisted. Soon after recovering his sight, he happened to cast his eyes upon the case of pistols, and observing the one that he had had in his hand lying on the outside, he said, "Take care of that pistol; it is undischarged and still cocked, it may go off and do harm:—Pendleton knows, (attempting to turn his head towards him) that I did not intend to fire at him." "Yes," said Mr. Pendleton, understanding his wish, "I have already made Dr. Hossack acquainted with your determination as to that." He then closed his eyes and remained calm, without any disposition to speak; nor did he say much afterward, excepting in reply to my questions as to his feelings. He asked me once or twice how I found his pulse; and he informed me that his lower extremities had lost all feeling; manifesting to me that he entertained no hopes that he should long survive. I changed the posture of his limbs, but to no purpose; they had totally lost their sensibility. Perceiving that we approached the shore, he said, "Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for—let the event be gradually broken to her; but give her hopes." Looking up we saw his friend Mr. Bayard standing on the wharf in great agitation. He had been told by his servant that Gen. Hamilton, Mr. Pendleton, and myself, had crossed the river in a boat together, and too well he conjectured the fatal errand and foreboded the dreadful result. Perceiving, as we came nearer, that Mr. Pendleton and myself only sat in the stern-sheet, he clasped his hands together in the most violent apprehension; but when I called to him to have a cot prepared, and he at the same time saw his poor friend lying in the bottom of the boat, he threw up his eyes and burst into a flood of tears and lamentation. Hamilton alone appeared tranquil and composed. We then conveyed him as tenderly as possible up to the house. The distresses of this amiable family were such that till the first shock was abated they were scarcely able to summon fortitude enough to yield sufficient assistance to their dying friend.

“Upon our reaching the house he became more languid, occasioned probably by the agitation of his removal from the boat. I gave him a little weak wine and water. When he recovered his feelings, he complained of pain in his back; we immediately undressed him, laid him in bed, and darkened the room. I then gave him a large anodyne, which I frequently repeated. During the first day he took upwards of an ounce of laudanum; and tepid and anodyne fomentations were also applied to those parts nearest the seat of his pain—Yet were his sufferings, during the whole of the day, almost intolerable.*

“I had not the shadow of a hope of his recovery, and Dr. Post, whom I requested might be sent for immediately on our reaching Mr. Bayard’s house, united with me in this opinion. Gen. Rey, the French consul, also had the goodness to invite the surgeons of the French frigates in our harbor, as they had had much experience in gun-shot wounds, to render their assistance. They immediately came; but to prevent his being disturbed, I stated to them his situation, described the nature of his wound and the direction of the ball, with all the symptoms that could enable them to form an opinion as to the event. One of the gentlemen then accompanied me to the bed-side. The result was a confirmation of the opinion that had already been expressed by Dr. Post and myself.

During the night he had some imperfect sleep; but the succeeding morning his symptoms were aggravated, attended however, with a diminution of pain. His mind retained all its usual strength and composure. The great source of his anxiety seemed to be in his sympathy with his half distracted wife and children. He spoke to me frequently of them—“My beloved wife and children,” were always his expressions. But his fortitude triumphed over his situation, dreadful as it was; once, indeed, at the sight of his children brought to the bed-side together, seven in number, his utterance forsook him; he opened his eyes, gave them one look, and closed them again, till they

*As his habit was delicate, and had been lately rendered more feeble by ill health, particularly by a disorder of the stomach and bowels, I carefully avoided all those remedies which are usually indicated on such occasions.

were taken away. As a proof of his extraordinary composure of mind, let me add, that he alone could calm the frantic grief of their mother. "*Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian,*" were the expressions with which he frequently, with a firm voice, but in a pathetic and impressive manner, addressed her. His words, and the tone in which they were uttered, will never be effaced from my memory. At about two o'clock, as the public well know, he expired.*

"Incorrupta fides—nudaque veritas.
Quondo ullum invenient parem?
Multus ille quidem debilis occidit."

Who would believe, had not the fact evinced it, that the son of the venerable President Burr, that model of Christian patience, charity and meekness; that the son of such a man, the second officer in the United States, should in direct violation of the laws of Heaven, and his own state; after every means of reconciliation on the part of the unfortunate deceased, that was consistent with honor, had been exhausted, should take a cool and deliberate aim against the *first citizen* of our country; the father of a numerous family; the husband of a most affectionate wife; an ornament to his country and human nature. Could nothing but his blood atone for expressions honestly intended for the public good, and authorized by every just principle of an elective government? Could nothing allay the cool, persevering, and premeditated resentment of his antagonist, but the heart's blood of such a man?

Well, he is gone! Gone with the tenderest esteem, the highest respect, the most affectionate tears that ever fell on the tomb of a public character. He has gone to receive the rich reward of the many and great exertions for his country's welfare. Trusting in the merits of his Saviour, penitent for his past sins, forgiving even the foe from whom he received his mortal wound; he is gone to receive that recompense of reward, which is the meed of the truly upright and benevolent.

Far be it from us, at this time, to excite the angry passions against the guilty author of this mighty ruin. He lives, and

*Extracts from Facts and Documents relative to the death of Gen. Hamilton

long may he live, his hands stained with blood unrighteously shed! But we cannot refrain from giving a place to the following circumstances, which occurred in the city of Albany soon after the death of Hamilton.

“On Sunday morning the afflicted Mrs. Hamilton attended service in the Presbyterian Church in this city, with her three little ones.

At the close of a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Nott, the eldest dropped on his face in a fainting fit.

“Two gentlemen immediately raised him, and while bearing him out of the Church, the afflicted mother sprung forward, in the agonies of grief and despair, towards her apparently lifeless son.

“The heart-rending scene she had recently struggled with, called forth all the fine spun sensibilities of her nature; and seemed to say nature must and will be indulged, in her keenest sorrows. She was overpowered in the conflict, and likewise sunk, uttering such heart-rending groans, and inward sighs, as would have melted into mingled sympathies, even Burr himself.

“Both of them stood recovered; and while the little son was supported standing on the steps, yet speechless, the most affecting scene presented itself. The mother in this tender situation, fastened herself upon the son, with her head reclining on his left shoulder; the agonies so strongly painted in her countenance; her long flowing weeds; the majesty of her person; the position of both; and above all, the peculiarity of their trying situation in the recent loss of a husband and a father; who could refrain from invoking on the head of the guilty author of their miseries, those curses he so richly merits? The curse of living despised, and execrated by the voice of a whole nation; the curse of being held up to the view of future ages, a MONSTER and an ASSASSIN.”

After the death of Gen. Hamilton, a note which had been written the evening before the interview, was found, addressed to the gentleman who accompanied him to the field; thanking him with tenderness for his friendship to him, and informing him where would be found the keys of certain drawers in his desk,

in which he had deposited such papers as he had thought proper to leave behind him, together with his last Will.

The following paper, as containing his motives for accepting the challenge; his reflections on his situation; and some remarks on the conduct of the man, who was to be the cause of his death, is presented as a highly interesting document.

On my expected interview with Col. Burr, I think it proper to make some remarks explanatory of my conduct, motives, and views.

I was certainly desirous of avoiding this interview for the most cogent reasons.

1. My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws.

2. My wife and children are extremely dear to me, and my life is of the utmost importance to them in various views.

3. I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors; who in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to this hazard.

4. I am conscious of no *ill will* to Col. Burr, district from political opposition, which as I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives.

Lastly, I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview.

But it was as I conceive impossible for me to avoid it. There were *intrinsic* difficulties in the thing, and *artificial* embarrassments from the manner of proceeding on the part of Col. Burr.

Intrinsic, because it is not to be denied, that my animadversions on the political principles, character, and views of Colonel Burr, have been extremely severe; and on different occasions, I, in common with many others, have made very unfavorable criticisms on particular instances of the private conduct of this gentleman.

In proportion as these impressions were entertained with sincerity, and uttered with motives, and for purposes which might

appear to me commendable, would be the difficulty, (until they could be removed by evidence of their being erroneous,) of explanation or apology. The disavowal required of me by Col. Burr, in a general and indefinite form, was out of my power, if it had been really proper for me to submit to be so questioned; but I was sincerely of opinion that this could not be, and in this opinion I was confirmed by that of a very moderate and judicious friend whom I consulted. Besides that, Col. Burr appeared to me to assume, in the first instance, a tone unnecessarily peremptory and menacing, and in the second, positively offensive. Yet I wished, as far as might be practicable, to leave a door open to accommodation. This, I think, will be inferred from the written communications made by me and by my direction, and would be confirmed by the conversations between Mr. Van Ness and myself, which arose out of the subject.

I am not sure whether, under all the circumstances, I did not go further in the attempt to accommodate, than a punctilious delicacy will justify. If so, I hope the motives I have stated will excuse me.

It is not my design, by what I have said, to affix any odium on the conduct of Col. Burr, in this case. He doubtless has heard of animadversions of mine which bore very hard upon him; and it is probable that as usual they were accompanied with some falsehoods. He may have supposed himself under a necessity of acting as he has done. I hope the grounds of his proceeding have been such as ought to satisfy his own conscience.

I trust at the same time, that the world will do me the justice to believe that I have not censured him on light grounds, nor from unworthy inducements. I certainly have had strong reasons for what I may have said, though it is possible that in some particulars, I may have been influenced by misconstruction or misinformation. It is also my ardent wish that I may have been more mistaken than I think I have been, and that he, by his future conduct, may show himself worthy of all confidence and esteem, and prove an ornament and blessing to the country.

As well because it is possible that I may have injured Colonel Burr, however convinced myself that my opinions and declara-

tions have been well founded, as from my general principles and temper in relation to similar affairs, I have resolved, if our interview is conducted in the usual manner, and it pleases God to give me the opportunity to *reserve*, and *throw away* my first fire, and I *have thoughts* even of *reserving* my second fire—and thus giving a double opportunity to Colonel Burr, to pause and to reflect.

It is not, however, my intention to enter into any explanation on the ground—Apology from principle, I hope, rather than pride, is out of the question.

To those who, with me, abhorring the practice of duelling, may think that I ought on no account to have added to the number of bad examples, I answer, that my *relative* situation, as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposed on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call. The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular.”* A. H.

ISAAC HAYNE,

Colonel in the American Army.

“THIS gentleman had been a distinguished and very active officer in the American service, previous to the subjugation of Charleston. When this event took place he found himself called to a separation from his family, a dereliction of his property, and submission to the conqueror. In this situation he thought it his duty to become a voluntary prisoner, and take his parole. On surrendering himself, he offered to engage and stand bound on the principles of honor, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest until he was exchanged; but his abilities and

* Vide Facts and Documents relative to Gen. Hamilton.

services were of such consideration to his country, that he was refused a parole, and told he must become a British subject or submit to close confinement.

“His family was then in a distant part of the country, and in great distress by sickness, and from the ravages of the royalists in their neighborhood. Thus he seemed impelled to acknowledge himself the subject of a government he had relinquished from the purest principles, or renounce his tenderest connexions and leave them without a possibility of his assistance, and at a moment when he hourly expected to hear of the death of an affectionate wife, ill of the small-pox.

In this state of anxiety, he subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Britain, with this express exception, that he should never be required to *take arms against his country*. Notwithstanding this, he was soon and repeatedly called upon to arm in support of a government he detested, or to submit to the severest punishment. Brigadier-General Patterson, commandant of the garrison, and the intendant of the British police, a Mr. Simpson, had both assured Colonel Hayne, that no such thing would be required; and added, “that when the royal army could not defend a country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be time to quit it.”*

Colonel Hayne considered a requisition to act in British service, after assurances that this would never be required, as a breach of contract, and a release in the eye of conscience, from any obligation on his part. Accordingly he took the first opportunity of resuming his arms as an American, assumed the command of his own regiment; and all fond of their former commander, Col. Hayne marched with a defensible body to the relief of his countrymen, then endeavoring to drive the British partizans, and keep them within the environs of Charleston. He very unfortunately in a short time fell into the hands of a strong British party, sent out for the recovery of a favorite officer,† who

* See a representation of Colonel Hayne's case, laid before congress after his death.

† This was General Williamson, captured within seven miles of the city, by a small reconnoitering party sent out by Colonel Hayne.

had left the American cause, and become a devotee to British government.

As soon as Colonel Hayne was captured, he was closely imprisoned. This was on the twenty-sixth of July. He was notified the same day, that a court of officers would assemble the next day to determine in what point of view he ought to be considered. On the twenty-ninth he was informed that in consequence of a court of inquiry held the day before, Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour had resolved upon his execution within two days.

His astonishment at these summary and illegal proceedings can scarcely be conceived. He wrote Lord Rawdon, that he had no intimation of any thing more than a court of inquiry, to determine whether he should be considered as an American or a British subject: if the first, he ought to be set at liberty on parole: if the last, he claimed a legal trial. He assured his lordship, that on a trial he had many things to urge in his defence; reasons that would be weighty in a court of equity; and concluded his letter with observing,—“If, sir, I am refused this favor, which I cannot conceive from your justice or humanity, I earnestly entreat that my execution may be deferred; that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the solemn change.” *

But his death predetermined, his enemies were deaf to the voice of compassion. The execution of his sentence was hastened, though the reputation and merits of this gentleman were such, that the whole city was zealous for his preservation. Not only the inhabitants in opposition to the British government, but even Lieutenant-Governor Bull at the head of the royalists, interceded for his life. The principal ladies of Charleston endeavored by their compassionate interference, to arrest or influence the relentless hand of power. They drew up and presented to Lord Rawdon, a delicate and pathetic petition in his behalf. His near relations, and his children, who had just performed the

* See a more full account of the treatment of Col. Hayne in his own papers, afterwards presented to congress,

funeral rites over the grave of a tender mother, appeared on their bended kness, to implore the life of their father. But in spite of the supplications of children and friends, strangers and foes, the flinty heart of lord Rawdon remained untouched, amidst these scenes of sensibility and distress. No amelioration of the sentence could be obtained; and this affectionate father took a final leave of his children in a manner that pierced the souls of the beholders. To the eldest of them, a youth of but thirteen years of age, he delivered a transcript of his case, directed him to convey it to congress, and ordered him to see that his father's remains were deposited in the tomb of his ancestors.

Pinioned like a criminal, this worthy citizen walked with composure through crowds of admiring spectators, with the dignity of the philosopher, and the intrepidity of the Christian. He suffered as a hero and was hanged as a felon, amidst the tears of the multitude, and the curses of thousands, who execrated the perpetrators of this cruel deed.*



WILLIAM HEATH,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL HEATH descended from an ancient family, and was of the fifth generation of the family, who have inherited the same real estate taken up in a state of nature. He was born in the year 1737, in Roxbury, Mass. and was from his youth a cultivator of the soil, of which profession he was passionately fond.

From his childhood he was remarkably fond of military exercises, which passion grew up with him, and as he arrived at years of maturity, led him to procure, and attentively study every military treatise in the English language, which he could procure.

As the dispute between Great Britain and her American

* Warren's Revolution,

colonies assumed a serious aspect, Heath did not hesitate, for a moment to declare his sentiments in favor of the rights and liberties of his fellow countrymen. So early as the year, 1770, he commenced addresses to the public, under the signature of "*A Military Countryman*," in which he urged the importance of military discipline, and skill in the use of arms, as the only means, under heaven, that could save the country, and he assiduously applied himself in organizing and disciplining the companies of militia and minute-men.

Being ranked among the patriots and advocates for liberty, he was commissioned in 1775, by the Provincial Congress, as a brigadier-general, and in 1776, he received a commission from congress, appointing him a major-general in the army of the United States.

Though high in rank, and respectable as an officer of parade and discipline, we look in vain for laurels acquired in the field. Had it been his destiny, however, to encounter the perils of a conflict in the field of battle, no one can say how valorously he would have acted the hero.

During the years 1777 and 1778, he was the commanding officer of the eastern department, with his head-quarters at Boston. Here devolved upon him the arduous and difficult duties of superintendant of the convention troops captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga, and now quartered at Cambridge. The station required the exercise of uncommon firmness and decision of character. And had General Heath been destitute of these characteristics, he would have been subjected to the grossest impositions and indignities, from the haughtiness of the British generals. Burgoyne and Phillips, and the perverse temper of their soldiery. He who had vauntingly declared in the British Parliament, that, "with five thousand men he would make elbow room from one end of the continent to the other," could ill support himself under the chagrin and mortification of a state of captivity. His lofty spirit frequently broke forth, but General Heath soon convinced him that he was neither deficient in spirit, nor ignorant of his duty as a military commander.

The following circumstances that occurred during the stay of the British troops at Cambridge, and the letters which passed between the officers at once show the difficulties which arose in the path of duty prescribed to General Heath, and the promptness and vigor with which he met and surmounted them.

Soon after the arrival of the British generals at Cambridge, they made an insidious attempt to retain the chief command over their own troops. In a conversation, General Phillips turning to General Heath, observed, "Sir, you well know the disposition of soldiers, and that they will more or less in all armies commit some disorders; suppose you should delegate to General Burgoyne the power of seeing *your* orders executed?"

General Heath promptly replied, "that he knew the disposition of soldiers, and also the necessity of order and discipline; that he was not only willing, but expected that General Burgoyne, and every other officer would exert themselves to keep order. But as to the exercise of his *own* command, and enforcement of his *own* orders when necessary, that was a jurisdiction which General Burgoyne must not expect to exercise while here."

For two weeks after his arrival in Boston, General Burgoyne had neglected upon trifling excuses to sign his parole in the manner specified in the articles of capitulation. Finding him thus disposed to evade, General Heath addressed him the following letter:

Head-Quarters, Boston, Nov. 23, 1777.

"SIR—Two weeks have now elapsed since I had fully expected that the officers would have signed their paroles. They have, during this time, been enjoying in a great measure the liberty of the limits intended to be assigned to them, without pledging their honor by parole; which is not only contrary to the established custom of nations, but contrary to the eleventh article of the Convention. I must, therefore, in the most explicit terms, insist that the officers who wish and expect to be permitted on parole, agreeably to the Convention, do sign it to-morrow. This is so reasonable, that I expect there will be no further hesitancy; and I still assure your Excellency, that no

endeavors of mine shall be wanting to fulfil the Convention, and to treat the officers with politeness and generosity.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

WM. HEATH.

To Lieut. Gen. BURGOTNE."

November 8th, 1777, Congress directed General Heath "to cause to be taken down the name and rank of every commissioned officer, and the name, size, age, and description of every non-commissioned officer and private, and all other persons comprised in the convention made between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates, on the 16th October, 1777, and transmit an authentic copy thereof to the board of war, in order that if any officer or soldier, or other person as above mentioned, of the said army, shall hereafter be found in arms against these States, during the present contest, he may be convicted of the offence, and suffer the punishment in such case inflicted by the law of nations.

Upon the foregoing being communicated to General Burgoyne, and he called upon to have the said descriptive lists made out accordingly, he wrote our general the following letter:—

Cambridge, Nov. 20, 1777.

"SIR—I received a paper, dated Head-Quarters, Boston Nov. 20th, purporting to be founded upon express orders from the Honourable Continental Congress, which paper I return as inadmissible, because extending to matters in which the Congress have no right of interference.

"A list of the names and rank of every commissioned officer, and the numbers of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, may be necessary to you, Sir, for the purpose of fulfilling the Convention, in quartering officers, and the regular delivery of provisions, fuel, &c. Such lists shall be prepared at your request; but before any other lists can be granted, I must be assured of the purposes for which they are intended, and the word *order* must neither be mentioned nor implied.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

J. BURGOTNE, Lt. Gen.

To Maj. Gen. HEATH."

To the foregoing, our general wrote an answer as follows:

Head-Quarters, Boston, Nov. 21, 1777.

“SIR—Yours of yesterday is before me: and although you might at first imagine that the Honourable Continental Congress have no right of interference in matters of the Convention, yet I conclude, upon further reflection you must be convinced, that as that body are the Representatives of that people who are to reap the advantages or disadvantages of the Convention, and as all continental officers are acting by virtue of their authority, and under their direction, they assuredly have a right of interference, and to give such orders to their officers as they may think proper for the full completion of the Convention, and for the safety and good of the people.

“I must therefore insist that you furnish me with proper lists of names, and descriptions, for the purposes before mentioned as soon as may be.

“I shall at all times endeavour to found my orders on the principles of honor, reason, and justice, and not to infringe those delicate principles in others; but my orders for the purposes of order and regularity, must be obeyed by every man and all bodies of men placed under my direction; and fully determined I am, that offenders shall not pass with impunity.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

W. HEATH.

Lieut. Gen. BURGoyNE.”

General Burgoyne had received intimations that a fleet of transports were about to come round for the troops, and that the *Juno* frigate was to wear a flag for his particular accommodation. This he mentioned to General Heath, and wished to know if the frigate might come up into the harbor. General Heath had no apprehensions of any danger from a frigate entering the harbor, but apprehended that some people might think that he was not sufficiently vigilant, in case he allowed it. He therefore told General Burgoyne that the frigate could not come up into the harbor, and hinted to him the taking one of the most convenient transports in the fleet for the purpose; and he might do as

he pleased when he got off. This touched Gen. Burgoyne exceedingly, who wrote a letter to Gen. Heath, in which was the following paragraph:

“As to your allotment of a *“convenient transport”* for my passage, if it was from yourself, I am to thank you, Sir, for a sort of insult which the most haughty man of office would be ashamed of, in any other country. However, as I am determined every transaction concerning this Convention shall be notorious, and beyond the powers of subterfuge to explain away, I have directed the frigate together with the transports to come round, and it will then be for you, Sir, to prohibit the entry of Boston harbor, to any ships bearing a flag of truce, and declaring they are sent for the express purpose of conveying to Great Britain any part of the troops of the Convention.

(Signed)

J. BURGOYNE.

Maj. Gen. HEATH.”

To which Gen. Heath wrote the following answer:

Head-Quarters, Boston, Jun. 5, 1778.

“SIR—Your Excellency’s favor of yesterday came duly to hand; and I must confess I was not a little surprised at some expressions in it.

“As by the Convention, transports only are stipulated to receive the troops, I submit to you, Sir, whether a hint (if you were even sure that it came from myself) that you should take a convenient one, rather than introduce a frigate, which is neither expressed or implied in the Convention, merits those epithets which you are pleased to bestow on me.

“I have ever aimed to treat you with politeness; and the plighted faith and honor of my country require me to pay strict attention to the Convention on their part; of course, when transports arrive to receive the troops, they will enter the harbor; and if you can find by the Convention that a frigate is to enter for the particular reception of yourself, she will not be prohibited. But if it is rather uncommon for ships of war to bear flags of truce, and if consenting to it in the present case, should appear to be rather an act of politeness and generosity

than otherwise, I leave you to your own reflections whether you have made choice of the most happy expressions to obtain it.

(Signed)

W. HEATH.

Lieut. Gen. BURGOYNE."

Another serious matter took place about this time. Colonel Henley, who had the immediate command at Cambridge, a brave and good officer, but warm and quick in his natural temper, having ordered some prisoners who were under guard turned out that he might examine them, one of them treated him as he judged with much insolence; upon which he pricked him with a sword or bayonet. General Burgoyne immediately presented a complaint against Col. Henley, charging him with barbarous and wanton conduct, and intentional murder, as appears in the following letter:

Cambridge, Jan. 9th, 1778.

SIR—A report has been made to me of a disturbance that happened at the barracks on Wednesday afternoon, for which I am much concerned; and though the provocations from your people, which originally occasioned it, were of the most atrocious nature, I was willing the offender on our part should be properly punished. But Colonel Henley, not content with that, made prisoners of eighteen innocent men, and sent them on board a guard-ship, as alleged by your order. It is not only a duty to my situation to demand the immediate discharge of these men, together with a satisfactory apology; but I also mean it as an attention to you, Sir, that I give you an immediate opportunity to disavow so unjustifiable a proceeding, as committing men to the worst of prisons upon vague report, caprice and passion.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

J. BURGOYNE.

To which our general returned the following answer:

Head-Quarters, Boston, Jan. 10th, 1778.

"SIR—Yours of yesterday's date, I received, last evening. What provocation you allude to, as having been offered by my troops, I am at a loss to determine. The insults and abuses

which they have received, I will venture to say, unless I have been most grossly misinformed, are unparalleled; and whether you are willing or unwilling, Sir, offenders shall no longer pass with impunity.

“If it can be made to appear that any of those soldiers sent to the guard-ship by my orders, are innocent, they shall be released from their confinement; but with respect to such as have been guilty of violating my standing orders of the garrison, instead of disavowing or making any apology for the confinement of such, be assured that I do most explicitly avow it. And as I have before observed to your Excellency in a former letter, of which you may be assured, I shall at all times endeavor to found my orders on the principles of honor, reason and justice, and not infringe those delicate principles in others; so also be assured, Sir, that such my orders shall be obeyed by every officer and soldier placed under my direction; and such as have the hardiness to transgress them, shall abide the consequences.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

W. HEATH.

June 7th, 1778, a British officer was shot by an American sentinel, the officer attempting to pass, contrary to the standing orders. The sentinel was immediately relieved and put under guard to await a legal trial. Upon receiving an official account, Gen. Heath immediately informed Major-General Phillips, who was now the senior British officer, Burgoyne having sailed for England, of the circumstance, and of his determination to give the offender a fair trial.

A few minutes after General Heath had sent his letter, he received the following from Gen. Phillips:—

Cambridge, June 17, 1778.

“Murder and death has at length taken place. An officer, riding out from the barracks on Prospect Hill, has been shot by an American sentinel. I leave the horrors incident to that bloody disposition, which has joined itself to rebellion in these colonies, to the feelings of all Europe. I do not ask for justice, for I believe every principle of it is fled from this province.

"I demand liberty to send an officer to Sir Henry Clinton, by way of the head-quarters of Gen. Washington, with my report of this murder.

(Signed)

W. PHILLIPS, M. G.

Maj. Gen. HEATH."

The next morning our general wrote the following to General Phillips:—

Head-Quarters, Boston, June 18, '778.

"SIR—Were it even certain that the shooting of the officer was an act of the most deliberate and wilful murder, why should you charge these free independent states with a bloody disposition and with rebellion, and this state in particular as void of every principle of justice? Although I ever had, and still have a personal regard for you, and wish in every respect to treat you with the utmost generosity; yet that duty which I owe to the honor and dignity of the United States, will not allow me to pass unnoticed such expressions as are contained in your letter: and I cannot put any other interpretation upon them, than that they are a violent infraction of your parole, most sacredly given. I do conceive it to be my duty, and I do hereby restrict you to the limits of your house, gardens, and yard, and to the direct road from your quarters to the quarters of the troops of the Convention, on Prospect and Winter Hills; expecting from you a parole for propriety of conduct within those limits; which, if you refuse, I shall be under the necessity of ordering you to narrower limits, until I can obtain the pleasure of the honorable the congress, touching this matter, to whom I shall transmit your letter, and crave their directions.

I am Sir, your obedient serv't.

(Signed)

W. HEATH, Maj. Gen.

Head-Quarters, Boston, June 18, 1778.

"SIR—You will immediately repair to Cambridge, and wait upon Maj. Gen. Phillips: present him the letter, addressed to him. After he has read the letter, present the parole; if he signs it, well; if he refuses, you will please to inform him, that in consequence of the indecent, dishonorable, and highly insult:

ing expressions in his letter of yesterday, against the honor and dignity of the free, sovereign, and independent states of America, and in prejudice of the measures and proceedings of the honorable the congress—as it is my duty, so it is my express orders, that he, the said Maj. Gen. Phillips, be restricted to the limits of his house, yards and gardens, beyond which he is not to pass, until it be otherwise ordered; and that you immediately plant and continue by relief so many sentries, as may be necessary to prevent his exceeding those limits. You will give orders that the sentries, so planted, observe a strict decorum and soldier-like behaviour, avoiding insult, and behaving with becoming dignity. After which you will wait on the next senior officer, and acquaint him of Gen. Phillips being confined.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed)

W. HEATH, Maj. Gen.

Lieut. Col. POLLARD, D. A. G.

Gen. Phillips continuing to exhibit the same temper, or it rather growing upon him, he was continued in his arrest, until the troops of the convention were ordered to be removed to Charlottesville, in Virginia, when Gen. Heath was relieved altogether of his troublesome guests.

In June, 1779, Gen. Heath was elected by congress a commissioner of the Board of War, with a salary of four thousand dollars per annum, and allowed to retain his rank in the army, which he declined, preferring to participate in active operations in the field.

In the summer of 1780, he was directed by the commander-in-chief, to repair to Rhode-Island, to make arrangements for the reception of the French fleet and army, which were expected soon to arrive. In the interview with the Count Rochambeau, and other officers of the French army and navy, he proffered his friendly civilities, and contributed all in his power to their comfortable accommodation, which was productive of a mutual and lasting friendship between them. Indefatigable attention to duty, in the various stations assigned him, was a prominent trait in his character. In May, 1781, General Heath was directed by the commander-in-chief to repair to the New-England

states, to represent to their respective executives the distressing condition of our army, and to solicit a speedy supply of provisions and clothing, in which he was successful. As senior Major-General, he was more than once commander of the right wing of our army, and during the absence of the commander-in-chief, at the siege of Yorktown, he was entrusted with the command of the main army, posted at the Highlands and vicinity, to guard the important works on the Hudson. On the 24th of June, 1784, hostilities having ceased between the two armies, General Washington addressed a letter to General Heath, expressing his thanks for his meritorious services, and his great affection and esteem, and on the same day they took their final leave.

Such was General Heath's public life. His private one was retired and domestic, amiable, orderly and industrious, but not remarkable for hospitality, or a liberal appropriation of property to public purposes. He died at Roxbury, January 24, 1814, aged 77 years.*

JOHN EDGAR HOWARD,

Colonel in the American Army.

FOR gallantry and firmness, decision of character and sound judgment, Colonel Howard was not exceeded by any officer of his rank in the service of his country. With great intelligence and skill in arms, he was one of those heroic spirits, on whom General Greene reposed his hopes, during the time he was deepest in adversity, and in his high determination to recover the south, or perish in the attempt.

He was born June 4th, 1752, near the city of Baltimore. His paternal ancestors were from England, his maternal from Ireland.

Burning with the generous enthusiasm of the time, Howard was among the first to enroll himself under the standard of American liberty. He was first in commission as a captain, and

* Thacher's Military Journal.

afterward as major, but he does not appear to have been much in action, until he took his station, at the head of a regiment, in the southern army.

Accomplished in tactics, and ripe in experience, although only now in his twenty-seventh year, he was, in all respects, fitted for the operations of the field.

Accordingly, no sooner did an opportunity for action present itself, than his valor as a soldier, and his reputation as a commander, became conspicuous in the midst of the accomplished and the brave.

His brightest laurel was gathered at the Cowpens, where, assuming to himself the responsibility of the act, he charged without orders, and at the point of the bayonet, a party of the enemy superior in number to his own command, and consisting of the flower of the British army.*

After having thrown the British line into confusion, by his fire and unexpected charge, he called out to them in a loud and commanding voice, to surrender, and they should receive "good quarters."

On this summons five hundred of them instantly threw down their arms.

His interview, immediately after the action, with General Morgan, the commanding officer, was eminently interesting; and, were other evidence wanting, shows on how precarious a footing, stands the reputation and the life of a warrior.

"My dear Howard," said Morgan, cordially pressing his hand as he spoke, "you have given me victory and I love and honor you; but had you failed in your charge, which you risked without orders, I should have shot you."

Previously to this, Colonel Howard had distinguished himself among those, who, by their gallantry and good conduct, has sustained the character of the American arms, and prevented the utter destruction of the forces, in the battle near Camden, where Gates was defeated.

Nor was he entitled to less applause for the spirit and judgment which he afterward displayed at Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill,

* Life of Greene,

and the Eutaw Springs; at the latter of which, he was severely wounded.

But a letter from Gen. Greene, dated November 14th, 1781, to a friend in Maryland, is conclusive as to the military reputation of Col. Howard.

“ This will be handed to you, (says the General,) by Colonel Howard, as good an officer as the world affords. He has great ability, and the best disposition, to promote the service. My own obligations to him are great—the public’s still more so. He deserves a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes. He has been wounded, but has nappily recovered, and now goes home to pay a little attention to his private affairs, and to take charge of the fifth Maryland regiment, recruiting in your state.

With great respect, and esteem,

I am, dear Sir, yours,

N. GREENE.

On the conclusion of the war, he married Miss Chew, daughter of the honorable Benjamin Chew, of Philadelphia.

Contented and happy in domestic life, and much occupied with his private affairs, he has never sought political honors, but left to others to govern the country, which he, by his valor, contributed to set free.

He still resides on his patrimonial estate, surrounded by a large and respectable family, pre-eminent in affluence, and passing the evening of his life in that dignified and felicitous retirement, which a high and unsullied reputation, a peaceful conscience, a cultivated intellect, and polished manners alone can bestow.”*

PETER HORRY,

Colonel in the American Army.

“ THIS officer was a descendant of one of the many Protestant families who removed to Carolina from France, after the re-

* Life of Greene.

vocation of the edict of Nantz. He early took up arms in defence of his country; and through all the trials of peril and privation, experienced by Marion's brigade, gave ample proof of his strict integrity and undaunted courage. The fame which he acquired as one of the band of heroes who defended the post at Sullivan's Island was never tarnished. For, although in a moment of despondency, he once said to his general—"I fear our happy days are all gone by;" it was not the consequences that might accrue to himself, but the miseries apprehended for his country that caused the exclamation; for never were his principles shaken; never, even for a moment, did the thought of submission enter his bosom. No man more eagerly sought the foe; none braved danger with greater intrepidity, or more strenuously endeavored to sustain the military reputation of his country. A ludicrous story is told of him, that, though probably varied in the narration, has its foundation in truth. Col. Horry was once ordered to await the approach of a British detachment in ambuscade; a service which he performed with such skill, that he had them completely within his power; when from a dreadful impediment in his speech, by which he was afflicted, he could not articulate the word "*fire*." In vain he made the attempt, it was *fi, fi, fi, fi*,—but he could get no further. At length, irritated almost to madness, he exclaimed—"Shoot, damn you, shoot—you know very well what I would say—shoot, shoot, and be damn'd to you!" He was present in every engagement of consequence, and on all occasions increased his reputation. At Quinby, Col. Baxter, a gallant soldier, possessed of great coolness, and still greater simplicity of character, called out—"I am wounded Colonel!" Horry replied—"Think no more of it, Baxter, but stand to your post." "But I can't stand Colonel—I am wounded a second time!" "Then lie down, Baxter, but quit not your post." "Colonel, (cried the wounded man) they have shot me again, and if I remain any longer here, I shall be shot to pieces." "Be it so, Baxter, but stir not." He obeyed the order, and actually received a fourth wound before the engagement ended."*

* Garden's Anecdotes.

JOHN JAMES,

Major in the American Army.

WAS born in Ireland, in 1732, and was the son of an officer who had served King William in his wars in Ireland against King James. This circumstance was the origin of the name of Williamsburg, which is now attached to one of the districts of Carolina. The elder James, with his family, and several of his neighbors, migrated to that district in 1733, made the first settlement there, and in honor of King William gave his name to a village laid out on the east bank of Black River. The village is now called King's Tree, from a white or short-leaved pine, which in old royal grants was reserved for the use of the king; and the name of Williamsburg has been transferred to the district. To it Major James, when an infant, was brought by his parents. His first recollections were those of a stockade fort, and of war between the new settlers and the natives. The former were often reduced to great straits in procuring the necessaries of life and in defending themselves against the Indians. In this then frontier settlement, Major James, Mr. James Bradley, and other compatriots of the revolution, were trained up to defend and love their country. Their opportunities for acquiring liberal educations were slender, but for obtaining religious instruction were very ample. They were brought up under the eye and pastoral care of the Rev. John Rae, a Presbyterian minister who accompanied his congregation in their migration from Ireland to Carolina. When the revolution commenced, in 1775, Major James had acquired a considerable portion both of reputation and property. He was a captain of militia under George the third. Disapproving of the measures of the British government, he resigned his royal commission, but was soon after reinstated by a popular vote. In the year 1776, he marched with his company to the defence of Charleston. In the year 1779, he was with Gen. Moultrie on his retreat before Gen. Prevost, and commanded 120 riflemen in the skirmish at Tulifinny. When

Charleston was besieged, in 1780, Major James marched to its defence, but Gov. John Rutledge ordered him back to embody the country militia. The town having fallen, he was employed by his countrymen to wait on the conquerors, and to inquire of them what terms they would give. On finding that nothing short of an unconditional submission and a resumption of the characters and duties of British subjects, would be accepted, he abruptly broke off all negotiation; and, rejoining his friends, formed the stamina of the distinguished corps known in the latter periods of the revolutionary war by the name of Marion's Brigade. In the course of this cruel and desultory warfare, Major James was reduced from easy circumstances to poverty. All his moveable property was carried off, and every house on his plantation burnt; but he bore up under these misfortunes, and devoted, not only all his possessions, but life itself for the good of his country. After Greene, as commander-in-chief, had superseded Marion, Major James continued to serve under the former, and fought with him at the battle of Eutaw. The corps with which he served consisted mostly of riflemen, and were each served with 24 rounds of cartridges. Many of them expended the whole, and most of them 20 of these in firing on the enemy. As they were in the habit of taking aim, their shot seldom failed of doing execution. Shortly after this action, Major James and General Marion were both elected members of the state legislature. Before the General had rejoined his brigade, it was unexpectedly attacked, and after retreating was pursued by a party of the British commanded by Col. Thompson, now Count Rumford. In this retreat, Major James being mounted, was nearly overtaken by two British dragoons, but kept them from cutting him down by a judicious use of his pistols, and escaped by leaping a chasm in a bridge of twenty feet width. The dragoons did not follow. The Major being out of their reach, rallied his men, brought them back to the charge, and stopped the progress of the enemy. When the war was nearly over, he resigned his commission, and like another Cincinnatus, returned to his farm and devoted the remainder of his days to the improvement of his property and the education of his children. In the year

1791 he died, with the composure and fortitude of a Christian hero." *

HENRY KNOX,

Major-General in the American Army.

FOR the biography of this distinguished soldier of the revolution, and also for that of Gen. Lincoln, which follows, we are indebted to the highly interesting work of James Thacher, M. D. entitled, "Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War," from which we have extracted them.

"Among those of our countrymen, who most zealously engaged in the cause of liberty, few sustained a rank more deservedly conspicuous than General Knox. He was one of those heroes, of whom it may be truly said, that he lived for his country.

Born in Boston, July, 1750, his childhood and youth were employed in obtaining the best education, that the justly celebrated schools of his native town afforded. In very early life he opened a book-store, for the enlargement of which he soon formed an extensive correspondence in Europe—but little time elapsed before, at the call of his country, he relinquished this lucrative and increasing business. Indebted to no adventitious aid, his character was formed by himself; the native and vigorous principles of his own mind made him what he was. Distinguished among his associates, from the first dawn of manhood, for a decided predilection to martial exercises, he was, at the age of eighteen, selected by the young men of Boston as one of the officers of a company of grenadiers—a company so distinguished for its martial appearance, and the precision of its evolutions, that it received the most flattering encomiums from a British officer of high distinction.

This early scene of his military labors, served but as a school for that distinguished talent which afterward shone with lustre,

* Ramsay's South Carolina.

in the most brilliant campaigns of an eight years war; through the whole of which he directed the artillery with consummate skill and bravery.

His heart was deeply engaged in the cause of freedom; he felt it to be a righteous cause, and to its accomplishment yielded every other consideration. When Britain declared hostilities, he hesitated not a moment what course he should pursue. No sordid calculation of interest retarded his decision. The quiet of domestic life, the fair prospect of increasing wealth, and even the endearing claims of family and friends, though urged with the most persuasive eloquence, had no power to divert the determined purpose of his mind.

In the early stages of British hostility, though not in commission, he was not an inactive spectator. At the battle of Bunker-Hill, as a volunteer, he was constantly exposed to danger, in reconnoitering the movements of the enemy, and his ardent mind was engaged with others in preparing those measures that were ultimately to dislodge the British troops, from their boasted possession of the capital of New-England.

Scarcely had we began to feel the aggressions of the British arms, before it was perceived, that without artillery, of which we were then destitute, the most important objects of the war could not be accomplished. No resource presented itself, but the desperate expedient of procuring it from the Canadian frontier. To attempt this, in the agitated state of the country, through a wide extent of wilderness, was an enterprise so replete with toil and danger, that it was hardly expected any one would be found hardy enough to encounter its perils. Knox, however, saw the importance of the object—he saw his country bleeding at every pore, without the power of repelling her invaders—he saw the flourishing capital of the North in the possession of an exulting enemy, that we were destitute of the means essential to their annoyance, and formed the daring and generous resolution of supplying the army with ordnance, however formidable the obstacles that might oppose him. Young, robust, and vigorous, supported by an undaunted spirit, and a

mind ever fruitful in resources, he commenced his mighty undertaking, almost unattended, in the winter of 1775, relying solely for the execution of his object, on such aid as he might procure from the thinly scattered inhabitants of the dreary region through which he had to pass. Every obstacle of season, roads and climate were surmounted by determined perseverance;—and a few weeks, scarcely sufficient for a journey so remote, saw him return laden with ordnance and the stores of war—drawn in defiance of every obstacle over the frozen lakes and mountains of the north. Most acceptable was this offering to our defenceless troops, and most welcome to the commander-in-chief, who well knew how to appreciate a service so important. This expedition stamped the character of him who performed it for deeds of enterprise and daring. He received the most flattering testimony of approbation from the commander-in-chief and from Congress, and was in consequence of this important service appointed to the command of the artillery, of which he had thus laid the foundation,—in which command he continued with increasing reputation through the revolutionary war.

Among the incidents that occurred during the expedition to Canada, was his accidental meeting with the unfortunate Andre, whose subsequent fate was so deeply deplored by every man of feeling in both nations. His deportment as a soldier and gentleman so far interested General Knox in his favor, that he often afterward expressed the most sincere regret, that he was called by duty, to act on the tribunal that pronounced his condemnation.

During the continuance of the war, the corps of artillery was principally employed with the main body of the army, and near the person of the commander-in-chief, and was relied on as an essential auxiliary in the most important battles.

Trenton and Princeton witnessed his enterprise and valor. At that critical period of our affairs, when hope had almost yielded to despair, and the great soul of Washington, trembled for his country's freedom, Knox was one of those that strengthened his hand, and encouraged his heart. At that awful mo-

ment, when the tempest raged with its greatest fury, he with Greene and other heroes, stood as pillars of the temple of liberty, till the fury of the storm was past.

The letters of General Knox, still extant, written in the darkest periods of the revolution, breathed a spirit of devotedness to the cause in which he had embarked, and a firm reliance on the favor of divine Providence; from a perusal of these letters it is evident, that he never yielded to despondency, but in the most critical moments of the war, confidently anticipated its triumphant issue.

In the bloody fields of Germantown and Monmouth, without derogating from the merits of others, it may be said, that during the whole of these hard fought battles, no officer was more distinguished for the discharge of the arduous duties of his command;—in the front of the battle, he was seen animating his soldiers and pointing the thunder of their cannon. His skill and bravery were so conspicuous on the latter occasion, that he received the particular approbation of the commander-in-chief, in general orders issued by him the day succeeding that of the battle, in which he says, that “the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge, that no artillery could be better served than ours.” But his great exertions on that occasion, together with the extreme heat of the day, produced the most alarming consequences to his health. To these more important scenes, his services were not confined; with a zeal devoted to our cause he was ever at the post of danger—and the immortal hero, who stands first on the list of heroes and of men, has often expressed his sense of these services. In every field of battle, where Washington fought, Knox was by his side. The confidence of the commander-in-chief inspired by early services, was thus matured by succeeding events. There can be no higher testimony to his merits, than that during a war of so long continuance, passed almost constantly in the presence of Washington, he uniformly retained his confidence and esteem, which at their separation had ripened into friendship and affection. The parting interview between General Knox and his illustrious and beloved chief, after the evacuation of New-York by the British,

and Knox had taken possession of it at the head of a detachment of our army, was inexpressibly affecting. The hour of their separation having arrived, Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him in silence, and in tears. His letters to the last moment of his life, contain the most flattering expressions of his unabated friendship. Honorable to himself as had been the career of his military services, new laurels were reserved for him at the siege of Yorktown. To the successful result of this memorable siege, the last brilliant act of our revolutionary contest, no officer contributed more essentially than the commander of the artillery. His animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms, and he was immediately created major-general by congress, at the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the whole army.

The capture of Lord Cornwallis closed the contest, and with it his military life. Having contributed so essentially to the successful termination of the war, he was selected as one of the commissioners to adjust the terms of peace, which service he performed in conjunction with his colleagues, much to the satisfaction of his country. He was deputed to receive the surrender of the city of New-York, and soon after appointed to the command of West Point. It was here that he was employed in the delicate and arduous duty of disbanding the army, and inducing a soldiery, disposed to turbulence by their privations and sufferings, to retire to domestic life, and resume the peaceful character of citizens.

It is a fact most honorable to his character, that by his countenance and support, he rendered the most essential aid to Washington, in suppressing that spirit of usurpation which had been industriously fomented by a few unprincipled and aspiring men, whose aim was the subjugation of the country to a military government. No hope of political elevation—no flattering assurances of aggrandizement could tempt him to build his greatness on the ruin of his country.

The great objects of the war being accomplished, and peace restored to our country, General Knox was early under the confederation, appointed secretary of war by congress, in which office he was confirmed by President Washington, after the establishment of the Federal Government. The duties of this office were ultimately increased, by having those of the navy attached to them—to the establishment of which his counsel and exertion eminently contributed. He differed in opinion from some other members of the cabinet on this most interesting subject.* One of the greatest men whom our country has produced, has uniformly declared, that he considered America much indebted to his efforts for the creation of a power which has already so essentially advanced her respectability and fame.

Having filled the office of the War Department for eleven years, he obtained the reluctant consent of President Washington to retire, that he might give his attention to the claims of a numerous and increasing family. This retirement was in concurrence with the wishes of Mrs. Knox, who had accompanied him through the trying vicissitudes of war, shared with him its toils and perils, and who was now desirous of enjoying the less busy scenes of domestic life. A portion of the large estates of her ancestor, General Waldo, had descended to her, which he by subsequent purchase increased till it comprised the whole Waldo Patent, an extent of thirty miles square, and embracing a considerable part of that section of Maine, which now constitutes the counties of Lincoln, Hancock, and Penobscot. To these estates he retired from all concern in public life, honored as a soldier and beloved as a man, devoting much of his time to their settlement and improvement. He was induced repeatedly to take a share in the government of the state, both in the house of representatives and in the council, in the discharge of those several duties, he employed his wisdom and experience with the greatest assiduity.

In 1798, when the French insults and injuries towards this country called for resistance, he was one of those selected to

* President Adams.

command our armies, and to protect our liberty and honor, from the expected hostilities of the French Directory: happily for our country their services were not required.

Retired from the theatre of active life, he still felt a deep interest in the prosperity of his country. To that portion of it, which he had chosen for his residence, his exertions were more immediately directed. His views like his soul, were bold and magnificent, his ardent mind could not wait the ordinary course of time and events; it outstripped the progress of natural improvement. Had he possessed a cold, calculating mind, he might have left behind him the most ample wealth; but he would not have been more highly valued by his country, or more beloved by his friends. He died at Montpellier, his seat in Thomaston, 25th of October, 1806, from sudden internal inflammation, at the age of 56, from the full vigor of health.

The great qualities of Gen. Knox were not merely those of the hero and the statesman; with these were combined those of the elegant scholar and the accomplished gentleman. There have been those as brave and as learned, but rarely a union of such valor, with so much urbanity—a mind so great, yet so free from ostentation.

Philanthropy filled his heart; in his benevolence there was no reserve—it was as diffusive as the globe, and extensive as the family of man. His feelings were strong, and exquisitely tender. In the domestic circle they shone with peculiar lustre—here, the husband, the father, and the friend, beamed in every smile—and if at any time a cloud overshadowed his own spirit, he strove to prevent its influence from extending to those that were dear to him. He was frank, generous, and sincere, and in his intercourse with the world, uniformly just. His house was the seat of elegant hospitality, and his estimate of wealth, was its power of diffusing happiness. To the testimony of private friendship, may be added that of less partial strangers, who have borne witness, both to his public and private virtues. Lord Moira, who is now perhaps the greatest general that England can boast of, has in a late publication spoken in high terms of his military talents. Nor should the opinion of the Marquis

Chattleleux be omitted. "As for Gen. Knox," he says, "to praise him for his military talents alone, would be to deprive him of half the eulogium he merits; a man of understanding, well informed, gay, sincere, and honest—it is impossible to know without esteeming him, or to see without loving him. Thus have the English, without intention, added to the ornaments of the human species, by awakening talents where they least wished or expected." Judge Marshall also, in his life of Washington, thus speaks of him: "throughout the contest of the revolution, this officer had continued at the head of the American artillery, and from being Colonel of a regiment had been promoted to the rank of major-general. In this important station he had preserved a high military character, and on the resignation of General Lincoln, had been appointed secretary of war. To his great services, and to unquestionable integrity, he was admitted to unite a sound understanding; and the public judgment as well as that of the chief magistrate, pronounced him in all respects competent to the station he filled. The president was highly gratified in believing that his public duty comported with his private inclination, in nominating General Knox to the office which had been conferred on him under the former government."

BENJAMIN LINCOLN,

Major-General in the American Army.

"GENERAL LINCOLN deserves a high rank in the fraternity of American heroes. He was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, January 23d, O. S. 1733. His early education was not auspicious to his future eminence, and his vocation was that of a farmer, till he was more than forty years of age, though he was commissioned as a magistrate, and elected a representative in the state legislature. In the year 1775, he sustained the office of lieutenant-colonel of militia. In 1776, he was appointed by the council of Massachusetts, a brigadier, and soon after a major-general, and he applied himself assiduously to training, and

preparing the militia for actual service in the field, in which he displayed the military talents which he possessed. In October, he marched with a body of militia and joined the main army at New-York. The commander-in-chief, from a knowledge of his character and merit, recommended him to congress as an excellent officer, and in February, 1777, he was by that honorable body, created a major-general on the continental establishment. For several months he commanded a division, or detachments in the main army, under Washington, and was in situations which required the exercise of the utmost vigilance and caution, as well as firmness and courage. Having the command of about five hundred men in an exposed situation near Bound Brook, through the neglect of his patrols, a large body of the enemy approached within two hundred yards of his quarters undiscovered; the general had scarcely time to mount and leave the house before it was surrounded. He led off his troops, however, in the face of the enemy, and made good his retreat, though with the loss of about sixty men killed and wounded. One of his aids, with the General's baggage and papers fell into the hands of the enemy, as did also three small pieces of artillery. In July, 1777, General Washington selected him to join the northern army under the command of Gen. Gates, to oppose the advance of Gen. Burgoyne. He took his station at Manchester, in Vermont, to receive and form the New-England militia as they arrived, and to order their march to the rear of the British army. He detached Col. Brown with five hundred men, on the 13th of September, to the landing at Lake George, where he succeeded in surprising the enemy, and took possession of two hundred batteaux, liberated one hundred American prisoners, and captured two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy, with the loss of only three killed and five wounded. This enterprise was of the highest importance, and contributed essentially to the glorious event which followed. Having detached two other parties to the enemy's posts at Mount Independence and Skenesborough, Gen. Lincoln united his remaining force with the army under Gen. Gates, and was the second in command. During the sanguinary conflict on the 7th of October,

Gen. Lincoln commanded within our lines, and at one o'clock the next morning, he marched with his division to relieve the troops that had been engaged, and to occupy the battle ground, the enemy having retreated. While on this duty he had occasion to ride forward some distance, to reconnoitre, and to order some disposition of his own troops, when a party of the enemy made an unexpected movement, and he approached within musket shot before he was aware of his mistake. A whole volley of musketry was instantly discharged at him and his aids, and he received a wound by which the bones of his leg were badly fractured, and he was obliged to be carried off the field. The wound was a formidable one, and the loss of his limb was for some time apprehended. He was for several months confined at Albany, and it became necessary to remove a considerable portion of the main bone before he was conveyed to his house at Hingham, and under this painful surgical operation, the writer of this being present, witnessed in him a degree of firmness and patience not to be exceeded. "I have known him," says Colonel Rice, who was a member of his military family, "during the most painful operation by the surgeon, while by-standers were frequently obliged to leave the room, entertain us with some pleasant anecdote, or story, and draw forth a smile from his friends." His wound continued several years in an ulcerated state, and by the loss of the bone, the limb was shortened, which occasioned lameness during the remainder of his life.

Gen. Lincoln certainly afforded very important assistance in the capture of Burgoyne, though it was his unfortunate lot, while in active duty, to be disabled before he could participate in the capitulation. Though his recovery was not complete, he repaired to head quarters in the following August, and was joyfully received by the commander-in-chief, who well knew how to appreciate his merit. It was from a development of his estimable character as a man, and his talents as a military commander, that he was designated by congress for the arduous duties of the chief command in the southern department, under innumerable embarrassments. On his arrival at Charleston, December, 1778, he found that he had to form an army, provide

supplies, and to arrange the various departments, that he might be able to cope with an enemy consisting of experienced officers and veteran troops. This, it is obvious, required a man of superior powers, indefatigable perseverance, and unconquerable energy. Had not these been his inherent qualities, Lincoln must have yielded to the formidable obstacles which opposed his progress. About the 28th of December, General Prevost arrived with a fleet, and about three thousand British troops, and took possession of Savannah, after routing a small party of Americans, under General Robert Howe. Gen. Lincoln immediately put his troops in motion, and took post on the eastern side of the river, about twenty miles from the city; but he was not in force to commence offensive operations, till the last of February. In April, with the view of covering the upper part of Georgia, he marched to Augusta, after which Prevost, the British commander, crossed the river into Carolina, and marched for Charleston. Gen. Lincoln, therefore, recrossed the Savannah, and followed his route, and on his arrival near the city, the enemy had retired from before it during the previous night. A detachment of the enemy, supposed to be about six hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, being posted at Stone Ferry, where they had erected works for their defence, General Lincoln resolved to attack them, which he did on the 19th of June. The contest lasted one hour and twenty minutes, in which he lost one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, and the enemy suffered about an equal loss. Their works were found to be much stronger than had been represented, and our artillery proving too light to annoy them, and the enemy receiving a reinforcement, our troops were obliged to retire.

The next event of importance which occurred with our General, was the bold assault on Savannah, in conjunction with the Count D'Estaing. General Prevost had again possessed himself of that city, and Count D'Estaing arrived with his fleet and armament in the beginning of September, 1779. Having landed nearly three thousand French troops, Gen. Lincoln immediately united about one thousand men to his force. The prospect of success was highly flattering, but the enemy exerted

all their efforts in strengthening their lines, and after the count had summoned the garrison, and while Prevost was about to arrange articles of capitulation, he received a reinforcement. It was now resolved to attempt the place by a regular siege, but various causes occasioned a delay of several days, and when it commenced, the cannonade and bombardment failed of producing the desired effect, and the short time allowed the count on our coast, was quite insufficient for reducing the garrison by regular approaches. The commanders concluded therefore, to make an effort on the works by assault. On the 9th of October, in the morning, the troops were led on by D'Estaing and Lincoln united, while a column led by Count Dillon missed their route in the darkness, and failed of the intended co-operation. Amidst a most appalling fire of the covered enemy, the allied troops forced the abattis, and planted two standards on the parapets. But being overpowered at the point of attack, they were compelled to retire; the French having seven hundred, the Americans two hundred and forty killed and wounded. The Count Pulaski, at the head of a body of our horse, was mortally wounded.

General Lincoln next repaired to Charleston, and endeavored to put that city in a posture of defence, urgently requesting of congress a reinforcement of regular troops, and additional supplies, which were but partially complied with. In February, 1780, General Sir Henry Clinton arrived, and landed a formidable force in the vicinity, and on the 30th of March encamped in front of the American lines at Charleston. Considering the vast superiority of the enemy, both in sea and land forces, it might be questioned whether prudence and correct judgment, would dictate an attempt to defend the city; it will not be supposed however, that the determination was formed without the most mature deliberation, and for reasons perfectly justifiable. It is well known that the general was in continual expectation of an augmentation of strength by reinforcements. On the 10th of April, the enemy having made some advances, summoned the garrison to an unconditional surrender, which was promptly refused. A heavy and incessant cannonade was sustained on each

side, till the 11th of May, when the besiegers had completed their third parallel line, and having made a second demand of surrender, a capitulation was agreed on.

It is to be lamented that, with all the judicious and vigorous efforts in his power, General Lincoln was requited only by the frowns of fortune, whereas had he been successful in his bold enterprise and views, he would have been crowned with unfading laurels. But notwithstanding a series of disappointments and unfortunate occurrences, he was censured by no one, nor was his judgment or merit called in question. He retained his popularity, and the confidence of the army, and was considered as a most zealous patriot, and the bravest of soldiers.

In the campaign of 1781, General Lincoln commanded a division under Washington, and at the siege of Yorktown he had his full share of the honor of that brilliant and auspicious event. The articles of capitulation stipulated for the same honor in favor of the surrendering army, as had been granted to the garrison of Charleston. General Lincoln was appointed to conduct them to the field where their arms were deposited, and received the customary submission. In the general order of the commander-in-chief the day after the capitulation, General Lincoln was among the general officers whose services were particularly mentioned. In October, 1781, he was chosen by congress secretary of war, retaining his rank in the army. In this office he continued till October, 1783, when his proffered resignation was accepted by congress.

Having relinquished the duties and cares of a public employment, he retired and devoted his attention to his farm; but in 1784, he was chosen one of the commissioners and agents on the part of the state to make and execute a treaty with the Penobscot Indians. When in the year 1786—7, the authority of our state government was in a manner prostrated, and the country alarmed by a most audacious spirit of insurrection, under the guidance of Shays and Day, General Lincoln was appointed by the governor and council, to command a detachment of militia, consisting of four or five thousand men, to oppose their progress, and compel them to a submission to the laws. He

marched from Boston on the 20th of January, into the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where the insurgents had erected their standard. They were embodied in considerable force, and manifested a determined resistance, and a slight skirmish ensued between them and a party of militia under Gen. Shepherd. Lincoln, however, conducted with such address and energy, that the insurgents were routed from one town to another, till they were completely dispersed in all directions; and by his wise and prudent measures the insurrection was happily suppressed without bloodshed, excepting a few individuals who were slain under Gen. Shepherd's command.

He was a member of the convention for ratifying the federal constitution, and in the summer of 1789, he received from President Washington the appointment of collector of the port of Boston, which office he sustained till being admonished by the increasing infirmities of age, he requested permission to resign.

Having after his resignation of the office of collector passed about two years in retirement, and in tranquility of mind, but experiencing the feebleness of age, he received a short attack of disease by which his honorable life was terminated on the 9th of May, 1810, aged 77 years.

The following tribute is on the records of the society of Cincinnati. "At the annual meeting in July, 1810, Major-General John Brooks was chosen president of the society, to supply the place of our venerable and much lamented president, General Benjamin Lincoln, who had presided over the society from the organization thereof in 1783, to the 9th of May, 1810, the day of his decease, with the entire approbation of every member, and the grateful tribute of his surviving comrades, for his happy guidance and affectionate attentions during so long a period."

While at Puryburg, on the Savannah River, a soldier named Fickling, having been detected in frequent attempts to desert, was tried and sentenced to be hanged. The general ordered the execution. The rope broke; a second was procured which broke also; the case was reported to the general for directions. "Let him run," said the general, "I thought he looked like a scape-gallows."

Major Garden, in his *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, relates this story with some addition. It happened that, as Fickling was led to execution, the surgeon-general of the army passed accidentally, on his way to his quarters, which were at some distance. When the second rope was procured, the adjutant of the regiment, a stout and heavy man, assayed by every means to break it, but without effect. Fickling was then haltered and again turned off, when, to the astonishment of the bystanders, the rope untwisted, and he fell a second time uninjured to the ground. A cry for mercy was now general throughout the ranks, which occasioned Major Ladson, aid-de-camp to General Lincoln, to gallop to head-quarters, to make a representation of facts which were no sooner stated, than an immediate pardon was granted, accompanied with an order that he should instantaneously be drummed, with every mark of infamy, out of camp, and threatened with instant death, if he ever should be found attempting to approach it. In the interim, the surgeon-general had established himself at his quarters, in a distant barn, little doubting but that the catastrophe was at an end, and Fickling quietly resting in his grave. Midnight was at hand, and he was busily engaged in writing, when hearing the approach of a footstep, he raised his eyes, and saw with astonishment the figure of the man, who had in his opinion been executed, slowly and with haggard countenance, approaching towards him. "How! how is this?" exclaimed the doctor, "whence come you? what do you want with me? were you not hanged this morning?" "Yes sir," replied the resuscitated man, "I am the wretch you saw going to the gallows, and who was hanged." "Keep your distance," said the doctor, "approach me not, till you say why you come here." "Simply sir," said the supposed spectre, "to solicit food. I am no ghost, doctor. The rope broke twice, while the executioner was doing his office, and the general thought proper to pardon me." "If that be the case," rejoined the doctor, "eat and be welcome; but I beg of you in future, to have a little more consideration, and not intrude so unceremoniously into the apartment of one, who had every right to suppose you an inhabitant of the tomb."*

*Thacher's *Military Journal*."

JOHN LAURENS,

Colonel in the American Army,

"Son of Henry Laurens, was born in Charleston, in 1755. In youth he discovered that energy of character which distinguished him through life. When a lad, though laboring under a fever, on the cry of fire, he leaped from his bed, hastened to the scene of danger, and was in a few minutes on the top of the exposed houses, risking his life to arrest the progress of the flames. This is the more worthy of notice, for precisely in the same way, and under a similar, but higher impulse of ardent patriotism, he lost his life in the year 1782.

At the age of sixteen, he was taken to Europe by his father, and there put under the best means of instruction in Geneva, and afterward in London.

He was entered a student of law at the temple in 1774, and was daily improving in legal knowledge till the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies arrested his attention. He soon found that the claims of the mother country struck at the root of liberty in the colonies, and that she perseveringly resolved to enforce these claims at every hazard. Fain would he have come out to join his countrymen in arms at the commencement of the contest; but the peremptory order of his father enjoined his continuance in England, to prosecute his studies and finish his education. As a dutiful son he obeyed these orders; but as a patriot burning with desire to defend his country, he dismissed Coke, Littleton, and all the tribe of jurists, and substituted in their place, Vauban, Folard, and other writers on war. He also availed himself of the excellent opportunities which London affords of acquiring practical knowledge of the manual exercise, of tactics, and the mechanism of war. Thus instructed, as soon as he was a freeman of legal age, he quitted England for France, and by a circuitous voyage in neutral vessels, and at a considerable risk made his way good, in the year 1777, to Charleston.

Independence had been declared—the American army was raised, officered, and in the field. He who, by his attainments in general science, and particularly in the military art, deserved high rank, had no ordinary door left open to serve his country, but by entering in the lowest grade of an army abounding with officers. Gen. Washington, ever attentive to merit, instantly took him into his family as a supernumerary aid-de-camp. Shortly after this appointment, he had an opportunity of indulging his military ardor. He fought and was wounded in the battle of Germantown, October 4th, 1777. He continued in Gen. Washington's family in the middle states till the British had retreated from Philadelphia to New-York, and was engaged in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

After this, the war being transferred more northwardly, he was indulged in attaching himself to the army on Rhode-Island, where the most active operations were expected soon to take place. There he was intrusted with the command of some light troops. The bravery and good conduct which he displayed on this occasion was honored by congress.

On the 5th of November, 1778, they resolved, "that John Laurens, Esq. aid-de-camp to Gen. Washington, be presented with a continental commission of lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which congress entertain of his patriotic and spirited services as a volunteer in the American army; and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode-Island, on the 29th of August last; and that General Washington be directed, whenever an opportunity shall offer, to give lieutenant-colonel Laurens command agreeable to his rank." On the next day, a letter from Lieut. Col. Laurens was read in congress, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honor which congress were pleased to confer on him by the resolution passed the day before; and the high satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the commander-in-chief—that having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tran-

quility of it too dear to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore entreated congress to suppress the resolve of yesterday, ordering him a commission of lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honor." In this relinquishment there was a victory gained by patriotism over self-love. Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens loved military fame and rank; but he loved his country more, and sacrificed the former to preserve the peace and promote the interests of the latter.

In the next year the British directed their military operations chiefly against the most southern states. Lieut. Col. John Laurens was induced by double motives to repair to Carolina. The post of danger was always the object of his preference. His native state was become the theatre of war. To its aid he repaired, and in May, 1779, with a party of light troops, had a skirmish with the British at Tulifinny. In endeavoring to obstruct their progress towards Charleston, he received a wound. This was no sooner cured than he rejoined the army, and was engaged in the unsuccessful attack on Savannah, on the 9th of October of the same year. To prepare for the defence of Charleston, the reduction of which was known to be contemplated by the British, was the next object of attention among the Americans. To this Colonel Laurens devoted all the energies of his active mind.

In the progress of the siege, which commenced in 1780, the success of defensive operations became doubtful. Councils of war were frequent—several of the citizens were known to wish for a surrender as a termination of their toils and dangers. In these councils and on proper occasions, Colonel Laurens advocated the abandonment of the front lines, and to retire to new ones, to be erected within the old ones, and to risk an assault. When these spirited measures were opposed on the suggestion that the inhabitants preferred a capitulation, he declared that he would direct his sword to the heart of the first citizen who would urge a capitulation against the opinion of the commander-in-chief.

When his superior officers, convinced of the inefficacy of further resistance, were disposed to surrender on terms of

capitulation, he yielded to the necessity of the case, and became a prisoner of war. This reverse of fortune opened a new door for serving his country in a higher line than he ever yet had done. He was soon exchanged, and reinstated in a capacity for acting. In expediting his exchange, congress had the ulterior view of sending him as a special minister to Paris, that he might urge the necessity of a vigorous co-operation on the part of France with the United States against Great Britain. When this was proposed to Colonel Laurens, he recommended and urged that Col. Alexander Hamilton should be employed in preference to himself. Congress adhered to their first choice.

Colonel Laurens sailed for France in the latter end of 1780: and there in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, and Count De Vergennes, and Marquis de Castries, arranged the plan of the campaign for 1781; which eventuated in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and finally in a termination of the war. Within six months from the day Col. Laurens left America, he returned to it, and brought with him the concerted plan of combined operations. Ardent to rejoin the army, he was indulged with making a verbal report of his negotiations to congress; and in three days set out to resume his place as one of the aids of Washington. The American and French army, about this time commenced the siege of Yorktown. In the course of it, Col. Laurens, as second in command, with his fellow-aid, Col. Hamilton, assisted in storming and taking an advanced British redoubt, which expedited the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. The articles of capitulation were arranged by Col. Laurens on behalf of the Americans.

Charleston and a part of South Carolina still remained in the power of the British. Colonel Laurens thought nothing done while any thing remained undone. He therefore, on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, repaired to South Carolina, and joined the southern army commanded by General Greene. In the course of the summer of 1782 he caught a common fever, and was sick in bed when an expedition was undertaken against a party of British, which had gone to Combakee to carry off rice. Col. Laurens rose from his sick bed and joined his

countrymen. While leading an advanced party, he received a shot which, on the 27th of August, 1782, at the close of the war, put an end to his valuable life in the 27th year of his age. His many virtues have been ever since the subject of eulogy, and his early fall, of national lamentation. The fourth of July seldom passes without a tribute to his memory.”*

CHARLES LEE,

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. LEE was an original genius possessing the most brilliant talents, great military powers, and extensive intelligence and knowledge of the world. He was born in Wales, his family springing from the same parent stock with the Earl of Leicester.

He may be properly called a child of Mars, for he was an officer when but eleven years old. His favorite study was the science of war, and his warmest wish was to become distinguished in it: but though possessed of a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of general knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages.

In 1756, he came to America, captain of a company of grenadiers, and was present at the defeat of General Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga, where he received a severe wound. In 1762, he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he greatly distinguished himself, and received the strongest recommendations, for his gallantry; but his early attachment to the American colonies, evinced in his writings against the oppressive acts of parliament, lost him the favor of the ministry. Despairing of promotion, and despising a life of inactivity, he left his native soil and entered into the service of his Polish majesty, as one of his aids, with the rank of major-general.

*Ramsay's History of South Carolina.

His rambling disposition led him to travel all over Europe, during the years of 1771, 1772, and part of 1773, and his warmth of temper drew him into several rencounters, among which was an affair of honor with an officer in Italy. The contest was begun with swords, when the General lost two of his fingers. Recourse was then had to pistols. His adversary was slain, and he was obliged to flee from the country, in order that he might avoid the unpleasant circumstances which might result from this unhappy circumstance.

Gen. Lee appeared to be influenced by an innate principle of republicanism; an attachment to these principles was implanted in the constitution of his mind, and he espoused the cause of America as a champion of her emancipation from oppression.

Glowing with these sentiments, he embarked for this country, and arrived at New-York on the 10th of November, 1773. On his arrival, he became daily more enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, and travelled rapidly through the colonies, animating, both by conversation and his eloquent pen, to a determined and persevering resistance to British tyranny.

His enthusiasm in favor of the rights of the colonies was such, that, after the battle of Lexington, he accepted a major-general's commission in the American army; though his ambition had pointed out to him the post of commander-in-chief, as the object of his wishes. Previous to this, however, he resigned his commission in the British service, and relinquished his half-pay. This he did in a letter to the British Secretary at War, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the oppressive measures of Parliament, declaring them to be absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the whole empire at large, and ultimately, so ruinous to his majesty's own person, dignity, and family, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, as a citizen, Englishman, and soldier of a free state, to exert his utmost to defeat them."

Immediately upon receiving his appointment, he accompanied General Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived July 2d, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect.

As soon as it was discovered at Cambridge that the British General Clinton had left Boston, General Lee was ordered to set forward, to observe his manœuvres, and prepare to meet him in any part of the continent he might visit. No man was better qualified, at this early state of the war, to penetrate the designs of the enemy, than Lee. Nursed in the camp, and well versed in European tactics, the soldiers believed him, of all other officers, the best able to face in the field an experienced British veteran, and lead them on to victory.

New-York was supposed to be the object of the enemy, and hither he hastened with all possible expedition. Immediately, on his arrival, Lee took the most active and prompt measures to put it in a state of defence. He disarmed all suspected persons within the reach of his command, and proceeded with such rigor against the tories, as to give alarm at his assumption of military powers. From the tories he exacted a strong oath, and his bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared.

“Not long after he was appointed to the command of the southern department, and in his travels through the country, he received every testimony of high respect from the people. General Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Peter Parker, with a powerful fleet and army, attempted the reduction of Charleston, while he was in the command. The fleet anchored within half musket-shot of the fort on Sullivan’s Island; where Col. Moultrie, one of the bravest and most intrepid of men, commanded. A tremendous engagement ensued on the 28th of June, 1776, which lasted twelve hours without intermission. The whole British force was completely repulsed, after suffering an irreparable loss.

Gen. Lee and Col. Moultrie received the thanks of congress for their signal bravery and gallantry.

Our hero had now reached the pinnacle of his military glory; the eclat of his name alone appeared to enchant and animate the most desponding heart. But here we pause to contemplate the humiliating reverse of human events. He returned to the main army in October; and in marching at the head of a large detachment through the Jerseys, having, from a desire of retaining a separate command, delayed his march several days, in disobedi-

ence of express orders from the commander-in-chief, he was guilty of most culpable negligence in regard to his personal security. He took up his quarters two or three miles from the main body, and lay for the night, December 13th, 1776, in a careless, exposed situation. Information of this being communicated to Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the British light-horse, he proceeded immediately to the house, fired into it, and obliged the general to surrender himself a prisoner. They mounted him on a horse in haste, without his cloak or hat, and conveyed him in triumph to New-York.”*

Lee was treated, while a prisoner, with great severity by the enemy, who affected to consider him as a state prisoner and deserter from the service of his Britanic majesty, and denied the privileges of an American officer. Gen. Washington promptly retaliated the treatment received by Lee upon the British officers in his possession. This state of things existed until the capture of Burgoyne, when a complete change of treatment was observed towards Lee; and he was shortly afterward exchanged.

The first military act of General Lee, after his exchange, closed his career in the American army. Previous to the battle of Monmouth, his character in general was respectable. From the beginning of the contest, his unremitted zeal in the cause of America excited and directed the military spirit of the whole continent; and his conversation inculcated the principles of liberty among all ranks of the people.

His important services excited the warm gratitude of many of the friends of America. Hence it is said that a strong party was formed in congress, and by some discontented officers in the army, to raise Lee to the first command: and it has been suggested by many, that General Lee's conduct at the battle of Monmouth was intended to effect this plan: for could the odium of the defeat have been at this time thrown on General Washington, there is great reason to suppose that he would have been deprived of his command.

*Thacher's Military Journal.

It is now to be seen how General Lee terminated his military career. In the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, 1778, he commanded the van of the American troops, with orders from the commander-in-chief to attack the retreating enemy. Instead of obeying this order he conducted in an unworthy manner, and greatly disconcerted the arrangements of the day. Washington, advancing to the field of battle, met him in his disorderly retreat, and accosted him with strong expressions of disapprobation. Lee, incapable of brooking even an implied indignity, and unable to restrain the warmth of his resentment, used improper language in return, and some irritation was excited on both sides. The following letters immediately after passed between Lee and the commander-in-chief.

Camp, English Town, 1st July, 1778.

SIR—From the knowledge that I have of your Excellency's character, I must conclude that nothing but the misinformation of some very stupid, or misrepresentation of some very wicked person, could have occasioned your making use of such very singular expressions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken post: they implied that I was guilty either of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. Your Excellency will, therefore, infinitely oblige me, by letting me know on which of these three articles you ground your charge, that I may prepare for my justification; which I have the happiness to be confident I can do, to the army, to congress, to America, and to the world in general. Your Excellency must give me leave to observe, that neither yourself, nor those about your person, could, from your situation, be in the least judges of the merits or demerits of our manœuvres; and, to speak with becoming pride, I can assert that to these manœuvres the success of the day was entirely owing. I can boldly say, that had we remained on the first ground—or had we advanced—or had the retreat been conducted in a manner different from what it was, this whole army, and the interest of America, would have risked being sacrificed. I ever had, and, I hope, ever shall have, the greatest respect and veneration for

General Washington; I think him endowed with many great and good qualities: but in this instance I must pronounce, that he has been guilty of an act of cruel injustice towards a man, who had certainly some pretensions to the regard of every servant of his country; and I think, sir, I have a right to demand some reparation for the injury committed; and unless I can obtain it, I must in justice to myself, when the campaign is closed, which I believe will close the war, retire from a service, at the head of which is placed a man capable of offering such injuries; but at the same time, in justice to you, I must repeat that I, from my soul, believe that it was not a motion of your own breast, but instigated by some of those dirty earwigs, who will forever insinuate themselves near persons in high office; for I am really assured that, when General Washington acts from himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain of injustice and indecorum.

I am, sir, and I hope ever shall have reason to continue,

Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

His Exc'y Gen. WASHINGTON.

Head-Quarters, English Town, 28th June, 1778.

SIR—I received your letter dated through mistake the 1st of July, expressed, as I conceive, in terms highly improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any singular expressions at the time of my meeting you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said was dictated by duty, and warranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity, either of justifying yourself to the army, to Congress, to America, and to the world in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders, and of misbehaviour before the enemy on the 28th instant, in not attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

I am, sir,

your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

A court martial, of which Lord Stirling was president, was ordered for his trial, and after a masterly defence by General Lee, found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from any command in the army for the term of twelve months. This sentence was shortly afterward confirmed by Congress.

When promulgated, it was like a mortal wound to the lofty, aspiring spirit of General Lee; pointing to his dog he exclaimed —“ Oh that I was that animal, that I might not call man my brother.” He became outrageous, and from that moment he was more open and virulent in his attack on the character of the commander-in-chief, and did not cease in his unwearied endeavors both in conversation and writings to lessen his reputation in the army, and the public. He was an active abettor of Gen. Conway, in his calumny and abuse of Gen. Washington, and they were believed to be in concert in their vile attempts to supersede his Excellency in the supreme command. With the hope of effecting his nefarious purpose, he published a pamphlet replete with scurrilous imputations unfavorable to the military talents of the commander-in-chief, but this, with his other malignant allegations, was consigned to contempt.

At length Col. Laurens, one of General Washington's aids, unable longer to suffer this gross abuse of his illustrious friend, demanded of Lee that satisfaction which custom has sanctioned as honorable. A rencounter accordingly ensued, and Lee received a wound in his side.

Lee now finding himself abandoned by his friends, degraded in the eye of the public, and despised by the wise and virtuous, retired to his sequestered plantation in Virginia. In this spot, secluded from all society, he lived in a sort of hovel without glass windows or plastering, or even a decent article of house furniture, here he amused himself with his books and dogs. On January 10th, 1780, congress resolved that major-general Lee be informed that they have no further occasion for his services in the army of the United States. In the autumn of 1782, wearied with his forlorn situation, and broken spirit, he resorted to Philadelphia, and took lodgings in an ordinary tavern. He was soon seized

with a disease of the lungs, and after a few days' confinement, he terminated his mortal course, a martyr to chagrin and disappointment, October 2d, 1782. The last words which he was heard to utter, were, "stand by me, my brave grenadiers."

Gen. Lee was rather above the middle size, "plain in his person, even to ugliness, and careless in his manners even to a degree of rudeness; his nose was so remarkably aquiline, that it appeared as a real deformity. His voice was rough, his garb ordinary, his deportment morose. He was ambitious of fame, without the dignity to support it. In private life he sunk into the vulgarity of the clown." His remarkable partiality for dogs was such, that a number of these animals constantly followed in his train, and the ladies complained that he allowed his *canine adherents* to follow him into the parlor, and not unfrequently a favorite one might be seen on a chair next his elbow at table.

In the year 1776, when our army lay at White Plains, Lee resided near the road which Gen. Washington frequently passed, and he one day with his aids caled and took dinner: after they had departed, Lee said to his aids, "you must look me out other quarters, or I shall have Washington and his puppies calling till they eat me up." The next day he ordered his servant to write with chalk on the door, "no victuals cooked here to-day." The company, seeing the hint on the door, passed by with a smile at the oddity of the man. "The character of this person," says one who knew him well, "is full of absurdities and qualities of a most extraordinary nature."*

While in Philadelphia, shortly before his death, the following ludicrous circumstance took place, which created no small diversion.

The late Judge Brackenridge, whose poignancy of satire, and excentricity of character, was nearly a match for that of the General, had dipped his pen in some gall, which greatly irritated Lee's feeling, insomuch that he challenged him to single combat, which Brackenridge declined in a very eccentric reply. Lee, having furnished himself with a horsewhip, deter-

* Thacher's Journal.

mined to chastise him ignominiously on the very first opportunity. Observing Brackenridge going down Market-street, a few days after, he gave him chase, and Brackenridge took refuge in a public house, and barricaded the door of the room he entered. A number of persons collected to see the result. Lee damned him, and invited him to come out and fight him like a man. Brackenridge replied that he did not like to be shot at, and made some other curious observations, which only increased Lee's irritation, and the mirth of the spectators. Lee, with the most bitter imprecation, ordered him to come out, when he said he would horsewhip him. Brackenridge replied, that he had no occasion for a discipline of that kind. The amusing scene lasted some time, until at length, Lee, finding that he could accomplish no other object than calling forth Brackenridge's wit for the amusement of the by-standers, retired.

Gen. Lee was master of a most genteel address, but was rude in his manners, and excessively negligent in his appearance and behaviour. His appetite was so whimsical, that he was every where a most troublesome guest. Two or three dogs usually followed him wherever he went. As an officer he was brave and able, and did much towards disciplining the American army. With vigorous powers of mind, and a brilliant fancy he was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and he both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force and beauty. His temper was severe; the history of his life is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels and duels, in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious and profane. His principles, as would be expected from his character, were most abandoned, and he ridiculed every tenet of religion. Two virtues he possessed to an eminent degree, sincerity and veracity. It was notorious that General Lee was a man of unbounded personal ambition, and, conscious of his European education, and pre-eminent military talents and prowess, he affected a superiority over General Washington, and constantly aimed at the supreme command, little scrupulous as to the means employed to accomplish his own advancement.

The following is an extract from Gen. Lee's will:

"I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or church yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist Meeting House, for since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue it while dead."

HENRY LEE,

Colonel in the American Army.

COLONEL LEE was by birth a Virginian, and descended from the most distinguished branch of the Lees of that state. He possessed the lofty genius of his family, united to invincible courage and firmness, and all the noble enthusiasm of the warrior. Gen. Charles Lee, who was, beyond question, a competent judge of military talent, averred, "that Henry Lee came a soldier from his mother's womb." Gen. Greene pronounced him *The Eye* of the southern army, and to his councils gave the most implicit, constant, and unbounded confidence. In the hour of difficulty, was danger to be averted, was prompt exertion necessary to prevent revolt, crush insurrection, cut off supplies, harass the enemy, or pursue him to destruction, to no one did he so often turn as to Lee.

But his ardor, brilliancy, and daring resolution, constituted but a part of his military worth. In him the fierce impetuosity of youth was finely blendid with the higher and more temperate qualities of age. If he had, in his temperament, something of the electrical fire of Achilles, it was ennobled by the polished dignity of Hector, and repressed and moderated by the wisdom of Nestor.

For vigilance, intelligence, decision of character, skill in arms, a spirit of enterprise, and powers of combination, he had but few equals, youthful as he was, in the armies of his country.

As an officer of horse, and a partizan commander, perhaps he had no superior upon earth.

That he was justly entitled to this encomium, appears, as well from the extensive catalogue of his exploits, as from the high

confidence always reposed in him by the commanding officer under whom he served. This is true, no less in relation to Washington than Greene. He was the intimate friend and confidant of both. The sentiments of the latter, with regard to him, are forcibly expressed in the following extract of a letter, dated February 18th, 1782.

“Lieutenant-colonel Lee retires, for a time, for the recovery of his health. I am more indebted to this officer than to any other, for the advantages gained over the enemy, in the operations of the last campaign; and I should be wanting in gratitude, not to acknowledgè the importance of his services, a detail of which is his best panegyric.” *

FRANCIS MARION,

Colonel in the American Army.

FRANCIS MARION, colonel in the regular service, and brigadier general in the militia of South Carolina, was born in the vicinity of Georgetown, in the year 1733.

To portray the meteor-like course of hardihood and exploit, traced by Gen. Marion and his heroic followers would constitute a picture, rich in admiration and delight to the lovers of bravery and romantic adventure. Never was an officer better suited to the times in which he lived, and the situation in which it was his fortune to act: For stratagems, unlooked-for enterprises against the enemy, and devices for concealing his own position and movements, he had no rival. Never, in a single instance, was he overtaken in his course, or discovered in his hiding place. Even some of his own party, anxious for his safety and well acquainted with many of the places of his retreat, have sought for him whole days in his immediate neighborhood without finding him. Suddenly and unexpectedly, in some distant point he would again appear, pouncing upon his enemy like the eagle

* Life of Greene,

upon his prey. These high and rare qualities conducted him repeatedly into the arms of victory, when the force he encountered was tenfold the number of that he commanded.

Young Marion, at the age of sixteen, entered on board a vessel bound to the West Indies, with a determination to fit himself for a seafaring life. On his outward passage, the vessel was upset in a gale of wind, when the crew took to their boat without water or provisions, it being impracticable to save any of either. A dog jumped into the boat with the crew, and upon his flesh, eaten raw, did the survivors of these unfortunate men subsist for seven or eight days; in which period several died of hunger.

Among the few who escaped was young Marion. After reaching land, Marion relinquished his original plan of life, and engaged in the labors of agriculture. In this occupation he continued until 1759, when he became a soldier, and was appointed a lieutenant in a company of volunteers, raised for an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, commanded by captain William Moultrie, (since General Moultrie.)

As soon as the war broke out between the colonies and the mother country, Marion was called to the command of a company in the first corps raised by the state of South Carolina. He was soon afterward promoted to a majority, and served in that rank under Colonel Moultrie, in his intrepid defence of Fort Moultrie, against the combined attack of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, on the 2d of June, 1776. He was afterwards placed at the head of a regiment, as lieutenant-colonel commandant, in which capacity he served during the siege of Charleston; when, having fractured his leg by some accident, he became incapable of military duty, and fortunately for his country, escaped the captivity to which the garrison was, in the sequel, forced to submit.

When Charleston fell into the enemy's hands, lieutenant-colonel Marion abandoned his state, and took shelter in North Carolina. The moment he recovered from the fracture of his leg, he engaged in preparing the means of annoying the enemy, then in the flood tide of prosperity. With sixteen men only, he

crossed the Santee, and commenced that daring system of warfare which so much annoyed the British army.

Colonel Peter Horry, in his life of General Marion, gives the following interesting incident: "About this time we received a flag from the enemy in Georgetown, South Carolina, the object of which was to make some arrangements about the exchange of prisoners. The flag, after the usual ceremony of blindfolding, was conducted into Marion's encampment. Having heard *great talk* about Gen Marion, his fancy had naturally enough sketched out for him some stout figure of a warrior, such as O'Hara, or Cornwallis himself, of martial aspect and flaming regimentals. But what was his surprise, when led into Marion's presence, and the bandage taken from his eyes, he beheld in our hero a swarthy, smoke dried little man, with scarcely enough of thread-bare homespun to cover his nakedness! and instead of tall ranks of gay-dressed soldiers, a handful of sun-burnt, yellow-legged militia-men; some roasting potatoes, and some asleep, with their black fire-locks and powder-horns lying by them on the logs. Having recovered a little from his surprise, he presented his letter to Gen. Marion, who perused it and soon settled every thing to his satisfaction.

The officer took up his hat to retire.

"Oh no!" said Marion, "it is now about our time of dining; and I hope sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company to dinner."

At the mention of the word *dinner*, the British officer looked around him, but to his great mortification, could see no sign of a pot, pan, Dutch-oven, or any other cooking utensil that could raise the spirits of a hungry man.

"Well, Tom," said the General to one of his men, "come, give us our dinner."

The dinner to which he alluded, was no other than a heap of sweet potatoes, that were very snugly roasting under the embers, and which Tom, with his pine stick poker, soon liberated from their ashy confinement; pinching them every now and then with his fingers, especially the big ones, to see whether they were well done or no!. Then, having cleansed them of the

ashes, partly by blowing them with his breath, and partly, by brushing them with the sleeve of his old cotton shirt, he piled some of the best on a large piece of bark, and placed them between the British officer and Marion, on the trunk of the fallen pine on which they sat.

"I fear, sir," said the General, "our dinner will not prove so palatable as I could wish; but it is the best we have."

The officer, who was a well-bred man, took up one of the potatoes, and affected to feed, as if he had found a great dainty; but it was very plain that he ate more from good manners than good appetite.

Presently he broke out into a hearty laugh. Marion looked surprised. "I beg pardon, General," said he, "but one cannot, you know, always command one's conceits. I was thinking how drolly some of my brother officers would look, if our government were to give them such a bill of fare as this."

"I suppose," replied Marion, "it is not equal to their style of dining."

"No, indeed," quoth the officer, "and this, I imagine, is one of your accidental *Lent* dinners: a sort of *ban-yun*. In general, no doubt, you live a great deal better."

"Rather worse," answered the general, "for often we don't get enough of this."

"Heavens!" rejoined the officer, "but probably what you lose in *meal* you make up in *malt*, though stinted in *provisions*, you draw noble *pay*."

"*Not a cent, sir*," said Marion, "*not a cent*."

"Heavens and earth! then you must be in a bad box. I don't see, General, how you can stand it."

"Why, sir," replied Marion, with a smile of self-approbation, "these things depend on feeling."

The Englishman said, "he did not believe it would be an easy matter to reconcile *his feelings* to a soldier's life on Gen. Marion's terms: *all fighting, no pay, and no provisions but potatoes*."

"Why, sir," answered the General, "the *heart is all*; and when that is once interested, a man can do any thing. Many a

youth would think it hard to indent himself a slave for fourteen years. But let him be over head and ears in love, and with such a beauteous sweetheart as Rachael, and he will think no more of fourteen years' servitude than young Jacob did. Well, now, this is exactly my case. I am in love; and my sweetheart is LIBERTY. Be that heavenly nymph my companion, and these woods shall have charms beyond London and Paris in slavery. To have no proud monarch driving over me with his gilt coaches; nor his host of excisemen and tax-gatherers insulting and robbing; but to be my own master, my own prince and sovereign; gloriously preserving my natural dignity, and pursuing my true happiness, planting my vineyards, and eating their luscious fruit; sowing my fields, and reaping the golden grain; and seeing millions of brothers all around me, equally free and happy as myself:—this, sir, is what I long for.”

The officer replied that both as a man and a Briton, he must subscribe to this as a happy state of things.

“*Happy,*” quoth Marion, “yes happy indeed: and I would rather fight for such blessings for my country, and feed on roots, than keep aloof, though wallowing in all the luxuries of Solomon. For now, sir, I walk the soil that gave me birth, and exult in the thought that I am not unworthy of it. I look upon these venerable trees around me, and feel that I do not dishonor them. I think of my own sacred rights, and rejoice that I have not basely deserted them. And when I look forward to the long, long ages of posterity, I glory in the thought that I am fighting their battles. The children of distant generations may never hear my name; but still it gladdens my heart to think that I am now contending for *their freedom*, with all its countless blessings.”

I looked at Marion as he uttered these sentiments, and fancied I felt as when I heard the last words of the brave De Kalb. The Englishman hung his honest head, and looked I thought, as if he had seen the upbraiding ghosts of his illustrious countrymen, Sidney and Hampden.

On his return to Georgetown, he was asked by Col. Watson why he looked so serious?

"I have cause, sir," said he, "to look so serious."

"What! has Gen. Marion refused to treat?"

"No, sir."

"Well then, has old Washington defeated Sir Henry Clinton, and broke up our army?"

"No, sir, not that neither; but *worse*."

"Ah! what can be worse?"

"Why, sir, I have seen an American general and his officers, *without pay*, and almost *without clothes*, living on *roots*, and drinking *water*; and all for LIBERTY!! What chance have we against such men?"

It is said Col. Watson was not much obliged to him for this speech. But the young officer was so struck with Marion's sentiments, that he never rested until he threw up his commission, and retired from the service.*

"Gen. Marion, whose stature was diminutive, and his person uncommonly light, rode, when in service, one of the fleetest and most powerful chargers the south could produce. When in fair pursuit, nothing could escape him, and when retreating, nothing could overtake him.

Being once nearly surrounded by a party of British dragoons, he was compelled for safety, to pass into a corn-field, by leaping the fence. This field marked with a considerable descent of surface, had been in part a marsh. Marion entered it at the upper side. The dragoons, in chase leapt the fence also, and were but a short distance behind him. So completely was he now in their power, that his only mode of escape was to pass over the fence on the lower side. But here lay a difficulty which to all but himself appeared insurmountable.

To drain the ground of its superfluous waters, a trench had been cut around this part of the field, four feet wide and of the same depth. Of the mud and clay removed in cutting it, a bank had been formed on its inner side, and on the top of this was erected the fence. The elevation of the whole amounted

*American Biographical Dictionary.

to more than seven feet perpendicular height; a ditch four feet in width running parallel with it on the outside, and a foot or more of space intervening between the fence and the ditch.

The dragoons, acquainted with the nature and extent of this obstacle, and considering it impossible for their enemy to pass it, pressed towards him with loud shouts of exultation and insult, and summoned him to surrender or perish by the sword. Regardless of their rudeness and empty clamor, and inflexibly determined not to become their prisoner, Marion spurred his horse to the charge. The noble animal, as if conscious that his master's life was in danger, and that on his exertion depended his safety, approached the barrier in his finest style, and with a bound that was almost supernatural, cleared the fence and the ditch, and recovered himself without injury on the opposite side.

Marion now facing his pursuers, who had halted at the fence unable to pass it, discharged his pistols at them without effect, and then wheeling his horse, and bidding them "good morning," with an air of triumph, dashed into an adjoining thicket, and disappeared in an instant.

General Marion was a native of South Carolina; and the immediate theatre of his exploits, was a large section of the maritime district of that state, around Georgetown. The peculiar hardihood of his constitution, and its being accommodated to a warm climate and a low marshy country, qualified him to endure hardships and submit to exposures, which, in that sickly religion, few other men would have been competent to sustain. He continued his undivided efforts until the close of the war, and lived to see the United States enrolled among the free and independent nations of the earth.

HUGH MERCER,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL MERCER was a Scotchman by birth, but at an early age emigrated to Virginia, where he continued to reside, and became a practising physician.

General Wilkinson relates the following interesting incidents in his life:—

“He served in the campaign of 1755, with Gen. Braddock, and was wounded through the shoulder in the unfortunate action near Fort Du Quesne: unable to retreat, he lay down under cover of a large fallen tree, and in the pursuit, an Indian leaped upon his covert immediately over him, and after looking about a few seconds for the direction of the fugitives, he sprang off without observing the wounded man who lay at his feet. So soon as the Indians had killed the wounded, scalped the dead, rifled the baggage, and cleared the field, the unfortunate Mercer, finding himself exceedingly faint and thirsty, from loss of blood, crawled to an adjacent brook, and after drinking plentifully, found himself so much refreshed, that he was able to walk, and commenced his return by the road the army had advanced; but being without subsistence, and more than a hundred miles from any Christian settlement, he expected to die of famine, when he observed a rattle snake on his path, which he killed and contrived to skin, and throwing it over his sound shoulder, he subsisted on it as the claims of nature urged, until he reached Fort Cumberland, on the Potomac.”

Gen. Mercer at the commencement of the revolution, heartily engaged in the cause of American liberty. He was one of those gallant spirits who adhered to the American cause “in times that tried men’s souls,” and bravely supported the commander-in-chief in his disastrous retreat through the Jerseys.

He was present at the battle of Princeton, where he greatly distinguished himself, and was mortally wounded.

“On the night of the 1st of January, Gen. Mercer, Col. C. Biddle, and Doctor Cochran spent the evening with General St. Clair. Fatigued with the duties of the day, I had lain down in the same apartment, and my attention was attracted by the turn of their conversation, on the recent promotion of Captain William Washington, from a regiment of infantry to a majority of cavalry. General Mercer expressed his disapprobation of the measure; at which the gentlemen appeared surprised, as it was the reward of acknowledged gallantry; and Mercer, in expla-

nation observed: "We are not engaged in a war of ambition: if it had been so, I should never have accepted a commission under a man who had not seen a day's service, (alluding to the great orator, and distinguished patriot, Patrick Henry;) we serve not for ourselves, but for our country, and every man should be content to fill the place in which he can be most useful. I know Washington to be a good captain of infantry, but I know not what sort of a major of horse he may make; and I have seen good captains made indifferent majors; for my own part my views in this contest are confined to a single object, that is, the success of the cause; and God can witness how cheerfully I would lay down my life to secure it."

"In Gen. Mercer we lost a chief, who for education, experience, talents, disposition, integrity and patriotism, was second to no man but the commander-in-chief, and was qualified to fill the highest trusts of the country. The manner in which he was wounded, is an evidence of the excess to which the common soldiery are liable in the heat of action, particularly when irritated by the loss of favorite officers. Being obstructed when advancing by a post and rail fence in front of the orchard, it may be presumed the general dismounted voluntarily, for he was on foot when the troops gave way; in exerting himself to rally them he was thrown into the rear, and perceiving he could not escape, he turned and surrendered, but was instantly knocked down, and bayoneted thirteen times, when feigning to be dead, one of his murderers exclaimed, "Damn him, he is dead, let us leave him." After the retreat of the enemy, he was conveyed to the house of Thomas Clark, to whom he gave this account, and languished until the 12th, when he expired."*

*Wilkinson's Memoirs.

DANIEL MORGAN,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

GENERAL MORGAN was the creator of his own fortune. Born of poor, though honest parents, he enjoyed none of the advantages which result from wealth and early education. But his was a spirit that would not tamely yield to difficulties.

“He was born in New-Jersey, where, from his poverty and low condition, he had been a day-laborer. To early education and breeding therefore, he owed nothing. But for this deficiency, his native sagacity, and sound judgment, and his intercourse with the best society, made much amends in after life.

Enterprising in his disposition, even now he removed to Virginia, in 1755, with a hope and expectation of improving his fortune. Here he continued, at first, his original business of day-labor; but exchanged it, afterward, for the employment of a wagoner.

His military novitiate he served in the campaign under the unfortunate Braddock. The rank he bore is not precisely known. It must, however, have been humble; for, in consequence of imputed contumely towards a British officer, he was brought to the halbert, and received the inhuman punishment of five hundred lashes; or, according to his own statement, of four hundred and ninety-nine; for he always asserted that the drummer charged with the execution of the sentence, miscounted, and jocularly added, “that George the Third was still indebted to him one lash.” To the honor of Morgan, he never practically remembered this savage treatment during the revolutionary war. Towards the British officers, whom the fortune of battle placed within his power, his conduct was humane, mild and gentlemanly.

After his return from this campaign, so inordinately was he addicted to quarrels and boxing matches, that the village of Berrystown, in the county of Frederick, which constituted the chief theatre of his pugilistic exploits, received, from this circumstance, the name of Battletown.

In these combats, although frequently overmatched in personal strength, he manifested the same unyielding spirit which characterised him afterward, in his military career. When worsted by his antagonist, he would pause, for a time, to recruit his strength; and then return to the contest, again and again, until he rarely failed to prove victorious.

Equally marked was his invincibility of spirit in maturer age, when raised, by fortune and his own merit, to a higher and more honorable field of action. Defeat in battle he rarely experienced; but when he did, his retreat was sullen, stern and dangerous.

The commencement of the American revolution, found Mr. Morgan married and cultivating a farm, which, by industry and economy he had been enabled to purchase, in the county of Frederick.

Placed at the head of a rifle company, raised in his neighborhood, in 1752, he marched immediately to the American head-quarters, in Cambridge, near Boston.

By order of the commander-in-chief, he soon afterward joined in the expedition against Quebec; and was made prisoner in the attempt on that fortress, where Arnold was wounded, and Montgomery fell.

During the assault, his daring valor and persevering gallantry attracted the notice and admiration of the enemy.

The assailing column to which he belonged, was led by Maj. Arnold. When that officer was wounded, and carried from the ground, Morgan threw himself into the lead; and, rushing forward, passed the first and second barriers. For a moment, victory appeared certain. But the fall of Montgomery closing the prospect, the assailants were repulsed, and the enterprise abandoned. During his captivity, Capt. Morgan was treated with great kindness, and not a little distinction. He was repeatedly visited in confinement by a British officer of rank, who at length made an attempt on his patriotism and virtue, by offering him the commission and emoluments of colonel in the British army, on condition that he would desert the American and join the royal standard.

Morgan rejected the proposal with scorn; and requested the courtly and corrupt negotiator "never again to insult him in his misfortunes, by an offer which plainly implied that he thought him a villain." The officer withdrew, and did not again recur to the subject.

On being exchanged, Morgan immediately rejoined the American army, and received, by the recommendation of Gen. Washington, the command of a regiment.

In the year 1777, he was placed at the head of a select rifle corps, with which, in various instances, he acted on the enemy with terrible effect. His troops were considered the most dangerous in the American service. To confront them, in the field, was almost certain death to the British officers.

On the occasion of the capture of Burgoyne, the exertions and services of Col. Morgan, and his riflemen, were beyond all praise. Much of the glory of the achievement belonged to them. Yet so gross was the injustice of Gen. Gates, that he did not even mention them in his official despatches. His reason for this was secret and dishonorable. Shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne, Gen. Gates took occasion to hold with Morgan, a private conversation. In the course of this, he told him confidentially, that the main army was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of Gen. Washington; that the reputation of the commander-in-chief was rapidly declining; and that several officers of great worth threatened to resign unless a change were produced in that department.

Colonel Morgan, fathoming in an instant, the views of his commanding officer, sternly, and with honest indignation, replied, "Sir, I have one favor to ask. Never, again, mention to me this hated subject; under no other man but Gen. Washington, as commander-in-chief, will I ever serve."

From that moment ceased the intimacy that had previously subsisted between him and Gen. Gates.

A few days afterward, the General gave a dinner to the principal officers of the British, and some of those of the American army. Morgan was not invited. In the course of the evening, that officer found it necessary to call on Gen. Gates, on official

business. Being introduced into the dining room, he spoke to the General, received his orders, and immediately withdrew, his name unannounced. Perceiving, from his dress, that he was of high rank, the British officers inquired his name. Being told that it was Col. Morgan, commanding the rifle corps, they rose from the table, followed him into the yard, and introduced themselves to him, with many complimentary and flattering expressions, declaring that, on the day of action, they had very severely felt him in the field.

In 1780, having obtained leave of absence from the army, on account of the shattered condition of his health, he retired to his estate, in the county of Frederick; and remained there until the appointment of Gen. Gates to the command of the southern army.

Being waited on by the latter, and requested to accompany him, he reminded him, in expressions marked by resentment, of the unworthy treatment he had formerly experienced from him, in return for the important services, which he did not hesitate to assert, he had rendered him in his operations against the army of General Burgoyne.

Having received no acknowledgment, nor even civility, for aiding to decorate him with laurels in the north, he frankly declared, that there were no considerations, except of a public nature, that could induce him to co-operate in his campaigns to the south. "Motives of public good might influence him; because his country had a claim on him, in any quarter, where he could promote her interest; but personal attachment must not be expected to exist, where he had experienced nothing but neglect and injustice."

The two officers parted, mutually dissatisfied: the one on account of past treatment, the other on the recent interview.

In the course of a few weeks afterward, congress having promoted Col. Morgan to the rank of brigadier-general; by brevet, with a view to avail themselves of his services in the south, he proceeded without delay to join the army of Gen. Gates. But he was prevented from serving any length of time under that officer, by his defeat near Camden, before his arrival; and his

being soon afterward superseded in command by Gen. Greene.* Soon after taking command of the southern army, General Greene despatched Gen. Morgan with four hundred continentals, under Col. Howard, Col. Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to about six hundred, to take position on the left of the British army, then lying at Winnsborough, under Lord Cornwallis, while he took post about seventy miles to the right. This judicious disposition excited his Lordship's apprehensions for the safety of Ninety-six, and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan.

Col. Tarleton, with a strong detachment, amounting in horse and foot to near a thousand men, was immediately despatched by Cornwallis to the protection of Ninety-Six, with orders to bring Gen. Morgan, if possible, to battle. To the ardent temper and chivalrous disposition of the British colonel, this direction was perfectly congenial. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly. But the retreat of the American commander was not long continued. Irritated by pursuit, reinforced by a body of militia, and reposing great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, he halted at the Cowpens, and determined to gratify his adversary, in his eagerness for combat. This was on the night of the sixteenth of January, 1781. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Tarleton being apprised of the situation of Morgan, pressed towards him with a redoubled rapidity, lest, by renewing his retreat, he should again elude him.

But Morgan now had other thoughts than those of flight. Already had he, for several days, been at war with himself in relation to his conduct. Glorifying in action, his spirit recoiled from the humiliation of retreat, and his resentment was roused by the insolence of pursuit. This mental conflict becoming more intolerable to him than disaster or death, his courage triumphed perhaps over his prudence, and he resolved on putting every thing to the hazard of the sword.

* Life of Greene.

By military men, who have studied the subject, his disposition for battle is said to have been masterly. Two light parties of militia were advanced in front, with orders to feel the enemy as they approached; and preserving a desultory, well-aimed fire, as they fell back to the front line, to range with it, and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with Gen. Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line, a second was stationed composed of the continental infantry, and two companies of Virginia militia, commanded by Col. Howard. Washington's cavalry, reinforced with a company of mounted militia, armed with sabres, was held in reserve.

Posting himself, then, in the line of the regulars, he waited in silence the advance of the enemy.

Tarleton coming in sight, hastily formed his disposition for battle, and commenced the assault. Of this conflict, the following picture is from the pen of Gen. Lee:—

“The American light parties quickly yielded, fell back, and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire; but continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia, they retired, and gained, with haste, the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickens took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses, probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate; and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly, as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M'Arthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward, and, outstretching our front, endangered Colonel Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire, and General Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became

relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near, Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by a simultaneous effort, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general."

"In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including ten officers, were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates were taken. The artillery, eight hundred muskets, two standards, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into our possession."

In this battle, so glorious to the American arms, Tarleton had every advantage, in point of ground, cavalry, and numbers, aided by two pieces of artillery.

Soon after this brilliant exploit, frequent attacks of rheumatism compelled Gen. Morgan to retire from the army, and he returned to his seat in Frederick, Virginia, where he continued in retirement, until the insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania, in 1794, when he was detached by the executive of Virginia, at the head of the militia quota of that state, to suppress it. This done, he returned into the bosom of his family, where he remained until death closed his earthly career, in 1799.

"There existed in the character of Gen. Morgan a singular contradiction, which is worthy of notice.

Although in battle, no man was ever more prodigal of the exposure of his person to danger, or manifested a more deliberate disregard of death, yet, so strong was his love of life, at other times, that he has been frequently heard to declare, "he would agree to pass half his time as a galley-slave, rather than quit this world for another."

The following outline of his person and character, is from the pen of a military friend, who knew him intimately.

"Brigadier-General Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious, and considerate, unadorned, and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed, with keen perseverance, whatever he undertook. He was indulgent in his military command, preferring always the affections of his troops, to that dread and awe which surround the disciplinarian."

A considerable time before his death, when the pressure of infirmity began to be heavy, he became seriously concerned about his future welfare. From that period, his chief solace lay in the study of the Scriptures, and in devotional exercises. He died in the belief of the truths of Christianity, and in full communion with the Presbyterian Church."*

THOMAS MIFFLIN,

Major-General in the American Army.

"THOMAS MIFFLIN, a major-general in the American army during the revolutionary war, and governor of Pennsylvania, was born in the year 1744, of parents who were Quakers. His education was intrusted to the care of the Rev. Dr. Smith, with whom he was concerned in habits of cordial intimacy and friend-

* Life of Greene.

ship, for more than forty years. Active and zealous, he engaged early in opposition to the measures of the British parliament. He was a member of the first congress in 1774. He took arms and was among the first officers commissioned on the organization of the continental army, being appointed quartermaster-general in August, 1765. For this offence he was read out of the society of Quakers. In 1777, he was very useful in animating the militia, and enkindling the spirit, which seemed to have been damped. His sanguine disposition and his activity, rendered him insensible to the value of that coolness and caution, which were essential to the preservation of such an army, as was then under the command of Gen. Washington. In 1787, he was a member of the convention, which framed the constitution of the United States, and his name is affixed to that instrument. In October, 1788, he succeeded Franklin as president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, in which station he continued till October, 1790. In September, a constitution for this state was formed by a convention, in which he presided, and he was chosen the first governor. In 1794, during the insurrection in Pennsylvania, he employed, to the advantage of his country, the extraordinary powers of elocution, with which he was endowed. The imperfection of the militia laws was compensated by his eloquence. He made a circuit through the lower counties, and at different places, publicly addressed the militia on the crisis in the affairs of their country, and through his animating exhortations, the state furnished the quota required. He was succeeded in the office of governor by Mr. M'Kean, at the close of the year 1799, and he died at Lancaster, January 20, 1800, in the 57th year of his age. He was an active and zealous patriot, who had devoted much of his life to the public service."*

* American Biographical Dictionary.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY,

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. MONTGOMERY, whose premature death under the walls of Quebec, robbed the American army of one of its brightest ornaments, was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737.

He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought her battles with Wolfe, at Quebec, in 1759, and on the very spot where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her, under the banners of freedom. After his return to England, he quitted his regiment in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment.

He had imbibed a strong attachment to America, and viewing it as the rising seat of science and freedom, resolved upon transferring to her his allegiance. After his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New-York, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American.

Connected with one of the first families in New-York, happy in the highest enjoyment of domestic felicity, he was led by principle to quit the occupations of rural life; and animated with an ardent zeal for the cause of human nature, the liberties of mankind and the glory of America, both his active life, and his heroic death, verified his last expression to his amiable lady—*“ You shall never blush for your Montgomery.”*

At the commencement of the struggle with Great Britain, the command of the continental forces in the northern department was intrusted to him and General Schuyler, in the fall of 1775.

“ While the British army was cooped up in Boston, without the power of much annoyance to the surrounding country, the congress conceived the design of sending a force into Canada, for the purpose of putting a stop to the preparations which it

was known that Gen. Carleton, the governor of that province was making, for aiding his majesty's forces on this side of the Lakes. For this purpose, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with *two regiments* of New-York militia, and a body of New-Englandmen, amounting in the whole to about two thousand men were ordered to move towards Ti'bonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans, since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen. Gen. Schuyler being detained at Albany, Montgomery proceeded alone to *Crown Point*, where he received intelligence that several armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John's, were prepaing to enter the Lake Champlain, for the purpose of impeding the passage of his troops. This determind him, though not more than half of his troops had arrived, to cross over to the *Isle aux Noix*, at the entrance of the Sorel, and thus blockade the vessels which lay in that river. He had scarcely succeeded in this design, before he was joined by Gen. Schuyler; and it was determined, after publishing a declaration to the Canadians, setting forth their friendly intentions toward them, to proceed immediately against the fort of St. John's. With this view, they proceeded with their batteaux for a few miles down the Sorel, and landed on a swampy ground, through which with great difficulty they marched to within two miles of the fort. Here they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, which, after a smart skirmish, they dispersed with a trifling loss, and continued their march; but upon coming within view of the fort, and seeing its strength, Gen. Schuyler, whose force did not amount to a thousand men, thought it prudent to return to the *Isle aux Noix*, without attempting its reduction. The general, being then obliged to return to Albany, to settle a treaty with the Indians, left the command solely to Montgomery; and never was there a general better qualified for the duties which now devolved upon him. It was absolutely necessary, before he could go against Montreal, that the fort of St. John's should be reduced. It was well provided, and strongly garrisoned.

The supply of ammunition with which Gen. Montgomery was provided was much too small to render an immediate siege of

St. John's prudent; and he would probably have been compelled to remain inactive until too late in the season to effect his object, but for the information of some Canadians, that the little fortress of *Chamblee*, which was but feebly garrisoned, contained a good store of that article. He accordingly made himself master of that place, and to his great satisfaction found *one hundred and twenty* barrels of powder, besides a large quantity of other military stores and provisions. The expedition against this fortress was conducted by Majors Brown and Livingston. They found here the standard of the 7th regiment, which was immediately sent to the Congress.

Gen. Montgomery being thus enabled to carry on the siege of St. John's proceeded to erect his works, and to prepare for a general assault. Gen. Carleton in the mean time, hearing of the situation of St. John's prepared to raise a force for its relief. He had posted Col. M'Lean, with a regiment of Scotch emigrants, at the mouth of the Sorel; and having raised about a thousand men at Montreal, he attempted to cross at Longueuil for the purpose of forming a conjunction, and marching for the relief of St. John's. But Col. Ward, who was stationed at Longueuil, with three hundred Green Mountain Boys, and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats, that the general was glad to return to Montreal.

When the news of this repulse reached Montgomery, he sent a flag to Major Preston, who commanded the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender; as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse, and a farther resistance could only lead to an useless waste of lives. Major Preston solicited a few days to consider this proposal, being still impressed with the hope that Gen. Carleton might be able to come to his assistance: but upon his request being refused, he accepted the honorable terms of capitulation, which Gen. Montgomery offered to him, and surrendered his garrison prisoners of war. The British officers spoke highly of the polite regard and attention shown to them by Montgomery, who permitted them to wear their swords, and to take off all their baggage and effects. The fort surrendered on the 3d of November."*

*Allen's Revolution.

On the 12th he took Montreal, the British General Carleton having abandoned the town to its fate, and made his escape down the river, in the night, in a small canoe with muffled oars. Montgomery thus obtained possession of all the naval force of the river, consisting of eleven armed vessels.

“ Many circumstances combined to render the situation of Gen. Montgomery, though a conqueror, extremely unpleasant. The season was far advanced, and the severities of the climate induced many of his men to desert—the time for which many others were enlisted was about to expire; and few were willing to encounter the hardships of a long march through the deep snows of December. Nothing but personal attachment to the noble character of their commander could have kept a single regiment together. After new clothing all his men at Montreal and rendering them in other respects as comfortable as the magazines there would admit of; and having taken the necessary measures to ensure a supply of provisions on the march, the general pushed on through every difficulty, and joined Arnold, who had marched through the wilderness, and arrived before Quebec a short time previous, on the 1st of December. His appearance was a source of great joy to the Colonel's troops, as he had not forgotten to bring with him a store of such supplies as he knew them to want.

Montgomery lost no time after his arrival in preparing for an immediate attack. The whole of his force did not amount to more than the troops of the garrison; but he attempted by assuming an appearance of greater strength to weaken the confidence of the latter, and thereby accomplish his object without bloodshed. For this purpose, on the 5th of December, he addressed a letter to the governor, in which he urged him by every argument calculated to produce an effect upon his humanity or his fears, to spare his garrison the dreadful consequences of a storm by an immediate surrender. Gen. Carleton, however, was too old a soldier to be deceived by appearances—he knew the difficulties under which Montgomery labored, and was convinced that if his garrison could hold out for a few days, the climate would compel the provincials to abandon the siege.

Montgomery's messenger was fired at, and all communication forbidden. In this situation General Montgomery commenced a bombardment from five small mortars, which he kept up for several days, with the hope of throwing the garrison into confusion. But it seemed to produce no effect—a battery of six guns was next opened upon them at the distance of seven hundred yards, with no better success. The garrison remained insensible to any impressions of alarm.

Gen. Montgomery now found himself under circumstances much more delicate and embarrassing, than those which had, sixteen years before, environed the hero Wolfe at the same spot. Several feet of snow covered the ground—his troops had undergone every hardship, that it was possible to suffer, and it seemed now almost impossible for human nature to endure more. He had arrived before Quebec a conqueror, his fame had reached his countrymen and his commander at Cambridge, and they would expect a continuance of success. He remembered moreover his parting words to the beloved partner of his bosom: “you shall never blush for your Montgomery,” he had said, when he gave her the last embrace. While these feelings and recollections were alternately elevating and depressing his noble spirit, he made a desperate resolution to attempt the enemy's works by escalade. And such was the skill with which his plan had been formed, that no doubt can remain, that he would ultimately have succeeded, had not his whole scheme been communicated to the garrison by some scoundrels who deserted him at this critical moment.

Montgomery soon perceived that the garrison were prepared; and it became necessary to change his whole plan of operations. Having disposed his army into four divisions, two of which he intended should make feigned attacks, while Arnold and himself should be engaged in two real attacks upon two opposite sides, before daylight on the 31st of December, in a thick fall of snow, Montgomery advanced at the head of the New-Yorkers. Here again his fate resembled Wolfe's, for before he could reach the place from whence he intended to commence the attack, the signal had been given through mistake, and the whole garrison were

alarmed. It was too late now to make another change in the plan of attack, and Montgomery pushed on—he was compelled to advance through a narrow path between a precipice and overhanging rocks—he had seized and passed the first barrier, and was boldly advancing toward the second, with a few of his bravest companions, when a discharge of grape shot from the cannon that were placed there, stopped the progress of this brave and excellent officer, and destroyed the hopes of the enterprise. Upon the fall of the general, the officer upon whom the command of his party devolved, retired without making any attempt to pursue the advantages already gained. Some of his bravest officers had shared the glorious destiny of Montgomery, or Quebec must have fallen to the united efforts of this party and that under Arnold.”*

In accordance with the concerted plan, “Arnold advanced with the utmost intrepidity against the battery in the other quarter of the city. The alarm was immediately given, and the fire on his flank commenced, which, however, did not prove very destructive. As he approached the barrier he received a musket-ball in his leg, which shattered the bone, and was carried off the field to the hospital. Morgan rushed forward to the battery, at the head of his company, and received from one of the pieces, almost at its mouth, a discharge of grape shot, which killed only one man. A few rifles were immediately fired into the embrasures, by which a British soldier was wounded in the head, and the barricade being instantly mounted, with the aid of ladders, brought by his men on their shoulders, the battery was deserted without discharging the other gun. The captain of the guard, with the greater number of his men, fell into the hands of the Americans, and the others made their escape.

Morgan formed the troops, consisting of his own company, and a few bold individuals who had pressed forward from other parts of the division, in the streets within the barrier, and took into custody several English and Canadian burghers; but his situation soon became extremely critical. He was not followed by the main body of the division; he had no guide, and was

* Allen's Revolution.

himself, totally ignorant of the situation of the town. It was yet dark; and he had not the slightest knowledge of the course to be pursued, or of the defences to be encountered. Thus circumstanced, it was thought inadvisable to advance further.

As the glow, produced by immense exertion, gave way to the cold, which was so intense that they were covered with icicles, and as the ardor, excited by action, subsided, when they were no longer engaged, even this daring party became less animated. Whilst waiting in total ignorance of the fate of the residue of the division, the darkness of the night, the fury of the storm, the scattering fire still kept up by the enemy, principally in their rear, the paucity of their numbers, and the uncertainty concerning their future operations, visibly affected them. It was, after some deliberation, determined to maintain their ground, while Morgan should return to the barrier they had passed, for the purpose of bringing up the troops who were supposed to be still on the other side of it.

They were soon joined by lieutenant-colonel Greene, and Majors Bigelow and Meiggs, with several fragments of companies, so as to constitute, altogether, about two hundred men.

As the light of day began to appear, this small but gallant party was again formed, with Morgan's company in front; and with one voice they loudly called on him to lead them against the second barrier, which was now known to be less than forty paces from them, though concealed by an angle of the street from their immediate view. Seizing the few ladders brought with them, they again rushed on to the charge, and on turning the angle, were hailed by captain, or lieutenant Anderson, who was just issuing with a body of troops through the gate of the barricade for the purpose of attacking the Americans, whom he had expected to find dispersed, and probably plundering the town. Morgan, who was in the front, answered his challenge by a ball through his head, and as he fell, he was drawn within the barricade, and the gate closed upon the assailants, who received at the same instant a tremendous fire from the windows overlooking the barrier, and from the port-holes through it. Ladders were immediately placed against the barricade, and for some

time a fierce contest was maintained, which, on the part of the assailants, was also a bloody one. A few of the bolder, among the front files, ascended the ladders under this deadly fire; and saw on the other side of the barricade, double ranks of soldiers, who, with their muskets planted on the ground, presented hedges of bayonets to receive them if they should attempt to leap to the earth. Exposed thus, in a narrow street, to a most galling fire, many of the assailants threw themselves into the stone-houses on each side, which afforded them a shelter both from the storm, and from the enemy; and through the windows of which they kept up an irregular and not very effective fire. One circumstance which greatly contributed to the irresolution now displaying itself, was that scarcely more than one in ten of their fire-arms could be used. Notwithstanding the precaution of tying handkerchiefs around the locks, the violence of the storm had totally unfitted them for service. Morgan soon found himself at the barrier with only a few officers and a small number of soldiers. Yet he could not prevail on himself to relinquish the enterprise. With a voice louder than the tempest, he called on those who were sheltered in the houses, to come forth and scale the barrier; but he called in vain; neither exhortations nor reproaches could draw them in sufficient numbers to the point of attack. Being at length compelled to relinquish all hope of success, he ordered the few brave men who still adhered to him, to save themselves in the houses, while he, accompanied only by Lieut. Heth, returned towards the first barrier, in order to concert with the field officers some plan for drawing off the troops. He soon met Majers Bigelow and Meiggs, to whom he proposed an immediate retreat by the same route along which they had marched to the attack. This proposition was assented to, and Lieut. Heth was despatched to draw the troops from their present situation.”*

“In Montgomery, the Americans lost one of the bravest and most accomplished generals that ever led an army to the field. But he was not more illustrious for his skill and courage as an officer than he was estimable for his private virtues. He pos-

* Marshall's Washington.

sessed a mind adorned with every accomplishment, and a person in which every manly grace shone with conspicuous lustre. His was

“A combination and a form indeed,
Where every God did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.”

Gen. Montgomery had borne the commission of a Colonel in the war of 1759, and was fighting by the side of Wolfe, when that Spartan hero fell. His bravery and his worth were then acknowledged by the British army, and they were proud to regard him as a friend and brother; but notwithstanding the many professions of attachment and esteem for his character, his body would have been thrown with the heap of slain, unconfined and unmarked, into the same indiscriminate pit, but for the lieutenant-governor; who, urged by the solicitations of the lady whom he afterward married, reluctantly procured a coffin of the roughest sort, and thus apart from the rest, buried his former friend and companion in arms.—From this spot, after mouldering in the grave for more than forty-two years, the bones of this gallant soldier were removed by his fellow-citizens of New-York, and deposited in a tomb more worthy of him.

The resemblance in the character, conduct, and destiny of Wolfe and Montgomery, is too striking to be passed over without a remark. Montgomery had been in some measure the pupil of Wolfe; under his guidance he had learnt the first rudiments of war; and in his career of glory, he saw an example worthy of imitation. We have seen the difficulties under which Wolfe had to struggle, and we have seen the noble daring which led him, perhaps against the suggestions of prudence, to attempt to surmount them. He lived, as he expressed himself, but to fight Montcalm on equal ground—this accomplished, he had consummated the only object of his existence, and died “*content*.” Wolfe was fighting for his king, under the orders of his ministry, and here lies the striking difference in the lives and fortunes of these heroes. Montgomery entered on the expedition with the name of rebel. He ventured his fame, his character, his life, in the service of revolted colonies—but it was no

secure to these colonies the enjoyment of liberty under the rights of the constitution. For this he sacrificed the tender endearments of conjugal felicity, and at the head of an undisciplined body of men, placed himself in opposition to a veteran general. The skill which he displayed was equal to the fortitude which such an enterprise demanded. He had not only to contend against a formidable enemy, but against the severities of a climate to which none of his men were accustomed. His having in one night constructed a battery of *ice*, will at once shew his military skill and industry, and the intense coldness of the climate. With a discontented, starving and mutinous army, he pushed boldly forward in search of that victory which had cheered the parting moments of Wolfe. But destiny had marked a different course for him; death arrested his steps too soon. He was cut off in the onset, and none was left to follow the plan which he had marked out—his last sigh was embittered by anticipated defeat.

Victory brings its own lustre; and when she entwines her garlands around the head of an insensate corpse, they seem from that single circumstance to display a lovelier verdure; death gives a more touching interest, a deeper pathos to the fate of the hero; the million will admire, and posterity will always applaud. But how does the tragedy deepen when the hero expires on the field of battle, surrounded not by the beams of victory, but by the darkness of defeat. He sees nothing to cheer his parting moments—nothing in anticipation but public obloquy, and that reproach which seems inseparable from want of success. This reproach and this obloquy did pursue the shade of Montgomery: his heroism was stigmatised with the character of rashness—of insanity. But let it be remembered, that nothing but the difference of a few hours in the term of his life prevented that victory which consecrated the same rashness in Wolfe, and impressed upon it the character of glory.

The turn of a die decides the fate of an army; and the same thing is desperation in one, or the highest effort of military skill in another, according as defeat or success shall attend the enterprise. Posterity, that looks at the records of history unbiassed,

will observe no difference in the merits of Wolfe and Montgomery. They were both heroes—both entitled to the chaplet of immortal fame.”*

To express the high sense entertained by his country of his services, congress directed a monument of white marble to be erected, with the following inscription; which was placed in front of St. Paul's Church, New-York:

THIS MONUMENT
was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
to transmit to posterity a grateful
remembrance of the
PATRIOTISM, CONDUCT, ENTERPRISE AND PERSEVERANCE
of major-general
RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
who, after a series of
successes amidst the most
discouraging difficulties fell,
in the attack on
QUEBEC,
31st December, 1775,
aged 39 years.

The remains of Gen. Montgomery, after resting 42 years at Quebec, by the resolve of the state of New-York, were brought to the city of New-York, on the 8th of July, 1818, and deposited with ample form, and grateful ceremonies, near the aforesaid monument in St. Paul's church.

WILLIAM MOULTRIE,

Major-General in the American Army.

This gentleman was a citizen of South Carolina, and was a soldier from an early period of his life. At the commencement of the revolution, he was among the foremost to assert the liberties of his country; and braved every danger to redress her wrongs.

* American Revolution.

The scene of his brilliant operations was in South Carolina, and his gallant defence of Sullivan's Island, crowned him with immortality.

"General Lee styled the post at Sullivan's Island, a slaughter pen, denounced its defence, and pronouncing disgrace on the measure should it be persisted in, earnestly requested the president to order it to be evacuated."

Happily for the nation, its destinies were at that period guided by that inflexible patriot, John Rutledge, who confidently relying on Moultrie and his intrepid band, heroically replied to Lee, "that while a soldier remained alive to defend it, he would never give his sanction to such an order." The result proved the accuracy of his judgment. The following laconic note was at the same time forwarded to colonel Moultrie. "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I will sooner cut off my hand than write one."*

The defence of the pass at Sullivan's Island may be compared with many of the splendid achievements which Grecian eloquence has rendered illustrious. Impressed with prejudices as strong as Xerxes ever cherished against Greece, the commanders of the British forces approached our coast, not to conciliate, but to subdue. Exulting in the supposed superiority of their discipline and valor, they spoke in the language of authority, and would listen to no terms short of unconditional submission.

On the other hand, the gallant Moultrie, commanding a corps, formidable only by their boldness and resolution, impatiently awaited their approach. He was not insensible of the insufficiency of a work hastily constructed, and in every part incomplete; but considering himself pledged to give a proof to the enemy of American valor, he scorned the disgrace of relinquishing the fort he had sworn to defend, and notwithstanding the advice of the veteran Lee, heroically prepared for action.

Immediately on the approach of the British fleet to the coast, with the evident intention of attacking Charleston, a fort had been constructed on the west end of Sullivan's Island, mounting thirty-two guns, 32's and 18's. Into this fort, Moultrie and his gallant band threw themselves.

* Garden's Anecdotes.

“Two fifty gun ships of the enemy, four frigates, several sloops of war, and bomb-vessels, were brought to the attack, which was commenced about eleven o'clock, from one of the bomb-vessels. This was soon followed by the guns of all the ships. Four of the vessels dropped anchor within a short distance of the fort and opened their several broadsides. Three others were ordered to take their stations between the end of the island and the city, intending thereby to enfilade the works as well as to cut off the communication with the continent. But in attempting to execute this order, they became entangled with each other on the shoals, and one of the frigates, the *Acton*, stuck fast.

The roar of artillery upon this little fort was incessant, and enough to appal even those who had been accustomed all their lives to the dreadful work of a cannonade. But *Moultrie*, with his brave Carolinians, seemed to regard it only as a symphony to the grand march of independence. They returned the fire with an aim as true and deliberate as though each British ship had been placed as a target for prize shooting, and continued it for several hours until their ammunition was expended. The cessation which this necessarily occasioned, produced a momentary joy in the assailants, who in imagination already grasped the victory which had been so hotly disputed—but the renewal of the blaze from the batteries soon convinced them that the struggle was not yet ended. Another gleam of hope brightened upon the British seamen, when, after a dreadful volley, the flag of *Moultrie* was no longer seen to wave defiance. They looked eagerly and anxiously towards the spot where Clinton, Cornwallis, and Vaughan had landed with the troops, expecting every moment to see them mount the parapets in triumph. But no British troops appeared, and in a few moments afterward, the striped flag of the colonies once more proudly unfolded to the breeze—the staff had been carried away by a shot, and the flag had fallen on the outside of the works; a brave sergeant of the Carolina troops, by the name of *Jasper*, jumped over the wall, siezed the flag, and fastened it to a sponge staff, mounted the merlon amidst the thunder of the enemy's guns, and fixed it in a conspicuous place.

The ships of the enemy kept up their fire with unsubdued courage, until half past nine o'clock, when the darkness of the night put a stop to the carnage on both sides; and the ships, with the exception of the *Acteon* soon after slipped their cables, and dropped down about two miles from the scene of action. The terrible slaughter on board the ships bore melancholy testimony to the bravery of the British seamen. At one time Captain Morris, of the *Bristol*, was almost the only man left upon the quarter-deck. He had received several wounds, but gallantly refused to quit the deck, until no longer able to stand, or give an order. This ship had 111 killed and wounded. The *Experiment* lost 99 killed and wounded, and among the latter her commander, Captain Scott. The *Acteon* had a lieutenant killed and six men wounded, and the *Solebay* eight wounded. The whole killed and wounded 225. Sir Peter Parker, and Lord William Campbell, who served as a volunteer, were both wounded. The Americans lost only ten killed, and twenty-two wounded.

It is impossible to give too much praise to Col. Moultrie and his brave Carolinians, who for more than ten hours sustained the continued fire of upwards of one hundred guns and bombs; from which in the course of that time were thrown more than ten thousand shot and shells, seven thousand of which were picked up on the next day.

On the next day a few shot were fired from the garrison at the *Acteon*, which remained aground, and the crew returned them, but finding it impossible to get her off, they soon set fire to, and abandoned her, leaving the colors flying, the guns loaded, and all their ammunition and stores. In this perilous situation she was boarded by a small party of Americans, who fired three of the guns at their late owners, while the flames were bursting around them, filled their boats with the stores, secured the flag, and had just time to save themselves, when she was blown into the air.

The fort which had been so gallantly defended by Moultrie, afterward received his name.*

* Allen's American Revolution.

"In 1779, he gained a victory over the British, in the battle near Beaufort. In 1780, he was second in command, in Charleston, during the siege. After the city surrendered, he was sent to Philadelphia. In 1782, he returned, and was repeatedly chosen governor of the state of South Carolina.

Notwithstanding his labors, his victories, and public services, however zealous, however glorious, however serviceable, the enemy had the audacity to make choice of him as a fit object to be gained over to them by bribery. His talents, his experience, and enterprize, would be an invaluable acquisition to the enemy, if it could be employed on the continent; and, if it could not be so employed, then the depriving the Americans of him would be of importance nearly as great; it was, in the eyes of a selfish, greedy enemy, highly probable that a man who had suffered so much in his private property, would listen to a proposal which would enable him to go to Jamaica as colonel of a British regiment, the commander of which, Lord Charles Montague, politely offered, as a proof of his sincerity, to quit the command, and serve under him. "No," replied the indignant Moultrie, "not the fee-simple of that valuable island of Jamaica should induce me to part with my integrity."

This incorruptible patriot died at Charleston, September 27, 1805, in the 76th year of his age.*

ISRAEL PUTNAM,

Major-General in the American Army.

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who, through a regular gradation of promotion, became the senior major-general in the army of the United States, and next in rank to Gen. Washington, was born at Salem, Mass. on the 7th day of January, 1718.

Courage, enterprise, activity, and perseverance, were the first characteristics of his mind; and his disposition was as frank and generous, as his mind was fearless and independent. Although

* American Biography.

he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honor not to resent, an intended insult. The first time he went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age: after bearing sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a stripling, his ambition was to perform the labor of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions.

In the year 1739, he removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut. Having here purchased a considerable tract of land, he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

“Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building a house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards, and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blast in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheepfold by wolves. In one night he had seventy fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havoc was committed by a she-wolf, which with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity.

This wolf at length became such an intolerable nuisance, that Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbors to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known that, having lost the toes from one foot by a steel trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige the pursuers recognised, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut river, and found she had turned back in a direct course toward Pomfret, they immediately returned; and by ten o'clock the next morning, the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam. The people soon collected, with dogs, guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded,

and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect. Nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement. Wearied with such fruitless attempts, (which had brought the time to ten o'clock at night,) Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain; he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern, and shoot the wolf, but the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that the master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbors strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprise: but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch bark, the only combustible material he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square; from thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet, then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet towards its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone; and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than three feet in width.

Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He cautiously proceeded onward, came to the ascent, which he slowly mounted

on his hands and knees until he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Startled at the glare of fire, she gnashed her teeth and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope, as a signal for pulling him out. The people at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity that his shirt was stripped over his head, and his skin severely lacerated. After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with nine buck shot, holding a torch in one hand, and the musket in the other, he descended the second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling, rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude, and on the point of springing at him. At this critical instant he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose, and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope, (still tied round his legs,) the people above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.”*

But the time had now arrived, which was to turn the implements of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, which had ravaged the sheepfolds, for the pursuit of savages, who had desolated the frontiers. Putnam was about 37 years of age, when the war between England and France broke out in America. In 1755 he was appointed to the command of a company, in the first regiment of provincials that was levied by Connecticut. The regiment joined the army at the opening of the campaign, not far distant from Crown Point.

* Life of Putnam.

“Soon after his arrival at camp, he became intimately acquainted with the famous partisan Captain, afterward Major Rogers, with whom he was frequently associated in crossing the wilderness, reconnoitering the enemy’s lines, gaining intelligence, and taking straggling prisoners, as well as in beating up the quarters, and surprising the advanced piquets of their army. For these operations, a corps of rangers was formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops, it was the fortune of the latter to preserve with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their friendship with the blood of one of their enemies.

The object of this expedition was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered. Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians who infested the woods. Our two partisans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence in the evening; and lay during the night contiguous to the fortress. Early in the morning they approached so close as to be able to give satisfactory information to the general who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed: but captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fusée with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered. Putnam, perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost, or further alarm given by firing, ran rapidly to them while they were struggling, and with the butt end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partisans, to elude pursuit, precipitated their flight, joined the party, and returned without loss to the encampment.”*

* Life of Putnam

The time for which the colonial troops engaged to serve terminated with the campaign. Putnam was re-appointed, and again took the field in 1756.

"Few are so ignorant of war, as not to know that military adventures in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at the Ovens, near Ticonderoga, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these orders, he narrowly missed being taken himself in the first instance, and killing his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy's scouts and patrols. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational: they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance, and posted their sentinels in the surrounding darkness. Our partisans approached the camp, and supposing the sentries were within the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The sentinels, discovering them, fired, and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Putnam had no alternative. They fled. The latter, being foremost, and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay pit. Durkee almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam by no means pleased at finding a companion, and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow, when Durkee, (who had followed so closely as to know him) inquired whether he had escaped unhurt. Captain Putnam instantly recognising the voice, dropped his weapon, and both, springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighboring ledges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged the remainder of the night. Before they lay down, Captain Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable or necessary; but on examining

the canteen which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left. The next day he found fourteen bullet-holes in his blanket.”*

Nothing worthy of remark happened during the course of this campaign, but the active services of Captain Putnam on every occasion attracted the admiration of the public, and induced the legislature of Connecticut to promote him to a majority in 1757.

“In the winter of 1757, when Col. Haviland was commandant at Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the northwest bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the magazine, which contained three barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The commandant endeavored, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them with the ground. Putnam arrived from the island where he was stationed at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the magazine. Instantly a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the conflagration. A way was opened by the postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water; which he, having mounted on a ladder to the caves of the building, received and threw upon the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of blanket mittens were burnt entirely from his hands. He was supplied with another pair dipt in water. Colonel Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down, but he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed, “if we must be blown up, we will go all together.” At last, when the barracks were seen

* *Life of Putnam.*

to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one hour and a half with that terrible element. His legs, his thighs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude due to the man who had been instrumental in preserving the magazine, the fort, and the garrison.

In the month of August, five hundred men were employed, under the orders of Majors Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South Bay they separated the party into two equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood-Creek, twelve miles distant from Putnam.

Upon being, some time afterward, discovered, they formed a reunion, and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward. Their march through the woods was in three divisions, by files: the right commanded by Rogers, the left by Putnam, and the centre by Capt. D'Ell. At the moment of moving, the famous French partisan Molang, who had been sent with five hundred men to intercept our party, was not more than one mile and a half distant from them. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket, into the common forest, when the enemy rose, and, with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack upon the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire, and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, though widely scattered, and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general, and intensely warm.

Major Putnam, perceiving it would be impracticable to cross the creek in his rear, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery: sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover; taking aim from behind the bodies of trees, and acting in a manner, independent of each other. For himself, having discharged his fusee several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well-proportioned savage. This warrior, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-hoop, sprang forward with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender; and, having disarmed and bound him fast to a tree, returned to the battle.

The intrepid Captains, D'Ell and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance: the savages conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partisans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot at which the action had commenced. Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied, to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour. So equally balanced, and so obstinate was the fight! At one moment, while the battle swerved in favor of the enemy, a young savage chose an odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound—he might have despatched him at a single blow—but he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head, or rather it should seem his object was to see how near he could throw it without touching him. The weapon struck in the tree a number of

times, at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French *bas-officer*, a much more inveterate savage by nature, (though descended from so humane and polished a nation,) perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fusée within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire. Ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honor or of nature: deaf to their voice, and dead to sensibility, he violently, and repeatedly, pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the butt-end of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman, seconded by the persevering valor of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterward called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings, and shoes; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord. After he had marched through no pleasant paths, in this painful manner, for many a tedious mile, the party (who were excessively fatigued) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature; and the pain had become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated the Irish interpreter, to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the savages, that they would knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time, the Indian who captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave

him a pair of moccasins, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

That savage chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom, besides innumerable other outrages, they had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound with the tomahawk in the left cheek. His sufferings were, in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive. For this purpose, they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labors, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. They then set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat.

His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost him a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sub-lunary things, when a French officer rushed through the crowd.

opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself, to whom a savage, unwilling to see another human sacrifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians whose nocturnal powaws and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained until he could deliver him in safety into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive, (the refreshment being finished,) he took the moccasins from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists: then directing him to lie down on his back upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and pinioned it fast to a young tree; the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained until morning. During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous groupe for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and moccasins, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard. The savages who had been prevented

from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took other opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Putnam's arrival than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a Provincial Major in his custody. He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat, or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed by wounds, and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner, and the meekness of a christian. Maj. Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed.

The capture of Frontenac by Gen. Bradstreet, afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Col. Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive, if it should be known that Putnam was a distinguished partizan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers, who, from the length of their captivity, had a claim to priority of exchange, he had, by his happy address, induced the governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate should be included in the present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object, he expressed his warmest acknowledgments to the governor, and said,—There is an old man here, who is a Provincial Major, and wishes to be at home with his wife and children; he can do no good here or any where else: I believe

your Excellency had better keep some of the young men, who have no wife nor children to care for, and let the old fellow go home with me. This justifiable finesse had the desired effect.*

Shortly after, Putnam was promoted to a lieutenant-colonel, in which he continued until the close of the war, ever, and on all occasions, supporting his hard earned reputation for valor and intrepidity; and, at the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform and returned to the plough.

On the 22d day of March, 1765, the stamp act received the royal assent. Colonel Putnam, was, at this time, a member of the house of assembly of the state of Connecticut, and was deputed to wait on the then governor Fitch on the subject. The questions of the governor, and answers of Putnam, will serve to indicate the spirit of the times. After some conversation, the governor asked colonel Putnam "what he should do if the stamped paper should be sent him by the King's authority?" Putnam replied, "lock it up until we shall visit you again." "And what will you do then?" "We shall expect you to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited; and, if you think fit, in order to secure yourself from blame, you may forewarn us, upon our peril, not to enter the room." "And what will you do afterward?" "Send it safely back again." "But if I should refuse admission?" "In such case, your house will be demolished in five minutes." It is supposed that a report of this conversation was one reason why the stamp paper was never sent from New-York to Connecticut.

Being once, in particular, asked by a British officer, with whom he had formerly served, "whether he did not seriously believe that a well appointed British army of five thousand veterans could march through the whole continent of America?" he briskly replied, "no doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid well for every thing they wanted; but," after a moment's pause,

*Life of Putnam.

added, "if they should attempt it in a hostile manner (though the American men were out of the question,) the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half way through."

The battle of Lexington found Putnam in the midst of his agricultural pursuits. Immediately upon learning the fatal encounter, he left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment under authority of the legislature, and speedily returned to Cambridge. He was now promoted to be a major-general on the continental establishment.

"Not long after this period, the British commander-in-chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to Gen. Putnam, that if he would relinquish the rebel party, he might rely upon being made a major-general on the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. Gen. Putnam spurned at the offer; which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice."

"In the battle of Bunker's Hill he exhibited his usual intrepidity. He directed the men to reserve their fire till the enemy was very near, reminded them of their skill, and told them to take good aim. They did so, and the execution was terrible. After the retreat, he made a stand at Winter Hill, and drove back the enemy under cover of their ships. When the army was organised by Gen. Washington at Cambridge, Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August, 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army on the twenty-seventh of that month, he went to New-York, and was very serviceable in the city and neighborhood. In October or November he was sent to Philadelphia, to fortify that city.

In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Bruns-



wick might be sent for to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and he did not wish to have his weakness known; yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He however, sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported that Gen. Putnam's army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men.

In the spring he was appointed to the command of a separate army, in the highlands of New-York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp; Gov. Tryon, reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. Gen. Putnam wrote the following pithy reply: "Sir, Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and shall be hanged as a spy. P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of Fort Montgomery, the commander-in-chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed Putnam to fix upon a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point.*

"About the middle of winter, while Gen. Putnam was on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these General Putnam had only a piquet of 150 men, and two iron field-pieces, without horses or drag ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground by the meeting house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the piquet to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep where he descended, as

* Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short; for the declivity was so abrupt, that they ventured not to follow; and, before they could gain the valley by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route unmolested, to Stamford; from whence, having strengthened his piquet by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and, in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball of the many fired at him, went through his beaver; but Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him soon afterward as a present, a complete suit of clothes." *

The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at West Point, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and compelled him to quit the army.

"The remainder of the life of Gen. Putnam was passed in quiet retirement with his family. He experienced few interruptions in his bodily health, (except the paralytic debility with which he was afflicted,) retained full possession of his mental faculties, and enjoyed the society of his friends until the 17th of May, 1790, when he was violently attacked with an inflammatory disease. Satisfied from the first that it would prove mortal, he was calm and resigned, and welcomed the approach of death with joy, as a messenger sent to call him from a life of toil to everlasting rest. On the 19th of May, 1790, he ended a life which had been spent in cultivating and defending the soil of his birth, aged 72 years."

The late Rev. Dr. Dwight, president of Yale College, who knew General Putnam intimately, has portrayed his character faithfully in the following inscription, which is engraven on his tomb:

* Life of Putnam.

Sacred be this Monument
to the memory
of
ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq.
senior Major-General in the armies of the
United States of America; who
was born at Salem,
in the Province of Massachusetts,
on the 7th day of January,
A. D. 1718,
and died
on the 19th day of May,
A. D. 1790.
Passenger,
if thou art a Soldier,
drop a tear over the dust of a
Hero, who, ever attentive to the lives
and happiness of his men, dared to lead where
any dared to follow; if a patriot,
remember the distinguished and
gallant services rendered
thy country by the
Patriot who sleeps beneath this
marble;
if thou art honest, generous, and
worthy, render a cheerful
tribute of respect to
a man, whose
generosity was singular, whose
honesty was proverbial;
who
raised himself to universal
esteem, and offices of
eminent distinction,
by personal worth,
and a useful
life.

JOSEPH REED,

Adjutant-General in the American Army.

“JOSEPH REED, president of the state of Pennsylvania, was born in the state of New-Jersey, the 27th of August, A. D. 1741. In the year 1757, at the early age of sixteen, he graduated with considerable honor, at Princeton college.

Having studied the law with Richard Stockton, Esq. an eminent counsellor of that place; he visited England and pursued his studies in the temple, until the disturbances which first broke out in the colonies on the passage of the stamp act. On his return to his native country, he commenced the practice of the law, and bore a distinguished part in the political commotions of the day. Having married the daughter of Dennis De Berdt, an eminent merchant of London, and before the American revolution, agent for the province of Massachusetts, he soon after returned to America, and practised the law with eminent success in the city of Philadelphia.

Finding that reconciliation with the mother country was not to be accomplished without the sacrifice of honor as well as liberty, he became one of the most zealous advocates of independence. In 1774, he was appointed one of the committee of correspondence of Philadelphia, and afterward president of the convention, and subsequently, member of the continental congress. On the formation of the army he resigned a lucrative practice, which he was enjoying at Philadelphia, and repaired to the camp at Cambridge, where he was appointed aid-de-camp and Secretary to General Washington, and although merely acting as a volunteer, he displayed in this campaign, on many occasions, the greatest courage and military ability. At the opening of the campaign in 1776, on the promotion of Gen. Gates, he was advanced, at the special recommendation of Gen. Washington, to the post of adjutant-general, and bore an active part in this campaign, his local knowledge of the country being

eminently useful in the affair at Trenton, and at the battle of Princeton, in the course of these events, and the constant follower of his fortunes, he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the commander-in-chief. At the end of the year he resigned the office of adjutant-general, and was immediately appointed a general officer, with a view to the command of cavalry, but owing to the difficulty of raising troops, and the very detached parties in which they were employed, he was prevented from acting in that station. He still attended the army, and from the entrance of the British army, into Pennsylvania, till the close of the campaign in 1777, he was seldom absent. He was engaged at the battle of Germantown, and at White Marsh, assisted General Potter in drawing up the militia. In 1778, he was appointed a member of congress, and signed the articles of confederation.

About this time the British commissioners, Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, invested with power to treat of peace, arrived in America, and Governor Johnstone, the principal of them, addressed private letters to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, Francis Dana, and Robert Morris, offering them many advantages in case they would lend themselves to his views. Private information was communicated from Governor Johnstone to General Reed, that in case he would exert his abilities to promote a reconciliation, 10,000 pounds sterling, and the most valuable office in the colonies, were at his disposal; to which Mr. Reed made this memorable reply:—“*that he was not worth purchasing, but that, such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it.*” These transactions caused a resolution in congress, by which they refused to hold any further communication with that commissioner. Governor Johnstone, on his return to England, denied in Parliament, ever having made such offers, in consequence of which, Gen. Reed published a pamphlet, in which the whole transaction was clearly and satisfactorily proved, and which was extensively circulated both in England and America.

In 1778, he was unanimously elected president of the supreme executive council of the state of Pennsylvania, to which office

he was elected annually, with equal unanimity, for the constitutional period of three years. About this time there existed violent parties in the state, and several serious commotions occurred, particularly a large armed insurrection, in the city of Philadelphia, which he suppressed, and rescued a number of distinguished citizens from the most imminent danger of their lives at the risk of his own, for which he received a vote of thanks from the legislature of the state.

At the time of the defection of the Pennsylvania line, Governor Reed exerted himself strenuously to bring back the revolters, in which he ultimately succeeded. Amidst the most difficult and trying scenes, his administration exhibited the most disinterested zeal and firmness of decision. In the civil part of his character, his knowledge of the law was very useful in a new and unsettled government; so that, although he found in it no small weakness and confusion, he left it at the expiration of his term of office, in as much tranquility and energy as could be expected from the time and circumstances of the war. In the year 1781, on the expiration of his term of office, he returned to the duties of his profession.

General Reed was very fortunate in his military career, for, although he was in almost every engagement in the northern and eastern section of the union, during the war, he never was wounded; he had three horses killed under him, one at the battle of Brandywine, one in the skirmish at White Marsh, and one at the battle of Monmouth. During the whole of the war he enjoyed the confidence of Generals Washington, Greene, Wayne, Steuben, La Fayette, and many others of the most distinguished characters of the revolution, with whom he was in habits of the most confidential intercourse and correspondence. The friendship that existed between General Reed and General Greene, is particularly mentioned by the biographer of General Greene. "Among the many inestimable friends who attached themselves to him, during his military career, there was no one whom General Greene prized more, or more justly, than the late Governor Reed of Pennsylvania. It was before this gentleman had immortalized himself by his celebrated reply to the agent of

corruption, that these two distinguished patriots had begun to feel for each other the sympathies of congenial souls. Mr. Reed had accompanied General Washington to Boston, when he first took command of the American army; there he became acquainted with Greene, and, as was almost invariably the case with those who became acquainted with him, and had hearts to acknowledge his worth, a friendship ensued which lasted with their lives." Had the life of General Reed been sufficiently prolonged, he would have discharged, in a manner worthy of the subject, the debt of national gratitude to which the efforts of the biographer of General Greene have been successfully dedicated, who had in his possession the outlines of a sketch of the life of Gen. Greene by this friend.

In the year 1784, he again visited England for the sake of his health, but his voyage was attended with but little effect, as in the following year he fell a victim to a disease most probably brought on by the fatigue and exposure to which he was constantly subjected. In private life he was accomplished in his manners, pure in his morals, fervent and faithful in his attachments.

On the 5th of March, 1785, in the 43d year of his age, too soon for his country and his friends, he departed a life, active, useful and glorious. His remains were interred, in the Presbyterian ground, in Arch-street, in the city of Philadelphia, attended by the President and executive council, and the speaker and the general assembly of the state."*

PHILIP SCHUYLER,

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. SCHUYLER was a native of New-York, a member of one of the most respectable families in that state, and highly merits the character of an intelligent and meritorious officer. As a private gentleman, he was dignified but courteous, his manners

*American Biographical Dictionary.

urbane, and his hospitality unbounded. He was justly considered as one of the most distinguished champions of liberty, and his noble mind soared above despair, even at a period when he experienced injustice from the public, and when darkness and gloom overspread the land. He was able, prompt, and decisive, and his conduct in every branch of duty, marked his active industry and rapid execution.

He received his commission from congress, June 19th, 1776, and was ordered to take command of the expedition against Canada; but, being taken sick, the command devolved upon Gen. Montgomery. On his recovery he devoted his time, and with the assistance of Gen. St. Clair, used every effort to stay the progress of a veteran and numerous army under Burgoyne, who had commenced his march from Canada, on the bold attempt of forming a junction at Albany with Sir Henry Clinton.

The duties of Gen. Schuyler now became laborious, intricate, and complicated. On his arrival at head-quarters he found the army of the north not only too weak for the objects intrusted to it, but also badly supplied with arms, clothes, and provisions. From a spy he obtained information that General Burgoyne had arrived at Quebec, and was to take command of the British force on their contemplated expedition.

"A few days removed the doubts which might have existed respecting the intentions of Burgoyne. It was understood that his army was advancing towards the lakes.

Gen. Schuyler was sensible of the danger which threatened his department, and made every exertion to meet it. He visited in person the different posts, used the utmost activity in obtaining supplies of provisions to enable them to hold out in the event of a siege, and had proceeded to Albany both for the purpose of attending to the supplies and of expediting the march of Nixon's brigade, whose arrival was expected; when he received intelligence from Gen. St. Clair, who was intrusted with the defence of Ticonderoga, that Burgoyne had appeared before that place.

In the course of the preceding winter a plan for penetrating to the Hudson from Canada by the way of the lakes, was com-

pletely digested, and its most minute parts arranged in the cabinet of St. James. Gen. Burgoyne, who assisted in forming it, was intrusted with its execution, and was to lead a formidable army against Ticonderoga, as soon as the season would permit. At the same time a smaller party, under Col. St. Leger, composed of Canadians, new raised Americans, and a few Europeans, aided by a powerful body of Indians, was to march from Oswego, to enter the country by the way of the Mohawk, and to join the grand army on the Hudson.

The force assigned for this service was such as the General himself deemed sufficient; and, as it was the favorite plan of the minister, no circumstance was omitted which could give to the numbers employed their utmost possible efficacy. The troops were furnished with every military equipment which the service required; the assisting general officers were of the first reputation, and the train of artillery was, perhaps, the most powerful ever annexed to an army not more numerous."*

But valor, perseverance, and industry could avail nothing against such vast numbers as now assailed the northern army. Ticonderoga was evacuated, and stores, artillery, and military equipage to an immense amount, fell into the hands of the enemy.

"Knowing the inferiority of his numbers, and that he could only hope to save his army by the rapidity of his march, Gen. St. Clair reached Charlestown, thirty miles from Ticonderoga on the night succeeding the evacuation of the fort.

On the 7th of July, at Stillwater, on his way to Ticonderoga, General Schuyler was informed of the evacuation of that place; and on the same day, at Saratoga, the total loss of the stores at Skeensborough, was also reported to him. From General St. Clair he had heard nothing, and the most serious fears were entertained for the army commanded by that officer. His force, after being joined by Col. Long, consisted of about fifteen hundred continental troops, and the same number of militia. They were dispirited by defeat, without tents, badly armed, and had lost a great part of their stores and baggage. That part of the

*Annual Register.

country was generally much alarmed, and even those who were well affected, discovered, as is usual in such circumstances, more inclination to take care of themselves, than to join the army.

In this gloomy state of things, it is impossible that any officer could have used more diligence or judgment than was displayed by Schuyler.

After the evacuation of Fort Anne, Burgoyne found it absolutely necessary to suspend for a time all further pursuit, and to give his army some refreshment.

In the present state of things, unable even to look the enemy in the face, it was of unspeakable importance to the American general to gain time. This short and unavoidable interval from action, therefore, was seized by Schuyler, whose head-quarters were at Fort Edward, and used to the utmost advantage.

The country between Skeensborough and Fort Edward was almost entirely unsettled, covered with thick woods, of a surface extremely rough, and much intersected with creeks and morasses. As far as Fort Anne, Wood-creek was navigable with batteaux; and artillery, military stores, provisions, and heavy baggage, might be transported up it.

The first moments of rest, while Burgoyne was re-assembling his forces at Skeensborough, were employed by Schuyler in destroying the navigation of Wood-creek, by sinking numerous impediments in its course; and in breaking up the bridges, and otherwise rendering impassable the roads over which the British army must necessarily march. He was also indefatigable in driving all the live-stock out of the way, and in bringing from Fort George to Fort Edward, ammunition and other military stores which had been deposited at that place, of which his army was in much need, and which it was essential to bring away before the British could remove their gun-boats and army into the lake, and possess themselves of the fort.

While thus endeavoring to obstruct the march of the enemy, he was not inattentive to the best means of strengthening his own army. Reinforcements of regular troops were earnestly solicited. The militia of New-England and New-York were called for, and all his influence in the surrounding country was

exerted to re-animate the people, and to prevent their defection from the American cause.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga was a shock for which no part of the United States was prepared. Neither the strength of the invading army nor of the garrison had been any where understood. The opinion was common that no reinforcements had arrived at Quebec that spring, in which case it was believed that not more than five thousand men could be spared from the defence of Canada. Those new-raised regiments of New-England and New-York, which had been allotted to the northern department, had been reported, and were believed by the commander-in-chief, and by congress, as well as by the community at large, to contain a much greater number of effectives than they were found actually to comprehend. In addition to these, the officer commanding the garrison, was empowered to call to his aid such bodies of militia as he might deem necessary for the defence of his post. A very few days before the place was invested, General Schuyler, from an inspection of the muster rolls, had stated the garrison to amount to five thousand men, and the supply of provisions to be abundant. When, therefore, it was understood that a place, on the fortifications of which much money and labor had been expended; which was considered as the key to the whole western country, and supposed to contain a garrison nearly equal to the invading army, had been abandoned without a siege; that an immense train of artillery, consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight pieces, and all the baggage, military stores, and provisions, had either fallen into the hands of the enemy, or been destroyed; that the army on its retreat had been attacked, defeated, and dispersed; astonishment pervaded all ranks of men; and the conduct of the officers was almost universally condemned. Congress directed a recall of all the generals of the department, and an inquiry into their conduct. Through New-England especially, the most malignant aspersions were cast on them, and General Schuyler, who, from some unknown cause, had never been viewed with favor in that part of the continent, was involved in the common charges of treachery, to which this accumulation of unlooked

for calamity was very generally attributed by the mass of the people.

On the representations of Gen. Washington, the recall of the officers was suspended until he should be of opinion that the state of things would admit of such a measure; and on a very full inquiry afterward made into the conduct of the generals, they were acquitted of all blame.

When the resolutions were passed, directing an inquiry into the conduct of Schuyler and St. Clair, appointing a committee to report on the mode of conducting the inquiry, and, in the meanwhile, recalling them and all the brigadiers who had served in that department, Gen. Washington was requested to name a successor to Schuyler. On his expressing a wish to decline this nomination, and representing the inconvenience of removing all the general officers, Gates was again directed to repair thither and take the command; and the resolution to recall the brigadiers was suspended, until the commander-in-chief should be of opinion that it might be carried into effect with safety.

Schuyler retained the command until the arrival of Gates, which was about the 21st of August, and continued his exertions to restore the affairs of the department, which had been so much depressed by the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga. That officer felt acutely the disgrace of being recalled in this critical and interesting state of the campaign. "It is," said he in a letter to the commander-in-chief, "matter of extreme chagrin to me, to be deprived of the command at a time when, soon if ever, we shall probably be enabled to face the enemy; when we are on the point of taking ground* where they must attack to a disadvantage, should our force be inadequate to facing them in the field; when an opportunity will in all probability occur, in which I might evince that I am not what congress have too plainly insinuated by the resolution taking the command from me."

If error be attributed to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, certainly no portion of it was committed by Schuyler. His remo-

* The island on the north of the Mohawk.

val from the command was probably unjust and severe, as the measure respected himself.”*

The patriotism and magnanimity displayed by the ex-general, on this occasion, does him high honor. All that could have been effected to impede the progress of the British army, had been done already. Bridges were broken up, causeways destroyed, trees felled in every direction to retard the conveyance of stores and artillery.

“On Gates’ arrival, General Schuyler, without the slightest indication of ill humor, resigned his command, communicated all the intelligence he possessed, and put every interesting paper into his hands, simply adding, “I have done all that could be done, as far as the means were in my power, to injure the enemy and to inspire confidence in the soldiers of our own army, and I flatter myself with some success: but the palm of victory is denied me, and it is left to you, General, to reap the fruits of my labors. I will not fail, however, to second your views; and my devotion to my country will cause me with alacrity to obey all your orders.” He performed his promise, and faithfully did his duty, till the surrender of Burgoyne put an end to the contest.

Another anecdote is recorded to his honor. Gen. Burgoyne, dining with General Gates, immediately after the convention of Saratoga, and hearing Gen. Schuyler named among the officers presented to him, thought it necessary to apologise for the destruction of his elegant mansion a few days before, by his orders. “Make no excuses, General,” was the reply; “I feel myself *more than compensated* by the pleasure of meeting you at this table.”†

The court of inquiry, instituted on the conduct of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, resulted with the highest honour to them.

Gen. Schuyler, though not invested with any distinct command, continued to render important services in the military transactions of New-York, until the close of the war.

* Marshall's Life of Washington.
† Garden's Anecdotes.

He was a member of the old congress; and represented the state of New-York in the senate of the United States, when the present government commenced its operations. In 1797 he was again appointed a senator.

He died at Albany, November 18th, 1804, in the seventy-third year of his age.

JOHN STARK,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

GENERAL STARK was a native of New-Hampshire, and was born in Londonderry, August seventeenth, 1728. From his early youth he had been accustomed to the alarm of war, having lived in that part of the country which was continually subject to the incursions of the savages. While a child he was captured by them, and adopted as one of their own; but after a few years was restored.

Arrived at manhood, his manners were plain, honest, and severe; excellently calculated for the benefit of society, in the private walks of life; and as a courageous and heroic soldier, he is entitled to a high rank among those who have been crowned with unfading laurels, and to whom a large share of glory is justly due. He was captain of a company of rangers in the provincial service, during the French war in 1755.

From the commencement of the difficulties with the mother country, until the closing scene of the revolution, our country found in General Stark, one of its most resolute, independent, and persevering defenders. The first call of his country found him ready. When the report of Lexington battle reached him, he was engaged at work in his saw-mill: fired with indignation and a martial spirit, he immediately seized his musket, and with a band of heroes proceeded to Cambridge. The morning after his arrival he received a colonel's commission, and availing himself of his own popularity, and the enthusiasm of the day, in two hours he enlisted eight hundred men. On the memorable 17th of June, at Breed's Hill, Colonel Stark, at the head of his back-woodsmen of New-Hampshire, poured on the enemy that

deadly fire from a sure aim, which effected such remarkable destruction in their ranks, and compelled them twice to retreat. During the whole of this dreadful conflict, Colonel Stark evinced that consummate bravery and intrepid zeal, which entitle his name to perpetual remembrance.

His spirit pervaded his native state, and excited them to the most patriotic efforts. The British General Burgoyne, in one of his letters observes,—“That the Hampshire Grants, almost unknown in the last war, now abound in the most active and most rebellious race on the continent, and hang like a gathering storm upon my left.”

Distinct from his efforts in rallying the energies of his native state, he obtained great credit in the active operations of the field. At that gloomy period of the revolution, the retreat of Washington through New-Jersey, in 1776, when the saviour of our country, apparently deserted of Heaven and by his country, with the few gallant spirits who gathered the closer around him in that dark hour, precipitately fled before an imperious and victorious enemy—it was on this occasion, that the persevering valor of Stark enrolled him among the firm and resolute defenders of their country; and, with them, entitles him to her unceasing gratitude.

But as he fearlessly shared with Washington the dark and gloomy night of defeat, so also he participated with him in the joy of a bright morning of victory and hope. In the successful enterprise against Trenton, Stark, then a colonel, acted a conspicuous part, and covered himself with glory. Gen. Wilkinson in his memoirs says,—“I must not withhold due praise from the dauntless Stark, who dealt death wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him.”

Soon after this affair, Col. Stark, from some supposed injustice toward him on the part of congress, quitted the continental service, and returned to New-Hampshire.

“When he was urged by the government of New-Hampshire to take the command of their militia, he refused, unless he should be left at liberty to serve or not, under a continental officer, as he should judge proper. It was not a time for debate, and it was

known that the militia would follow wherever Stark would lead. The assembly therefore invested him with a separate command, and gave him orders to "repair to Charlestown, on Connecticut River, there to consult with a committee of the New-Hampshire Grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take command of the militia, and march into the Grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States, or separately, as should appear expedient to him; for the protection of the people, and the annoyance of the enemy."*

Agreeably to his orders, Stark proceeded in a few days to Charlestown; his men very readily followed; and as fast as they arrived, he sent them forward to join the troops of Vermont under Colonel Warner, who had taken his situation at Manchester. At that place he joined Warner with about 300 men from New-Hampshire, and found another body of men from Vermont, who put themselves under his command; and he was at the head of fourteen hundred men. Most of them had been in the two former campaigns, and well officered; and were in every respect a body of very good troops. Schuyler repeatedly urged Stark to join the troops under his command; but he declined complying. He was led to this conduct not only by the reasons which have been mentioned, but by a difference of opinion as to the best method of opposing Burgoyne. Schuyler wished to collect all the American troops in the front, to prevent Burgoyne from marching on to Albany. Stark was of opinion that the surest way to check Burgoyne was to have a body of men on his rear, ready to fall upon him in that quarter, whenever a favorable opportunity should present. The New-England militia had not formed a high opinion of Schuyler, as a general; and Stark meant to keep himself in a situation, in which he might embrace any favorable opportunity for action, either in conjunction with him or otherwise; and with that view intended to hang on the rear of the British troops, and embrace the first opportunity which should present, to make an attack upon that quarter. But Stark assured Schuyler that he

* Belknap's History of New-Hampshire.

would join in any measure necessary to promote the public good, but wished to avoid any thing that was not consistent with his own honor; and if it was thought necessary, he would march to his camp. He wrote particularly, that he would lay aside all private resentment, when it appeared in opposition to the public good. But in the midst of these protestations, he was watching for an opportunity to discover his courage and patriotism, by falling upon some part of Burgoyne's army.

While the American army was thus assuming a more respectable appearance, General Burgoyne was making very slow advances towards Albany. From the twenty-eighth of July to the fifteenth of August, the British army was continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, provisions, and ammunition from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River; a distance of not more than eighteen miles. The labor was excessive: the Europeans were but little acquainted with the methods of performing it to advantage, and the effect was in no degree equivalent to the expense of labor and time. With all the efforts that Burgoyne could make, encumbered with his artillery and baggage, his labors were inadequate to the purpose of supplying the army with provisions for its daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. And after his utmost exertions for fifteen days, there were not above four days' provisions in the store, nor above ten batteaux in Hudson's river.

In such circumstances, the British general found that it would be impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions by the way of Fort George, and determined to replenish his own magazines, at the expense of those of the Americans. Having received information that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, and guarded only by the militia, he formed the design of surprising that place; and was made to believe that as soon as a detachment of the royal army should appear in that quarter, it would receive effectual assistance from a large body of loyalists, who only waited for the appearance of a support, and would in that event come forward and aid the royal cause. Full of these expectations, he detached Col. Baum, a German

officer, with a select body of troops, to surprise the place. His force consisted of about five hundred regular troops, some Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operations, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of the detachment, the royal army moved along the east bank of Hudson's river, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Baum, if it should be found necessary, lieutenant-colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs were posted at Battenkill.

Gen. Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent lieutenant-colonel Greg, on August the 13th, with a party of two hundred men, to stop their progress. Toward night he was informed by express that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing toward Bennington. On this intelligence, Stark drew together his brigade, and the militia that were at hand, and sent on to Manchester to Col. Warner, to bring on his regiment; he sent expresses at the same time to the neighboring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the 14th, he marched with his troops, and at the distance of seven miles he met Greg on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark drew up his troops in order of battle; but the enemy coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Baum perceived the Americans were too strong to be attacked with his present force, and sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation, and to have Breyman march immediately to support him. In the mean time small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. The ground the Americans had taken, was unfavorable for a general action, and Stark retreated about a mile, and encamped. A council of war was held, and it was agreed to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make an attack upon their front. The next

day the weather was rainy, and though it prevented a general action, there were frequent skirmishes in small parties, which proved favorable and encouraging to the Americans.

On August the sixteenth, in the morning, Stark was joined by Col. Symonds and a body of militia from Berkshire, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baum in the mean time had entrenched, on an advantageous piece of ground near St. Koick's mills, on a branch of Hoosic river; and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Col. Nichols was detached with two hundred men to the rear of his left, Col. Herrick with three hundred men to the rear of his right; both were to join, and then make the attack. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred men, were ordered on the right, and one hundred were advanced toward the front to draw the attention of the enemy that way. About three o'clock in the afternoon the troops had taken their station, and were ready to commence the action. While Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians were alarmed at the prospect, and pushed off between the two corps; but received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed and two wounded. Nichols then began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions; those in the front immediately advanced, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Baum made a brave defence; and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their Colonel, charged with their swords, but they were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides, their two pieces of cannon were taken, Col. Baum himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and all his men, except a few, who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners. Having completed the business by taking the whole party, the militia began to disperse and look out for plunder. But in a few minutes Stark received information that a large reinforcement was on their march, and within two miles of him. Fortunately at that moment colonel Warner came up with his

regiment from Manchester. This brave and experienced officer commanded a regiment of continental troops, which had been raised in Vermont. Mortified that he had not been in the former engagement, he instantly led on his men against Breyman, and began the second engagement. Stark collected the militia as soon as possible, and pushed on to his assistance. The action became general, and the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset, when the Germans were forced to give way, and were pursued till dark. They left their two field pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the evening and night, to which alone their escape was ascribed.

In these actions the Americans took four brass field-pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition wagons, and about seven hundred prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements. Two hundred and seven men were found dead upon the spot, the numbers of wounded were unknown. The loss of the Americans was but small; thirty were slain, and about forty were wounded. Stark was not a little pleased at having so fair an opportunity to vindicate his own conduct. He had now shown that no neglect from congress had made him disaffected to the American cause, and that he had rendered a much more important service than he could have done by joining Schuyler, and remaining inactive in his camp. Congress embraced the opportunity to assign to him his rank, and though he had not given to them any account of his victory, or wrote to them at all upon the subject, on October the fourth they resolved,—“That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over, the enemy in their lines at Bennington: and that brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States.” And never were thanks more deserved, or more wisely given to a military officer.*

*William's Vermont.

“In his official account of the affair, Gen. Stark thus writes: “It lasted two hours, *the hottest I ever saw in my life*; it represented one continued clap of thunder: however, the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave their field-pieces, and all their baggage behind them; they were all environed within two breast-works with artillery; but our martial courage proved too strong for them. I then gave orders to rally again, in order to secure the victory: but in a few minutes was informed that there was a large reinforcement on their march within two miles. Colonel Warner’s regiment luckily coming up at the moment, renewed the attack with fresh vigor. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance; the battle continued obstinate on both sides until sunset; the enemy was obliged to retreat; we pursued them till dark, and had day lasted an hour longer, should have taken the whole body of them.”

“On what small events does the popular humor and military success depend! The capture of one thousand Germans by Gen. Washington at Trenton had served to wake up, and save the whole continent. The exploit of Stark at Bennington, operated with the same kind of influence, and produced a similar effect. This victory was the first event that had proved encouraging to the Americans in the northern department, since the death of Gen. Montgomery. Misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had followed defeat from that period till now. The present instance was the first, in which victory had quitted the royal standard, or seemed even to be wavering. She was now found with the American arms, and the effect seemed in fact to be greater than the cause. It raised the spirit of the country to an uncommon degree of animation; and by showing the militia what they could perform, rendered them willing and desirous to turn out and try what fortunes would await their exertions. It had a still greater effect on the royal army. The British generals were surprised to hear that an enemy, whom they had contemplated with no other feelings than those of contempt, should all at once wake up, and discover much of the spirit of heroism. To advance upon the mouth of cannon,

to attack fortified lines, to carry strong entrenchments, were exploits which they supposed belonged exclusively to the armies of kings. To see a body of American militia, ill-dressed, but little disciplined, without cannon, armed only with farmers' guns without bayonets, and who had been accustomed to fly at their approach; that such men, should force the entrenchments, capture the cannon, kill, and make prisoners of a large body of the royal army, was a matter of indignation, astonishment, and surprise."*

"General Stark volunteered his services under Gen. Gates at Saratoga, and assisted in the council which stipulated the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, nor did he relinquish his valuable services till he could greet his native country as an Independent Empire. Gen. Stark was of the middle stature, not formed by nature to exhibit an erect soldierly mein. His manners were frank, and unassuming, but he manifested a peculiar sort of eccentricity and negligence, which precluded all display of personal dignity, and seemed to place him among those of ordinary rank in life. His character as a private citizen was unblemished, and he was ever held in respect. For the last few years of his life, he enjoyed a pecuniary bounty from the government. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-three years, eight months, and twenty-four days, and died May 8th, 1822."†

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,

Major-General in the American Army.

GEN. ST. CLAIR was a soldier from his youth. At an early age, while the independent states were yet British colonies, he entered the royal American army, and was commissioned as an ensign. He was actively engaged, during the French war, in the army of Gen. Wolfe, and was in the battle carrying a pair of colors, in which that celebrated commander was slain, on the

* Williams' Vermont.

† Thacher's Journal.

plains of Abraham. He was highly esteemed, by the distinguished commanders under whom he served, as a young officer of merit, capable of obtaining a high grade of military reputation.

“After the peace of '63, he sold out and entered into trade, for which the generosity of his nature utterly disqualified him; he, of course, soon became disgusted with a profitless pursuit, and having married, after several vicissitudes of fortune, he located himself in Ligonier valley, west of the Alleghany mountain, and near the ancient route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

In this situation the American revolution found him, surrounded by a rising family, in the enjoyment of ease and independence, with the fairest prospects of affluent fortune, the foundation of which had been already established by his intelligence, industry and enterprise.

From this peaceful abode, these sweet domestic enjoyments, and the flattering prospects which accompanied them, he was drawn by the claims of a troubled country. A man known to have been a military officer, and distinguished for knowledge and integrity, could not, in those times be concealed even by his favorite mountains, and therefore, without application or expectation on his part, he received the commission of a colonel in the month of December, 1775, together with a letter from President Hancock, pressing him to repair immediately to Philadelphia. He obeyed the summons, and took leave not only of his wife and children, but in effect of his fortune, to embark in the cause of liberty and the united colonies. In six weeks he completed the levy of a regiment of 750 men; six companies of which marched in season to join our troops before Quebec; he followed with the other four in May, and after the unlucky affair at Three Rivers, by his counsel to Gen. Sullivan at Sorel, he saved the army we had in Canada.”*

The active and persevering habits of St. Clair, and the military knowledge, as displayed by him during the Canadian campaign, brought him into high repute, and he was subsequently promoted to the rank of major-general. On all occasions he

* Wilkinson's Memoirs.

supported an honorable distinction, and shared largely in the confidence and friendship of the commander-in-chief.

The misfortunes attending the early military operations of the northern campaign of 1777, did not fail to bring reproach upon the characters of those who conducted it. The loss of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, and the subsequent retreat of General St. Clair, cast a gloom over the minds of patriotic men, and in their consequences gave rise to the malignant passions of the human heart, which were put in motion to depreciate the worth, impair the influence, and destroy the usefulness of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair. It was proclaimed that they were traitors to their country, and acted in concert with the enemy; and the ignorant and the credulous were led to believe that they had received an immense treasure in silver balls, fired by Burgoyne into St. Clair's camp, and by his order picked up and transmitted to Schuyler, at Fort George!! Extravagant as was this tale, it was implicitly believed.

At the time of the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, which so much exasperated the people, General Schuyler was absent upon a different duty, and was totally ignorant of the fact, though the commanding officer in that district. Gen. St. Clair, in accordance with the opinion of a council of war, ordered the movement on his own responsibility, and thereby saved the state of New-York from British domination, and his gallant army from capture. Stung with the injustice of a charge against General Schuyler, for an act for which he alone was responsible, he magnanimously wrote the following letter to the Hon. John Jay, on the subject:—

Moses'-Creek, July 25, 1777.

"SIR—General Schuyler was good enough to read to me a part of a letter he received last night from you. I cannot recollect that any of my officers ever asked my reasons for leaving Ticonderoga: but as I have found the measure much decried, I have often expressed myself in this manner:—"That as to myself I was perfectly easy; I was conscious of the uprightness and propriety of my conduct, and despised the vague censure of an

uninformed populace; but had no allusion to an order from Gen. Schuyler for my justification, because no such order existed.

“The calumny thrown on Gen. Schuyler, on account of that matter has given me great uneasiness. I assure you, Sir, there never was any thing more cruel and unjust; for he knew nothing of the matter until it was over, more than you did at Kingston. It was done in consequence of a consultation with the other general officers, without the possibility of Gen. Schuyler’s concurrence; and had the opinion of that council been contrary to what it was, it would nevertheless have taken place, because I knew it to be impossible to defend the post with our numbers.

“In my letter to congress from Fort Edward, in which I gave them an account of the retreat, is this paragraph:—‘It was my original design to retreat to this place, that I might be betwixt Gen. Burgoyne and the inhabitants, and that the militia might have something in this quarter to collect to. It is now effected, and the militia are coming in, so that I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked, and I may have the satisfaction to experience, that although I have lost a post, I have eventually saved a state.’

“Whether my conjecture is right, or not, is uncertain; but had our army been made prisoners, which it certainly would have been, the state of New-York would have been much more exposed at present.

“I proposed to Gen. Schuyler, on my arrival at Fort Edward, to have sent a note to the printer, to assure the people he had no part in abandoning what they considered their strong holds; he thought it was not so proper at that time, but it is no more than what I owe to truth and to him, to declare, that he was totally unacquainted with the matter; and I should be very glad that this letter, or any part of it you may think proper to communicate, may convince the unbelieving. Simple unbelief is easily and soon convinced, but when malice or envy occasions it, it is needless to attempt conviction.

I am, Sir, your very humble and ob’t. serv’t.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Hon. JOHN JAY.”

Congress, yielding to personal prejudices and the popular outcry, produced by the evacuation of that post, they passed the following resolutions:—

“*Resolved*, That an inquiry be made into the reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers who were in the northern department at the time of the evacuation.

“*Resolved*, That Major-General St. Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, forthwith repair to head-quarters.”

The conduct of congress towards this respectable, able, and faithful servant of the republic, was considered altogether unwarrantable, and in the result, drew great and deserved odium on its authors.

After holding St. Clair in cruel suspense for more than a year, he was permitted to appear before a general court martial, which passed the following sentence of acquittal:—

Quaker-Hill, Sept. 29, 1778.

“The court having duly considered the charges against major-general St. Clair, and the evidence, are *unanimously* of opinion, that he is NOT GUILTY of either of the charges preferred against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them, with the highest honor.

B. LINCOLN, *Maj. Gen. and Pres't.*

From this time, Gen. St. Clair continued in the service of his country until the close of the war. Soon after the establishment of the national government, Gen. St. Clair was appointed Governor of the North West Territory. But he did not long enjoy the calm and quiet of civil life. The repeated successes of the Indians, on the western frontier, had emboldened them to repeat and extend their incursions to an alarming degree.

“The frontiers were in a most deplorable situation. For their relief, congress sanctioned the raising of an additional regiment; and the President was authorised to cause a body of two thousand men, under the denomination of levies, to be raised for six months, and to appoint a major-general, and a

brigadier-general, to continue in command as long as he should think their services necessary. St. Clair, who was then governor of the territory, north-west of the Ohio, and as such, officially the negotiator with the adjacent Indians, was appointed commander-in-chief of this new military establishment. Though every exertion was made to recruit and forward the troops, they were not assembled in the neighborhood of Fort Washington, until the month of September; nor was the establishment then completed.

The object of the expedition was to destroy the Indian villages on the Miami; to expel the savages from that country; and to connect it with the Ohio by a chain of posts. The regulars, proceeding northwardly, from the Ohio, established, at proper intervals, two forts, one named Hamilton, and the other Jefferson, as places of deposit and security. These were garrisoned with a small force; and the main body of the army, about two thousand men, advanced towards the Indian settlements. As they approached the enemy, about sixty militiamen deserted, in a body. To prevent the mischiefs, likely to result from so bad an example, Major Hamtrack was detached, with the first regiment, to pursue the deserters. The army was reduced, by this detachment, to about fourteen hundred effective men; but, nevertheless, proceeded on their march, and encamped on elevated ground, about fifteen miles south of the Miami. The Indians commenced an attack on the militia in front. These instantly fled in disorder, and rushing into the camp, occasioned confusion among the regulars. The officers of the latter exerted themselves to restore order; but with very inconsiderable success. The Indians improved the advantage they had gained. They were seldom seen, but in the act of springing from one cover to another; for they fired from the ground, or under shelter of the woods. Advancing in this manner, close to the lines of their adversaries, and almost to the mouth of their field-pieces they continued the contest with great firmness and intrepidity.

Gen. St. Clair, though suffering under a painful disease, and unable to mount or dismount a horse, without assistance, deliv-

ered his orders with judgment, and perfect self-possession. The troops had not been in service long enough to acquire discipline; and the want of it increased the difficulty of reducing them to order after they had been broken. The officers, in their zeal to change the face of affairs, exposed themselves to imminent danger, and fell in great numbers. Attempts were made to retrieve the fortune of the day, by the use of the bayonet. Col. Darke made a successful charge on a part of the enemy, and drove them four hundred yards; but they soon rallied. In the mean time Gen. Butler was mortally wounded. Almost all the artillerists were killed, and their guns seized by the enemy. Col. Darke again charged with the bayonet, and the artillery was recovered. While the Indians were driven back in one point, they kept up their fire from every other, with fatal effect. Several corps charged the Indians with partial success; but no general impression was made upon them.

To save the remnant of his army, was all that could be done by St. Clair. After some hours of sharp fighting, a retreat took place. The Indians pursued for about four miles, when their avidity for plunder called them back to the camp to share the spoil. The vanquished troops fled about thirty miles, to Fort Jefferson. There they met Maj. Hamtrack, with the first regiment; but this additional force would not warrant an attempt to turn about and face the victors. The wounded were left there, and the army retreated to Fort Washington.

The loss in this defeat was great; and particularly so among the officers. Thirty-eight of these were killed on the field; and five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were slain or missing. Twenty-one commissioned officers and upwards of one hundred privates were wounded. Among the dead was the gallant General Butler, who had repeatedly distinguished himself in the war of the revolution. Several other brave officers, who had successfully fought for the independence of their country, fell on this fatal day. Among the wounded, were Lieutenant-Colonels Gibson and Darke, Major Butler, and Adjutant Sargent, officers of distinguished merit. Neither the number of the Indians engaged, nor their

loss could be exactly ascertained. The former was supposed to be from one thousand to fifteen hundred, and the latter far short of what was sustained by St. Clair's army." *

Shortly after this unfortunate expedition, Gen. St. Clair resigned his commission in the army, and retired into private life, and thus remained until the close of his life, August 31st, 1818.

JOHN SULLIVAN,

Major-General in the American Army.

GENERAL SULLIVAN was a native of New-Hampshire, where he resided before the revolution, and attained to a high degree of eminence in the profession of the law. He was a member of the first congress in 1774, but on the commencement of hostilities, preferring a military commission, he relinquished the fairest prospect of fortune and fame, and appeared among the most ardent patriots, and intrepid warriors.

In 1775, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and immediately joined the army at Cambridge, and soon after obtained the command on Winter Hill. The next year he was ordered to Canada, and on the death of Gen. Thomas the command of the army devolved on him. The situation of the army in that quarter was inexpressibly distressing; destitute of clothing, dispirited by defeat and constant fatigue, and a large proportion of the troops sick with the small pox. By his great exertions and judicious management he meliorated the condition of the army, and obtained general applause. On his retiring from that command, July 12th, 1776, the field officers thus addressed him. "It is to you, sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier."

In August, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and soon after was, with major-general lord Stirling, captured by the British in the battle on Long Island. Gen. Sullivan

* Ramsay's United States.

being paroled, was sent by Gen. Howe with a message to congress, after which he returned to New-York. In September he was exchanged for major-general Prescott. We next find him in command of the right division of our troops, in the famous battle at Trenton, and he acquitted himself honorably on that ever memorable day.

In August, 1777, without the authority of congress or the commander-in-chief, he planned and executed an expedition against the enemy on Staten Island. Though the enterprise was conducted with prudence and success in part, it was said by some to have been less brilliant than might have been expected under his favorable circumstances; and as that act was deemed a bold assumption of responsibility, and reports to his prejudice being in circulation, a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate his conduct. The result was an honorable acquittal, and congress resolved that the result so honorable to Gen. Sullivan is highly pleasing to congress, and that the opinion of the court be published, in justification of that injured officer.

In the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the autumn of 1777, Gen. Sullivan commanded a division, and in the latter conflict his two aids were killed, and his own conduct was so conspicuously brave, that Gen. Washington, in his letter to congress, concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of General Sullivan, and the whole right wing of the army, who acted immediately under the eye of his Excellency.

In August, 1778, Gen. Sullivan was sole commander of an expedition to the island of Newport, in co-operation with the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing. The Marquis de La Fayette and General Greene volunteered their services on the occasion. The object of the expedition was defeated, in consequence of the French fleet being driven off by a violent storm. By this unfortunate event the enemy were encouraged to engage our army in battle, in which they suffered a repulse, and General Sullivan finally effected a safe retreat to the main. This retreat, so ably executed, without confusion, or the loss of baggage, or stores, increased the military reputation of General Sullivan, and redounds to his honor as a skilful commander.

The bloody tragedy, acted at Wyoming, in 1778, had determined the commander-in-chief, in 1779, to employ a large detachment from the continental army to penetrate into the heart of the Indian country, to chastise the hostile tribes and their white associates and adherents, for their cruel aggressions on the defenceless inhabitants. The command of this expedition was committed to major-general Sullivan, with express orders to destroy their settlements, to ruin their crops, and make such thorough devastations, as to render the country entirely uninhabitable for the present, and thus to compel the savages to remove to a greater distance from our frontiers.

Gen. Sullivan had under his command several brigadiers, and a well chosen army, to which were attached a number of friendly Indian warriors. With this force he penetrated about ninety miles through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous deserts, to Wyoming, on the Susquehannah river, thence by water to Tioga, and possessed himself of numerous towns and villages of the savages.

During this hazardous expedition, General Sullivan and his army encountered the most complicated obstacles, requiring the greatest fortitude and perseverance to surmount. He explored an extensive tract of country, and strictly executed the severe, but necessary orders he had received. A considerable number of Indians were slain, some were captured, their habitations were burnt, and their plantations of corn and vegetables laid waste in the most effectual manner. "Eighteen villages, a number of detached buildings, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and those fruits and vegetables which conduce to the comfort and subsistence of man, were utterly destroyed. Five weeks were unremittingly employed in this work of devastation."

On his return from the expedition, he and his army received the approbation of congress. It is remarked on this expedition by the translation of M. Chastel'aux's travels, an Englishman, then resident in the United States, that the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to

maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern generals.

At the close of the campaign of 1779, General Sullivan, in consequence of impaired health, resigned his commission in the army. Congress, in accepting his resignation, passed a resolve, thanking him for his past services. His military talents and bold spirit of enterprise were universally acknowledged. He was fond of display, and his personal appearance and dignified deportment commanded respect. After his resignation he resumed his professional pursuits at the bar, and was much distinguished as a statesman, politician, and patriot. He acquired very considerable proficiency in general literature, and an extensive knowledge of men and the world. He received from Harvard university a degree of Master of Arts, and from the university of Dartmouth a degree of Doctor of Laws. He was one of the convention who formed the state constitution for New-Hampshire, was chosen into the first council, and was afterward elected chief magistrate in that state, and held the office for three years. In September, 1789, he was appointed Judge of the district court for the district of New-Hampshire, and continued in the office till his death, in 1795."*

SETH WARNER,

Colonel in the American Army.

"AMONG the persons who have performed important services to the state of Vermont, Col. Seth Warner deserves to be remembered with respect. He was born at Woodbury, in the colony of Connecticut, about the year 1744, of honest and respectable parents. Without any other advantages for an education than were to be found in the common schools of the town, he was early distinguished by the solidity and extent of his understanding. About the year 1763, his parents purchased a tract of land in Bennington, and soon after removed to that town with their family. In the uncultivated state of the coun-

* Thacher's Military Journal

try, in the fish, with which the rivers and ponds were furnished, and in the game with which the woods abounded, young Warner found a variety of objects suited to his favorite inclinations and pursuits; and he soon became distinguished as a fortunate and indefatigable hunter.

His father, captain Benjamin Warner, had a strong inclination to medicinal inquiries and pursuits; and agreeably to the state of things in new settlements, had to look for many of his medicines in the natural virtues of the plants and roots, that were indigenous to the country. His son Seth frequently attended him in these botanical excursions, contracted something of his father's taste for the business, and acquired more information of the nature and properties of the indigenous plants and vegetables, than any other man in the country. By this kind of knowledge he became useful to the families in the new settlements, and administered relief in many cases, where no other medical assistance could at that time be procured. By such visits and practice he became known to most of the families on the west side of the Green Mountains; and was generally esteemed by them a man highly useful both on account of his information and humanity.

About the year 1763, a scene began to open, which gave a new turn to his active and enterprising spirit. The lands on which the settlements were made, had been granted by the governors of New-Hampshire. The government of New-York claimed jurisdiction to the eastward as far as Connecticut river; denied the authority of the governor of New-Hampshire to make any grants to the west of Connecticut river; and announced to the inhabitants that they were within the territory of New-York, and had no legal title to the lands on which they had settled. The controversy became very serious between the two governments; and after some years spent in altercation, New-York procured a decision of George III. in their favor. This order was dated July 20, 1764, and declared "the western banks of the river Connecticut, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts bay, as far north as the 45th degree of northern latitude, to be the boundary line between the said two

provinces of New-Hampshire and New-York." No sooner was this decree procured, than the governor of New-York proceeded to make new grants of the lands, which the settlers had before fairly bought of the crown, and which had been chartered to them in the king's name and authority by the royal governor of New-Hampshire. All became a scene of disorder and danger. The new patentees under New-York brought actions of ejectment against the settlers. The decisions of the courts at Albany were always in favor of the New-York patentees; and nothing remained for the inhabitants but to buy their lands over again, or to give up the labors and earnings of their whole lives to the new claimants under titles from New York.

In this scene of oppression and distress, the settlers discovered the firm and vigorous spirit of manhood. All that was left to them, was either to yield up their whole property to a set of unfeeling land-jobbers, or to defend themselves and property by force. They wisely and virtuously chose the latter; and by a kind of common consent, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner became their leaders. No man's abilities and talents could have been better suited to this business than Warner's. When the authority of New-York proceeded with an armed force to attempt to execute their laws, Warner met them with a body of Green Mountain Boys, properly armed, full of resolution, and so formidable in numbers and courage, that the governor of New-York was obliged to give up this method of proceeding. When the sheriff came to extend his executions, and eject the settlers from their farms, Warner would not suffer him to proceed. Spies were employed to procure intelligence, and promote division among the people; when any of them were taken, Warner caused them to be tried by some of the most discreet of the people; and if declared guilty, to be tied to a tree and whipped. An officer came to take Warner by force; he considered it as an affair of open hostility, engaged, wounded, and disarmed the officer; but, with the honor and spirit of a soldier, spared the life of an enemy he had subdued. These services appeared in a very different light to the settlers, and to the government of New-York, the first considered him as an eminent patriot and

hero; to the other he appeared as the first of villians and rebels. To put an end to all further exertions, and to bring him to an exemplary punishment, the government of New-York, on March 9th, 1774, passed an act of outlawry against him; and a proclamation was issued by W. Tryon, governor of New-York, offering a reward of fifty pounds to any person who should apprehend him. These proceedings of New-York were beheld by him with contempt; and they had no other effect upon the settlers, than to unite them more firmly in their opposition to that government, and in their attachment to their own patriotic leader thus wantonly proscribed.

In services of so dangerous and important a nature, Warner was engaged from the year 1765 to 1775. That year a scene of the highest magnitude and consequence opened upon the world. On the 19th of April, the American war was begun by the British troops at Lexington. Happily for the country, it was commenced with such circumstances of insolence and cruelty, as left no room for the people of America to doubt what was the course which they ought to pursue. The time was come, in which total subjection, or the horrors of war, must take place. All America preferred the latter; and the people of the New-Hampshire Grants immediately undertook to secure the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Allen and Warner immediately engaged in the business. Allen took the command and Warner raised a body of excellent troops in the vicinity of Bennington, and both marched against Ticonderoga. They surprised and took that fortress on the morning of the tenth of May; and Warner was sent the same day with a detachment of the troops to secure Crown Point. He effected the business, and secured the garrison, with all the warlike stores, for the use of the continent.

The same year Warner received a commission from congress to raise a regiment, to assist in the reduction of Canada. He engaged in the business with his usual spirit of activity; raised his regiment chiefly among his old acquaintance and friends, the Green Mountain Boys, and joined the army under the command of General Montgomery. The Honorable Samuel Safford of

Bennington was his lieutenant-colonel. Their regiment conducted with great spirit, and acquired high applause, in the action at Longueil, in which the troops designed for the relief of St. John's were totally defeated and dispersed, chiefly by the troops under the command of Colonel Warner. The campaign ended about the 20th of November, in the course of which, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Chamblee, St. Johns, Montreal, and a fleet of eleven sail of vessels had been captured by the American arms. No man in this campaign had acted with more spirit and enterprise than Colonel Warner. The weather was now become severe, and Warner's men were too miserably clothed to bear a winter's campaign in the severe climate of Canada. They were accordingly now discharged by Montgomery with particular marks of his respect, and the most affectionate thanks for their meritorious services.

Warner returned with his men to the New-Hampshire Grants, but his mind was more than ever engaged in the cause of his country. Montgomery with a part of his army, pressed on to Quebec, and on December 31st was slain in an attempt to carry the city by storm. This event gave an alarm to the northern part of the colonies; and it became necessary to raise a reinforcement to march to Quebec in the midst of winter. The difficulty of the business suited the genius and ardor of Warner's mind. He was at Woodbury, in Connecticut, when he heard the news of Montgomery's defeat and death; he instantly repaired to Bennington, raised a body of men, and marched in the midst of winter to join the American troops at Quebec. The campaign during the winter proved extremely distressing to the Americans: in want of comfortable clothing, barracks, and provisions, most of them were taken by the smallpox, and several died. At the opening of the spring, in May, 1776, a large body of British troops arrived at Quebec, to relieve the garrison. The American troops were forced to abandon the blockade, with circumstances of great distress and confusion. Warner chose the most difficult part of the business, remaining always with the rear, picking up the lame and diseased, assisting and encouraging those who were the most unable to take care,

of themselves, and generally kept but a few miles in advance of the British, who were rapidly pursuing the retreating Americans from post to post. By steadily pursuing this conduct, he brought off most of the invalids; and with this corps of the infirm and diseased, he arrived at Ticonderoga, a few days after the body of the army had taken possession of that post.

Highly approving his extraordinary exertions, the American congress, on July 5th, 1776, the day after they had declared independence, resolved to raise a regiment out of the troops which had served with reputation in Canada. Warner was appointed colonel; Safford lieutenant-colonel of this regiment; and most of the other officers were persons who had been distinguished by their opposition to the claims and proceedings of New-York. By this appointment he was again placed in a situation perfectly agreeable to his inclination and genius; and in conformity to his orders he repaired to Ticonderoga, where he remained till the close of the campaign.

On January 16, 1777, the convention of the New-Hampshire Grants declared the whole district to be a sovereign and independent state, to be known and distinguished ever after by the name of Vermont. The committee of safety in New-York were then sitting, and on January 20th, they announced the transaction to congress, complaining in high terms of the conduct of Vermont, censuring it as a dangerous revolt and opposition to lawful authority; and at the same time remonstrating against the proceedings of congress in appointing Warner to the command of a regiment independent of the legislature, and within the bounds of that state; "especially, said they, as this Colonel Warner hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the legislature of this state, and hath been, on that account, proclaimed an outlaw by the late government thereof. It is absolutely necessary to recall the commissions given to Col. Warner and the officers under him, as nothing else will do us justice." No measures were taken by congress at that time, either to interfere in the civil contest between the two states, or to remove the colonel from his command. Anxious to effect this purpose, the convention of New-York wrote further on the subject, on March

1st, and among other things declared, "that there was not the least probability that Col. Warner could raise such a number of men as would be an object of public concern." Congress still declined to dismiss so valuable an officer from their service. On June 23d, congress was obliged to take up the controversy between New-York and Vermont; but instead of proceeding to disband the Colonel's regiment, on June 30th, they resolved "that the reason which induced congress to form that corps, was, that many officers of different states who had served in Canada, and alleged that they could soon raise a regiment, but were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the service of the United States." Nothing can give us a more just idea of the sentiments which the American congress entertained of the patriotic and military virtues of the colonel, than their refusing to give him up to the repeated solicitations and demands of so respectable and powerful a state, as that of New-York.

The American army stationed at Ticonderoga were forced to abandon that fortress, on July 6, 1777, in a very precipitate and irregular manner. The colonel with his regiment retreated along the western part of Vermont, through the towns of Orwell, Sudbury, and Hubbardton. At the last of these towns, the advanced corps of the British army overtook the rear of the American troops, on the morning of the 7th of July. The American army, all but part of three regiments, were gone forward; these were part of Hale's, Francis' and Warner's regiments. The enemy attacked them with superior numbers, and the highest prospect of success. Francis and Warner opposed them with great spirit and vigor; and no officers or troops could have discovered more courage and firmness than they displayed through the whole action. Large reinforcements of the enemy arriving, it became impossible to make any effectual opposition. Francis fell in a most honorable discharge of his duty. Hale surrendered with his regiment. Surrounded on every side by the enemy, but calm and undaunted, Col. Warner fought his way through all opposition, brought off the troops that refused to capitulate with Hale, checked the enemy in their pursuit, and contrary to all expectations, arrived safe with his troops at Man-

chester. To the northward of that town the whole country was deserted. The colonel determined to make a stand at that place; encouraged by his example and firmness, a body of the militia soon joined him; and he was once more in a situation to protect the inhabitants, harass the enemy, and break up the advanced parties.

On the 16th of August, the vicinity of Bennington became the seat of a memorable battle. Colonel Baum had been despatched by General Burgoyne to attack the American troops and destroy the magazines at Bennington. General Stark, who commanded at that place, had intelligence of the approach of the enemy; and sent orders on the morning of the 16th to Col. Warner at Manchester, to march immediately to his assistance. In the mean time Stark with the troops which were assembled at Bennington, had attacked the enemy under Col. Baum, and after a severe action had captured the whole body. Just as the action was finished, intelligence was received that a large reinforcement of the enemy had arrived. Fatigued and exhausted by so long and severe an action, Stark was doubtful whether it was possible for his troops to enter immediately upon another battle with a fresh body of the enemy. At that critical moment Warner arrived with his troops from Manchester. Mortified that he had not been in the action, and determined to have some part in the glory of the day, he urged Stark immediately to commence another action. Stark consented, and the colonel instantly led on his men to battle. The Americans rallied from every part of the field, and the second action became as fierce and decisive as the first. The enemy gave way in every direction; great numbers of them were slain, and the rest saved themselves altogether by the darkness of the night. Stark ascribed the last victory very much to Colonels Warner and Herrick; and spoke in the highest terms of their superior information and activity, as that to which he principally owed his success. The success at Bennington gave a decisive turn to the affairs of that campaign. Stark, Warner, and the other officers, with their troops, joined the army under Gen. Gates. Victory every where followed the attempts of the northern

army; and the campaign terminated in the surrender of Burgoyne and his whole army, at Saratoga, on October 17th, 1777.

The contest in the northern department being in a great measure decided by the capture of Burgoyne, Warner had no farther opportunity to discover his prowess in defence of his beloved state: but served occasionally at different places on Hudson River, as the circumstances of the war required, and always with reputation. Despairing of success in the northern parts, the enemy carried the war into the southern states; and neither New-York nor Vermont any longer remained the places of distinguished enterprise. But such had been the fatigues and exertions of the colonel, that when he returned to his family in Bennington, his constitution, naturally firm and vigorous, appeared to be worn down, and nature declined under a complication of disorders, occasioned by the excessive labors and sufferings he had passed through.

Most of those men who have been engaged with uncommon ardor in the cause of their country, have been so swallowed up with the patriotic passion, as to neglect that attention to their private interests which other men pursue as the ruling passion. Thus it proved with Colonel Warner: intent at first upon saving a state, and afterwards upon saving a country, his mind was so entirely engaged in those pursuits, that he had not made that provision for his family, which to most of the politicians and land jobbers was the ultimate end of all their measures and exertions. With a view the better to support his family he removed to Woodbury; where, in the year 1785, he ended an active and useful life, in high estimation among his friends and countrymen.

His family had derived little or no estate from his services. After his death they applied to the general assembly of Vermont for a grant of land. The assembly, with a spirit of justice and generosity, remembered the services of Col. Warner, took up the petition, and granted a valuable tract of land to his widow and family: a measure highly honorable to the memory of Col. Warner and of that assembly.”*

* Williams' Vermont.

JOSEPH WARREN,

Major-General in the American Army.

JOSEPH WARREN was born in Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. His father was a respectable farmer in that place who had held several municipal offices, to the acceptance of his fellow-citizens. Joseph, with several of his brothers, was instructed in the elementary branches of knowledge, at the public-grammar school of the town, which was distinguished for its successive instructors of superior attainments. In 1755, he entered college, where he sustained the character of a youth of talents, fine manners, and of a generous, independent deportment, united to great personal courage and perseverance. An anecdote will illustrate his fearlessness and determination at that age, when character can hardly be said to be formed. Several students of Warren's class shut themselves in a room to arrange some college affairs, in a way which they knew was contrary to his wishes, and barred the door so effectually that he could not without great violence force it: but he did not give over the attempt of getting among them; for, perceiving that the window of the room in which they were assembled was open, and near a spout which extended from the roof of the building to the ground, he went to the top of the house, slid down to the eaves, seized the spout, and when he had descended as far as the window, threw himself into the chamber among them. At that instant, the spout, which was decayed and weak, gave way and fell to the ground. He looked at it without emotion, said that it had served his purpose, and began to take his part in the business. A spectator of this feat and narrow escape, related this fact to me in the college-yard, nearly half a century afterward; and the impression it made on his mind was so strong, that he seemed to feel the same emotion as though it had happened but an hour before.

On leaving college in 1759, Warren turned his attention to the study of medicine, under the direction of Doctor Lloyd, an

eminent physician of that day, whose valuable life has been protracted almost to the present time. Warren was distinguished very soon after he commenced practice; for when in 1764, the small pox spread in Boston, he was among the most successful in his method of treating that disease, which was then considered the most dreadful scourge of the human race; and the violence of which had baffled the efforts of the learned faculty of medicine from the time of its first appearance. From this moment he stood high among his brethren, and was the favorite of the people; and what he gained in their good will he never lost. His personal appearance, his address, his courtesy, and his humanity, won the way to the hearts of all; and his knowledge and superiority of talents secured the conquest. A bright and lasting fame in his profession, with the attendant consequences, wealth and influence, were within his reach, and near at hand: but the calls of a distracted country were paramount to every consideration of his own interests, and he entered the vortex of politics, never to return to the peaceful course of professional labor.

The change in public opinion had been gradually preparing the minds of most men for a revolution. This was not openly avowed; amelioration of treatment for the present, and assurances of kindness in future, were all that the colonies asked from Great Britain—but these they did not receive. The mother country mistook the spirit of her children, and used threats where kindness would have been the best policy. When Britain declared her right to direct, govern, and tax us in any form, and at all times, the colonies reasoned, remonstrated, and entreated for a while; and when these means did not answer, they defied and resisted. The political writers of the province had been active and busy, but they were generally screened by fictitious names, or sent their productions anonymously into the world: but the time had arrived, when speakers of nerve and boldness were wanted to raise their voices against oppression in every shape. Warren possessed first-rate qualities for an orator, and had early declared in the strongest terms his political sentiments, which were somewhat in advance of public opinion; for

he held as tyranny all taxation, which could be imposed by the British parliament upon the colonies. In times of danger, the people are sagacious, and cling to those who best can serve them; and every eye was on him in every emergency; for he had not only the firmness and decision they wished for in a leader, but was prudent and wary in all his plans. His first object was to enlighten the people; and then he felt sure of engaging their feelings in the general cause. He knew when once they began, it would be impossible to tread back—independence only would satisfy the country.

With an intention of directing public sentiment, without appearing to be too active, he met frequently with a considerable number of substantial mechanics, and others in the middling classes of society, who were busy in politics. This crisis required such a man as they found him to be; one who could discern the signs of the times, and mould the ductile materials to his will, and at the same time seem only to follow in the path of others. His letter to Barnard, which attracted the notice of government, had been written several years before, in 1768; but in some form or other he was constantly enlightening the people by his pen: but it is now difficult, and of no great importance to trace him in the papers of that period. The public was not then always right in designating the authors of political essays. In the different situations in which he was called to act, he assumed as many characters as fable has ever given to the tutelar god of his profession, and like him, in every one of them he retained the wisdom to guide, and the power to charm. At one time he might be found restraining the impetuosity, and bridling the fury of those hot-headed politicians, who felt more than they reasoned, and dared to do more than became men. Such was his versatility, that he turned from these lectures of caution and prudence, to asserting and defending the most bold and undisguised principles of liberty, and defying in their very teeth the agents of the crown. Twice he was elected to deliver the oration on the 5th of March, in commemoration of the *masacre*; and his orations are among the most distinguished, produced by that splendid list of speakers who addressed their

fellow-citizens on this subject, so interesting to them all. In these productions, generally, the immediate causes of this event were overlooked, and the remote ones alone were discussed. Here they were on safe ground; for tyranny, in its incipient stages, has no excuse from opposition; but in its march, it generally finds some plausible arguments for its proceedings, drawn from the very resistance it naturally produces. These occasions gave the orators a fine field for remark, and a fair opportunity for effect. The great orators of antiquity, in their speeches, attempted only to rouse the people to retain what they possessed. Invective, entreaty, and pride had their effect in assisting those mighty masters to influence the people. They were ashamed to lose what their fathers left them, won by their blood, and so long preserved by their wisdom, their virtues, and their courage. Our statesman had a harder task to perform: for they were compelled to call on the people to gain what they had never enjoyed—an independent rank and standing among the nations of the world.

His next oration was delivered March 6th, 1775. It was at his own solicitation that he was appointed to this duty a second time. The fact is illustrative of his character, and worthy of remembrance. Some British officers of the army then in Boston, had publicly declared that it should be at the price of the life of any man to speak of the event of March 5th, 1770, on that anniversary. Warren's soul took fire at such a threat, so openly made, and he wished for the honour of braving it. This was readily granted; for at such a time a man would probably find but few rivals. Many who would spurn the thought of personal fear, might be apprehensive that they would be so far disconcerted as to forget their discourse. It is easier to fight bravely, than to think clearly or correctly in danger. Passion sometimes nerves the arm to fight, but disturbs the regular current of thought. The day came, and the weather was remarkably fine. The Old South Meeting-house was crowded at an early hour. The British officers occupied the aisles, the flight of steps to the pulpit, and several of them were within it. It was not precisely known whether this was accident or design.

The orator, with the assistance of his friends, made his entrance at the pulpit window by a ladder. The officers seeing his coolness and intrepidity, made way for him to advance and address the audience. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. Each man felt the palpitations of his own heart, and saw the pale but determined face of his neighbor. The speaker began his oration in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. Warren and his friends were prepared to chastise contumely, prevent disgrace, and avenge an attempt at assassination.

The scene was sublime; a patriot, in whom the flush of youth and the grace and dignity of manhood were combined, stood armed in the sanctuary of God to animate and encourage the sons of liberty and to hurl defiance at their oppressors. The orator commenced with the early history of the country, described the tenure by which we held our liberties and property, the affection we had constantly shown the parent country, and boldly told them how, and by whom these blessings of life had been violated. There was in this appeal to Britain—in this description of suffering, agony and horror, a calm and high-souled defiance which must have chilled the blood of every sensible foe. Such another hour has seldom happened in the history of man, and is not surpassed in the records of nations. The thunders of Demosthenes rolled at a distance from Philip and his host—and Tully poured the fiercest torrent of his invective when Cataline was at a distance, and his dagger no longer to be feared: but Warren's speech was made to proud oppressors resting on their arms, whose errand it was to overawe, and whose business it was to fight.

If the deed of Brutus deserved to be commemorated by history, poetry, painting and sculpture, should not this instance of patriotism and bravery be held in lasting remembrance? If he

“That struck the foremost man of all this world,”

was hailed as the first of freemen, what honors are not due to him, who, undismayed, bearded the British lion, to show the world what his countrymen dared to do in the cause of liberty?

If the statue of Brutus was placed among those of the gods, who were the preservers of Roman freedom, should not that of Warren fill a lofty niche in the temple reared to perpetuate the remembrance of our birth as a nation?

If independence was not at first openly avowed by our leading men at that time, the hope of attaining it was fondly cherished and the exertions of the patriots pointed to this end. The wise knew that the storm, which the political Prosperos were raising, would pass away in blood. With these impressions on his mind, Warren for several years was preparing himself by study and observation, to take a conspicuous rank in the military arrangements which he knew must ensue.

On the 18th of April, 1775, by his agents in Boston, he discovered the design of the British commander to seize or destroy our few stores at Concord. He instantly despatched several confidential messengers to Lexington. The late venerable patriot, Paul Revere, was one of them. This gentleman has given a very interesting account of the difficulties he encountered in the discharge of this duty. The alarm was given, and the militia burning with resentment, were at day break on the 19th, on the road to repel insult and aggression. The drama was opened about sunrise, within a few yards of the house of God, in Lexington. Warren hastened to the field of action in the full ardor of his soul, and shared the dangers of the day. While pressing on the enemy, a musket-ball took off a lock of his hair close to his ear. The lock was rolled and pinned, after the fashion of that day, and considerable force must have been necessary to have cut it away. The people were delighted with his cool, collected bravery, and already considered him as a leader, whose gallantry they were to admire and in whose talents they were to confide. On the 14th of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts made him a major-general of their forces, but previous to the date of his commission, he had been unceasing in his exertions to maintain order and enforce discipline among the troops, which had hastily assembled at Cambridge, after the battle of Lexington. He mingled in the ranks, and by every method and argument strove to inspire

them with confidence, and succeeded in a most wonderful manner in imparting to them a portion of the flame which glowed in his own breast. At such a crisis, genius receives its birth-right—the homage of inferior minds, who for self-preservation are willing to be directed. Previous to receiving the appointment of major-general, he had been requested to take the office of physician-general to the army, but he chose to be where the wounds were to be made, rather than where they were to be healed. Yet he lent his aid and advice to the medical department of the army, and was of great service to them in their organization and arrangements.

He was at this time president of the Provincial Congress, having been elected the preceding year a member from the town of Boston. In this body he discovered his extraordinary powers of mind, and his peculiar fitness for responsible offices at such a juncture. Cautious in proposing measures, he was assiduous in pursuing what he thought, after mature deliberation, to be right, and never counted the probable cost of a measure, when he had decided that it was necessary to be taken. When this congress, which was sitting at Watertown, adjourned for the day, he mounted his horse and hastened to the camp. Every day ‘he bought golden opinions of all sorts of men;’ and when the troops were called to act on Breed’s Hill, he had so often been among them, that his person was known to most of the soldiers.

Several respectable historians have fallen into some errors in describing the battle in which he fell, by giving the command of the troops on that day to Warren, when he was only a volunteer in the fight. He did not arrive on the battle ground until the enemy had commenced their movements for the attack. As soon as he made his appearance on the field, the veteran commander of the day, Colonel Prescott, desired to act under his directions, but Warren declined taking any other part than that of a volunteer, and added that he came to learn the art of war from an experienced soldier, whose orders he should be happy to obey. In the battle he was armed with a musket, and stood in the ranks, now and then changing his place to encourage his

fellow-soldiers by words and by example. He undoubtedly, from the state of hostilities, expected soon to act in his high military capacity, and it was indispensable, according to his views, that he should share the dangers of the field as a common soldier with his fellow-citizens, that his reputation for bravery might be put beyond the possibility of suspicion. The wisdom of such a course would never have been doubted, if he had returned in safety from the fight. In such a struggle for independence, the ordinary rules of prudence and caution could not govern those who were building up their names for future usefulness by present exertion. Some maxims drawn from the republican writers of antiquity were worn as their mottoes. Some precepts descriptive of the charms of liberty, were ever on their tongues, and some classical model of Greek, or Roman patriotism, was constantly in their minds. Instances of great men mixing in the rank of common soldiers, were to be found in ancient times; when men fought for their altars and their homes. The cases were parallel, and the examples were imposing. When the battle was decided, and our people fled, Warren was one of the last who left the breastwork, and was slain within a few yards of it as he was slowly retiring. He probably felt mortified at the event of the day; but had he known how dearly the victory was purchased, and how little honor was gained by those who won it, his heart would have been at rest. Like the band of Leonidas, the vanquished have received by the judgment of nations, from which there is no appeal, the imperishable laurels of victors. His death brought a sickness to the heart of the community, and the people mourned his fall, not with the convulsive agony of a betrothed virgin over the bleeding corpse of her lover; but with the pride of the Spartan mother, who in the intensity of her grief, smiled to see that the wounds whence life had flown; were on the breast of her son—and was satisfied that he had died in defence of his country. The worth of the victim, and the horror of the sacrifice, gave a higher value to our liberties, and produced a more fixed determination to preserve them.

The battle of Bunker Hill has often been described, and of late its minutest details given to the public, but never was the

military, moral, and political character of that great event more forcibly drawn, than in the following extract from the North American Review, for July, 1818:—

“The incidents and the result of the battle itself, were most important, and indeed, most wonderful. As a mere battle, few surpass it in whatever engages and interests the attention. It was fought on a conspicuous eminence, in the immediate neighborhood of a populous city; and consequently in the view of thousands of spectators. The attacking army moved over a sheet of water to the assault. The operations and movements were of course all visible and all distinct. Those who looked on from the houses and heights of Boston had a fuller view of every important operation and event, than can ordinarily be had of any battle, or that can possibly be had of such as are fought on a more extended ground, or by detachments of troops acting in different places, and at different times, and in some measure independently of each other.—When the British columns were advancing to the attack, the flames of Charlestown, (fired, as is generally supposed, by a shell,) began to ascend. The spectators, far outnumbering both armies, thronged and crowded on every height and every point which afforded a view of the scene, themselves constituting a very important part of it.

“The troops of the two armies seemed like so many combatants in an amphitheatre.—The manner in which they should acquit themselves, was to be judged of, not as in other cases of military engagements, by reports and future history, but by a vast and anxious assembly already on the spot, and waiting with unspeakable concern and emotion the progress of the day.

“In other battles the *recollection* of wives and children has been used as an excitement to animate the warrior’s breast and nerve his arm. Here was not a mere recollection, but an actual *presence* of them and other dear connexions, hanging on the skirts of the battle, anxious and agitated, feeling almost as if wounded themselves by every blow of the enemy, and putting forth, as it were, their own strength, and all the energy of their own throbbing bosoms, into every gallant effort of their warring friends.

But there was a more comprehensive and vastly more important view of that day's contest, than has been mentioned,—a view, indeed, which ordinary eyes, bent intently on what was immediately before them, did not embrace, but which was perceived in its full extent and expansion by minds of a higher order. Those men who were at the head of the colonial councils, who had been engaged for years in the previous stages of the quarrel with England, and who had been accustomed to look forward to the future, were well apprised of the magnitude of the events likely to hang on the business of that day. They saw in it not only a battle, but the beginning of a civil war, of unmeasured extent and uncertain issue. All America and all England were likely to be deeply concerned in the consequences. The individuals themselves, who knew full well what agency they had had, in bringing affairs to this crisis, had need of all their courage;—not that disregard of personal safety, in which the vulgar suppose true courage to consist, but that high and fixed moral sentiment, that steady and decided purpose, which enables men to pursue a distant end, with a full view of the difficulties and dangers before them, and with a conviction that, before they arrive at the proposed end, should they ever reach it, they must pass through evil report as well as good report, and be liable to obloquy as well as defeat.

“Spirits that fear nothing else, fear disgrace; and this danger is necessarily encountered by those who engage in civil war. Unsuccessful resistance is not only ruin to its authors, but is esteemed, and necessarily so, by the laws of all countries, treasonable. This is the case, at least till resistance becomes so general and formidable as to assume the form of regular war. But who can tell, when resistance commences, whether it will attain even to that degree of success? Some of those persons who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, described themselves as signing it, “as with halters about their necks.” If there were grounds for this remark in 1776, when the cause had become so much more general, how much greater was the hazard, when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought?

“These considerations constituted, to enlarged and liberal.

minds, the moral sublimity of the occasion; while to the outward senses the movement of armies, the roar of artillery, the brilliancy of the reflection of a summer's sun, from the burnished armour of the British columns, and the flames of a burning town made up a scene of extraordinary grandeur."

This eminece has become sacred ground. It contains in its bosom the ashes of the brave who died fighting to defend their altars and their homes. Strangers from all countries visit this spot, for it is associated in their memories with Marathon and Plataeæ, and all the mighty struggles of determined freemen. Our citizens love to wander over this field—the aged to awake recollections, and the youthful to excite heroic emotions. The battle ground is now all plainly to be seen—the spirit of modern improvement, which would stop the streams of Helicon to turn a mill, and cause to be felled the trees of Paradise to make a rafter, has yet spared this hallowed height.

If "the days of chivalry be gone forever," and the high and enthusiastic feelings of generosity and magnanimity be not so widely diffused as in more heroic ages, yet it cannot be denied but that there have been, and still are, individuals whose bosoms are warmed with a spirit as glowing and ethereal as ever swelled the heart of "mailed knight," who, in the ecstasies of love, religion and martial glory, joined the war-cry on the plains of Palestine, or proved his steel on the infidel foe. The history of every revolution is interspersed with brilliant episodes of individual prowess. The pages of our own history, when fully written out, will sparkle profusely with these gems of romantic valor.

The calmness and indifference of the veteran "in clouds of dust and seas of blood," can only be acquired by long acquaintance with the trade of death; but the heights of Charlestown will bear eternal testimony how suddenly, in the cause of freedom the peaceful citizen can become the invincible warrior—stung by oppression he springs forward from his tranquil pursuits, undaunted by opposition, and undismayed by danger, to fight even to death for the defence of his rights. Parents, wives, children and country, all the hallowed properties of existence, are to

him the talisman that takes fear from his heart, and nerves his arm to victory.

In the requiem over those who have fallen in the cause of their country, which

“Time with his own eternal lips shall sing,”

the praises of WARREN shall be distinctly heard. The blood of those patriots who have fallen in the defence of Republics has often “cried from the ground” against the ingratitude of the country for which it was shed. No monument was reared to their fame, no record of their virtues written; no fostering hand extended to their offspring—but they and their deeds were neglected and forgotten. Toward Warren there was no ingratitude—our country is free from this stain. Congress were the guardians of his honor, and remembered that his children were unprotected orphans. Within a year after his death, congress passed the following resolutions:—

“That a monument be erected to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston, with the following inscription:

IN HONOR OF

JOSEPH WARREN,

Major-General, of Massachusetts Bay.

He devoted his life to the
liberties of his country,
and in bravely defending them,
fell an early victim in the

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL,

June 17, 1775.

The Congress of the United States,
as an acknowledgment of his
services and distinguished
merit, have erected this
monument to his
memory.

It was resolved likewise, ‘That the eldest son of General Warren should be educated from that time at the expense of the United States.’ On the first of July, 1780, congress

recognising these former resolutions, further resolved, 'That it should be recommended to the executive of Massachusetts Bay to make provision for the maintenance and education of his three younger children. And that congress would defray the expense to the amount of the half pay of a major-general, to commence at the time of his death, and continue till the youngest of the children should be of age.' The part of the resolutions relating to the education of the children, was carried into effect, accordingly. The monument is not yet erected, but it is not too late. The shade of Warren will not repine at this neglect, while the ashes of Washington repose without gravestone or epitaph." *

PELEG WADSWORTH,

General of the Massachusetts Militia.

"THE following is an abstract of an interesting narrative taken from the travels of the late Dr. Dwight.

'After the failure of the expedition against the British garrison at Penobscot, General Peleg Wadsworth was appointed in the spring of 1780, to the command of a party of state troops in Camden, in the District of Maine. At the expiration of the period for which the troops were engaged, in February following, General Wadsworth dismissed his troops, retaining six soldiers only as his guard, and he was making preparations to depart from the place. A neighboring inhabitant communicated his situation to the British commander at Penobscot, and a party of twenty-five soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Stockton, was sent to make him a prisoner. They embarked in a small schooner, and landing within four miles of the general's quarters, they were concealed at the house of one Snow, a methodist preacher, professedly a friend to him, but really a traitor, till eleven o'clock in the evening, where they made their arrangements for the attack on the general's quarters. The party

* Biographical Sketches,

rushed suddenly on the sentinel, who gave the alarm, and one of his comrades instantly opened the door of the kitchen, and the enemy were so near as to enter with the sentinel. The lady of the general, and her friend Miss Fenno, of Boston, were in the house at the time; and Mrs. Wadsworth escaped from the room of her husband into that of Miss Fenno. The assailants soon became masters of the whole house, except the room where the general was, and which was strongly barred, and they kept up a constant firing of musketry into the windows and doors, except into those of the ladies' room. Gen. Wadsworth was provided with a pair of pistols, a blunderbuss, and a fusee, which he employed with great dexterity, being determined to defend himself to the last moment. With his pistols, which he discharged several times, he defended the windows of his room, and a door which opened into the kitchen. His blunderbuss he snapped several times, but unfortunately it missed fire; he then seized his fusee, which he discharged on some who were breaking through one of the windows, and obliged them to flee. He next defended himself with his bayonet, till he received a ball through his left arm, when he surrendered, which terminated the contest. The firing, however, did not cease from the kitchen, till the general unbarred the door, when the soldiers rushed into the room; and one of them, who had been badly wounded, pointing his musket at his breast, exclaimed with an oath, 'you have taken my life, and I will take yours.' But Lieutenant Stockton turned the musket and saved his life. The commanding officer now applauded the general for his admirable defence, and assisted in putting on his clothes, saying 'you see we are in a critical situation; you must excuse haste.' Mrs. Wadsworth threw a blanket over him, and Miss Fenno applied a handkerchief closely around his wounded arm. In this condition, though much exhausted, he, with a wounded American soldier, was directed to march on foot, while two British wounded soldiers were mounted on a horse taken from the general's barn. They departed in great haste. When they had proceeded about a mile, they met at a small house a number of people who had collected, and who inquired if they had

taken General Wadsworth. They said no, and added that they must leave a wounded man in their care; and if they paid proper attention to him, they should be compensated; but if not, they would burn down their house; but the man appeared to be dying. General Wadsworth was now mounted on the horse, behind the other wounded soldier, and was warned that his safety depended on his silence. Having crossed over a frozen mill-pond, about a mile in length, they were met by some of their party who had been left behind. At this place they found the British privateer which brought the party from the fort: the captain, on being told that he must return there with the prisoner and the party, and seeing some of his men wounded, became outrageous, and damned the general for a rebel, demanded how he dared to fire on the king's troops and ordered him to help launch the boat, or he would put his hanger through his body. The general replied that he was a prisoner, and badly wounded, and could not assist in launching the boat. Lieutenant Stockton, on hearing of this abusive treatment, in a manner honorable to himself, told the captain that the prisoner was a gentleman, had made a brave defence, and was to be treated accordingly, and added that his conduct should be represented to General Campbell. After this the captain treated the prisoner with great civility, and afforded him every comfort in his power. General Wadsworth had left the ladies in the house, not a window of which escaped destruction. The doors were broken down, and two of the rooms were set on fire, the floors covered with blood, and on one of them lay a brave old soldier, dangerously wounded, begging for death, that he might be released from misery. The anxiety and distress of Mrs. Wadsworth was inexpressible, and that of the general was greatly increased by the uncertainty in his mind respecting the fate of his little son, only five years old, who had been exposed to every danger by the firing into the house; but he had the happiness afterward to hear of his safety. Having arrived at the British post, the capture of General Wadsworth was soon announced, and the shore thronged with spectators, to see the man who, through the preceding year, had disappointed all the

designs of the British in that quarter; and loud shouts were heard from the rabble which covered the shore; but when he arrived at the fort, and was conducted into the officers' guard-room, he was treated with politeness. General Campbell, the commandant of the British garrison, sent his compliments to him, and a surgeon to dress his wounds; assuring him that his situation should be made comfortable. The next morning, Gen. Campbell invited him to breakfast, and at table paid him many compliments on the defence he had made, observing, however, that he had exposed himself in a degree not perfectly justifiable. General Wadsworth replied, that from the manner of the attack he had no reason to suspect any design of taking him alive, and that he intended therefore to sell his life as dearly as possible. 'But sir, says General Campbell, 'I understand that the captain of the privateer treated you very ill; I shall see that matter set right.' He then informed the prisoner, that a room in the officers' barracks within the fort was prepared for him, and that he should send his orderly sergeant daily to attend him to breakfast and dinner at his table. Having retired to his solitary apartment, and while his spirits were extremely depressed by a recollection of the past, and by his present situation, he received from General Campbell several books of amusement, and soon after a visit from him, kindly endeavoring to cheer the spirits of his prisoner by conversation. Not long after, the officers of the party called, and among others the redoubtable captain of the privateer, who called to ask pardon for what had fallen from him when in a passion: adding that it was not in his nature to treat a gentleman prisoner ill; that the unexpected disappointment of his cruise had thrown him off his guard, and he hoped that this would be deemed a sufficient apology. This General Wadsworth accepted. At the hour of dining he was invited to the table of the commandant, where he met with all the principal officers of the garrison, and from whom he received particular attention and politeness. General Wadsworth soon made application to the commandant for a flag of truce, by which means he could transmit a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, and another to Mrs. Wadsworth: this was granted on the

condition that the letter to the governor should be inspected. The flag was intrus'd to Lieutenant Stockton, and on his return, the general was relieved from all anxiety respecting his wife and family. General Campbell, and the officers of the garrison, continued their civilities for some time, and endeavoured by books and personal visits, to render his situation as pleasant as circumstances would admit of. At the end of five weeks, his wound being nearly healed, he requested of General Campell the customary privilege of a parole, and received in reply, that his case had been reported to the commanding officer at New-York, and that no alteration could be made till orders were received from that quarter. In about two months, Mrs. Wadsworth and Miss Fenno arrived; and General Campbell and some of the officers, contributed to render their visit agreeable to all concerned. About the same time, orders were received from the commanding general at New-York, which were concealed from General Wadsworth; but he finally learnt that he was not to be paroled nor exchanged, but was to be sent to England as a rebel of too much consequence to be at liberty. Not long afterward Major Benjamin Burton, a brave and worthy man, who had served under General Wadsworth the preceding summer, was taken and brought into the fort, and lodged in the same room with General Wadsworth. He had been informed, that both himself and the general were to be sent, immediately after the return of a privateer, now out on a cruise, either to New-York or Halifax, and thence to England. The prisoners immediately resolved to make a desperate attempt to effect their escape. They were confined in a grated room in the officers' barracks, within the fort. The walls of this fortress, exclusively of the depth of the ditch surrounding it, were twenty feet high, with fraising on the top, and chevaux-de-frise at the bottom. Two sentinels were always in the entry, and their door, the upper part of which was of glass, might be opened by these watchmen whenever they thought proper, and was actually opened at seasons of peculiar darkness and silence. At the exterior doors of the entries, sentinels were also stationed; as were others in the body of the fort, and at the quarters of Gen. Campbell. At the

guard-house, a strong guard was daily mounted. Several sentinels were stationed on the walls of the fort, and a complete line occupied them by night. Without the ditch, glacis and abattis, another complete set of soldiers patrolled through the night, also. The gate of the fort was shut at sunset, and a piquet guard was placed on or near the isthmus leading from the fort to the main land.

The room in which they were confined was railed with boards. One of these they determined to cut off so as to make a hole large enough to pass through, and then to creep along till they should come to the next or middle entry; and then lower themselves down into this entry by a blanket. If they should not be discovered, the passage to the walls of the fort was easy. In the evening, after the sentinels had seen the prisoners retire to bed, General Wadsworth got up and standing on a chair, attempted to cut with his knife the intended opening, but soon found it impracticable. The next day by giving a soldier a dollar, they procured a gimblet. With this instrument they proceeded cautiously and as silently as possible to perforate the board, and in order to conceal every appearance from their servants and from the officers their visitors, they carefully covered the gimblet holes with chewed bread. At the end of three weeks their labours were so far completed that it only remained to cut with a knife the parts which were left to hold the piece in its place. When their preparations were finished, they learned that a privateer in which they were to embark was daily expected. In the evening of the 18th of June, a very severe storm of rain, with great darkness and almost incessant lightning came on. This the prisoners considered as the propitious moment. Having extinguished their lights, they began to cut the corners of the board, and in less than an hour the intended opening was completed. The noise which the operation occasioned was drowned by the rain falling on the roof. Major Burton first ascended to the ceiling, and pressed himself through the opening. Gen. Wadsworth next, having put the corner of his blanket through the hole and made it fast by a strong wooden skewer, attempted to make his way through, standing on a chair

below, but it was with extreme difficulty that he at length effected it, and reached the middle entry. From this he passed through the door which he found open, and made his way to the wall of the fort, and had to encounter the greatest difficulty before he could ascend to the top. He had now to creep along the top of the fort between the sentry boxes at the very moment when the relief was shifting sentinels, but the falling of heavy rain kept the sentinels within their boxes, and favored his escape. Having now fastened his blanket round a picket at the top, he let himself down through the chevaux-di-frise to the ground, and in a manner astonishing to himself made his way into the open field. Here he was obliged to grope his way among rocks, stumps, and brush in the darkness of night, till he reached the cove; happily the tide had ebbed and enabled him to cross the water about a mile in breadth, and not more than three feet deep. About two o'clock in the morning General Wadsworth found himself a mile and a half from the fort, and he proceeded through a thick wood and brush to the Penobscot River, and after passing some distance along the shore, being seven miles from the fort, to his unspeakable joy he saw his friend Burton advancing towards him. Major Burton had been obliged to encounter in his course equal difficulties with his companion, and such were the incredible perils, dangers, and obstructions, which they surmounted, that their escape may be considered almost miraculous. It was now necessary they should cross the Penobscot River, and very fortunately they discovered a canoe with oars on the shore suited to their purpose. While on the river they discovered a barge with a party of British from the fort in pursuit of them, but by taking an oblique course, and plying their oars to the utmost, they happily eluded the eyes of their pursuers and arrived safe on the western shore. After having wandered in the wilderness for several days and nights, exposed to extreme fatigue and cold, and with no other food than a little dry bread and meat which they brought in their pockets from the fort, they reached the settlements on the River St. George, and no further difficulties attended their return to their respective families.*

* Thacher's Military Journal.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON,

Colonel in the American Army.

••HE was the eldest son of Baily Washington, Esq. of Stafford county, in the state of Virginia; and belonged to a younger branch of the original Washington family.

In the commencement of the war, and at an early period of life, he had entered the army, as captain of a company of infantry under the command of General Mercer. In this corps, he had acquired from actual service a practical knowledge of the profession of arms.

He fought in the battle of Long Island; and in his retreat through New-Jersey, accompanied his great kinsman, cheerful under the gloom, coolly confronting the danger, and bearing, with exemplary fortitude and firmness, the heavy misfortunes and privations of the time.

In the successful attack on the British post at Trenton, Capt. Washington acted a brilliant and most important part. Perceiving the enemy about to form a battery, and point it into a narrow street, against the advancing American column, he charged them, at the head of his company, drove them from their guns, and thus prevented certainly the effusion of much blood, perhaps the repulse of the assailing party. In this act of heroism, he received a severe wound in the wrist. It is but justice to add, that on this occasion, Captain Washington was ably and most gallantly supported by Lieutenant Monroe, late President of the United States, who also sustained a wound in the hand.

Shortly after this adventure, Washington was promoted to a majority in a regiment of horse. In this command he was very actively engaged in the northern and middle states, with various success, until the year 1780. Advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and placed at the head of a regiment of cavalry, composed of the remains of three that had been reduced, by sickness and battle, he was then attached to the army under Gen. Lincoln, engaged in the defence of South-Carolina.

Here his service was various, and his course eventful; marked by a few brilliant strokes of fortune, but checkered with two severe disasters. The first of these reverses, was at Monk's Corner, where he himself commanded; the other, at Lencau's Ferry, where he was second in command to Col. White.

Inured to an uncommon extent and variety of hard service, and sufficiently disciplined in the school of adversity, Colonel Washington, although a young man, was now a veteran in military experience. Added to this, he was somewhat accustomed to a warm climate, and had acquired from actual observation, considerable knowledge of that tract of country, which was to constitute in future, the theatre of war.

Such was this officer, when at the head of a regiment of cavalry, he was attached to the army of General Greene.

One of his partisan exploits, however, the result of a well conceived stratagem, must be succinctly narrated.

Having learnt during a scouting excursion, that a large body of loyalists, commanded by Colonel Rudgley, was posted at Rudgley's mill, twelve miles from Camden, he determined on attacking them.

Approaching the enemy, he found them so secured in a large log barn, surrounded by abattis, as to be perfectly safe from the operations of cavalry.

Forbidden thus to attempt his object by direct attack, his usual and favorite mode of warfare, he determined for once to have recourse to policy.

Shaping, therefore, a pine log in imitation of a field piece, mounting it on wheels, and staining it with mud to make it look like iron, he brought it up in military style, and affected to make arrangements to batter down the barn.

To give the stratagem solemnity and effect, he despatched a flag warning the garrison of the impending destruction, and to prevent bloodshed, summoned them to submission.

Not prepared to resist artillery, Colonel Rudgley obeyed the summons: and with a garrison of one hundred and three rank and file, surrendered at discretion.

In the spring of 1782, Colonel Washington married Miss Eliot, of Charleston, and established himself at Sandy Hill, her ancestral seat.

After the conclusion of peace, he took no other concern in public affairs, than to appear occasionally in the legislature of South Carolina.

When General Washington accepted the command in chief of the armies of the United States, under the presidency of Mr. Adams, he selected as one of his staff, his kinsman Col. William Washington, with the rank of brigadier-general. Had other proof been wanting, this alone was sufficient to decide his military worth.

In private life he was a man of unsullied honor, united to an amiable temper, lively manners, a hospitable disposition, and a truly benevolent heart.**

GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.

Commander-in-Chief of the American Army.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Commander-in-chief of the American army during the war with Great Britain, and first president of the United States, was the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, and was born at Bridges Creek in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22d, 1732. His great-grandfather had emigrated to that place from the north of England about the year 1657. At the age of ten years he lost his father, and the patrimonial estate descended to his elder brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington, who in the year 1740 had been engaged in the expedition against Carthagera. In honor of the British admiral who commanded the fleet, employed in that enterprise, the estate was called Mount Vernon. At the age of fifteen, agreeably to the wishes of his brother, as well as to his own urgent request to enter into the British navy, the place of a midshipman in a vessel of war, they stationed on the coast of Virginia was obtained for him. Every thing was in readiness for his departure, when the fears of a timid and affectionate

* Life of Greene.

mother prevailed upon him to abandon his proposed career on the ocean, and were the means of retaining him upon the land to be the future vindicator of his country's rights. All the advantages of education, which he enjoyed, were derived from a private tutor, who instructed him in the English literature and the general principles of science, as well as in morality and religion. After his disappointment with regard to entering the navy, he devoted much of his time to the study of mathematics; and in the practice of his profession as a surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information respecting the value of vacant lands, which afterward greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune. At the age of nineteen, when the militia of Virginia were to be trained for actual service, he was appointed an adjutant-general with the rank of major. It was for a very short time that he discharged the duties of his office. In the year 1753, the plan formed by France for connecting Canada with Louisiana by a line of posts, and thus of enclosing the British colonies, and of establishing her influence over the numerous tribes of Indians on the frontiers, began to be developed. In the prosecution of this design, possession had been taken of a tract of land, then believed to be within the province of Virginia. Mr. Dinwiddie, the lieutenant-governor, being determined to remonstrate against the supposed encroachment, and violation of the treaties between the two countries, despatched Major Washington through the wilderness to the Ohio, to deliver a letter to the commanding officer of the French, and also to explore the country. This trust of danger and fatigue he executed with great ability. He left Williamsburgh, Oct. 31, 1753, the very day on which he received his commission, and at the frontier settlement of the English engaged guides to conduct him over the Alleghany mountains. After passing them he pursued his route to the Monongahela, examining the country with a military eye, and taking the most judicious means for securing the friendship of the Indians. He selected the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers as a position, which ought to be immediately possessed and fortified. At this place the French very soon erected Fort du Quesne, which fell into

the hands of the English, in 1753, and was called by them Fort Pitt. Pursuing his way up the Alleghany to French Creek, he found at a fort upon this stream the commanding officer, to whom he delivered the letter from Mr. Dinwiddie. On his return he encountered great difficulties and dangers. As the snow was deep, and the horses weak from fatigue, he left his attendants at the mouth of French Creek, and set out on foot, with his papers and provisions in his pack, accompanied only by his pilot, Mr. Gist. At a place upon the Alleghany, called Murdering-town, they fell in with a hostile Indian, who was one of a party then lying in wait, and who fired upon them, not ten steps distant. They took him into custody and kept him until nine o'clock, and then let him go. To avoid the pursuit, which they presumed would be commenced in the morning, they travelled all night. On reaching the Monongahela, they had a hard day's work to make a raft with a hatchet. In attempting to cross the river to reach a trader's house, they were enclosed by masses of ice. In order to stop the raft, Major Washington put down his setting pole; but the ice came with such force against it, as to jerk him into the water. He saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With difficulty they landed on an island, where they passed the night. The cold was so severe, that the pilot's hands and feet were frozen. The next day they crossed the river upon the ice. Washington arrived at Williamsburgh, January 16, 1754. His journal, which evinced the solidity of his judgment and his fortitude, was published.

As the French seemed disposed to remain upon the Ohio, it was determined to raise a regiment of three hundred men to maintain the claims of the British crown. The command was given to Mr. Fry, and Major Washington, who was appointed lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies early in April, 1754, in advance of the other troops. A few miles west of the Great Meadows, he surprised a French encampment in a dark, rainy night, and only one man escaped. Before the arrival of the two remaining companies, Mr. Fry died, and the command devolved on Colonel Washington. Being joined by two other companies of regular troops from South Carolina and New-

York, after erecting a small stockade at the Great Meadows, he proceeded towards Fort du Quesne, which had been built but a short time, with the intention of dislodging the French. He had marched only thirteen miles to the westernmost foot of the Laurel Hill, before he received information of the approach of the enemy with superior numbers, and was induced to return to his stockade. He began a ditch around it, and called it Fort Necessity; but the next day, July the third, he was attacked by fifteen hundred men. His own troops were only about four hundred in number. The action commenced at ten in the morning and lasted until dark. A part of the Americans fought within the fort, and a part in the ditch filled with mud and water. Col. Washington was himself on the outside of the fort during the whole day. The enemy fought under cover of the trees and high grass. In the course of the night articles of capitulation were agreed upon. The garrison were allowed to retain their arms and baggage, and to march unmolested to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was supposed to be about a hundred, and that of the enemy about two hundred. In a few months afterward, orders were received for settling the rank of officers, and those, who were commissioned by the king, being directed to take rank of the provincial officers, Colonel Washington indignantly resigned his commission. He now retired to Mount Vernon, that estate by the death of his brother, having devolved upon him. But in the spring of 1755, he accepted an invitation from Gen. Braddock to enter his family as a volunteer aid-de-camp, in his expedition to the Ohio. He proceeded with him to Will's Creek, afterwards called Fort Cumberland, in April. After the troops had marched a few miles from this place, he was seized with a raging fever; but refusing to remain behind, he was conveyed in a covered wagon. By his advice, twelve hundred men were detached, in order, by a rapid movement, to reach Fort du Quesne before an expected reinforcement should be received at that place. These disencumbered troops were commanded by Braddock himself, and Colonel Washington, though still extremely ill, insisted upon proceeding with them. After they

arrived upon the Monongahela, he advised the general to employ the ranging companies of Virginia, to scour the woods and to prevent ambuscades; but his advice was not followed. On the ninth of July, when the army was within seven miles of Fort du Quesne, the enemy commenced a sudden and furious attack, being concealed by the wood and high grass. In a short time Colonel Washington was the only aid that was unwounded, and on him devolved the whole duty of carrying the orders of the commander-in-chief. He was cool and fearless. Though he had two horses killed under him, and four balls through his coat, he escaped unhurt, while every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Dr. Craik, the physician, who attended him in his last sickness, was present in this battle, and says, "I expected every moment to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." After an action of three hours, the troops gave way in all directions, and Colonel Washington and two others brought off Braddock, who had been mortally wounded. He attempted to rally the retreating troops; but as he says himself, it was like endeavoring "to stop the wild bears of the mountains." The conduct of the regular troops was most cowardly. The enemy were few in numbers and had no expectation of victory.

In a sermon occasioned by this expedition, the Rev. Dr. Davies, of Hanover county, thus prophetically expressed himself: "as a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." For this purpose he was indeed preserved, and at the end of twenty years he began to render his country more important services, than the minister of Jesus could have anticipated. From 1755 to 1758 he commanded a regiment, which was raised for the protection of the frontiers, and during this period he was incessantly occupied in efforts to shield the exposed settlements from the incursions of the savages. His exertions were in a great degree ineffectual, in consequence of the errors and the pride of

government, and of the impossibility of guarding, with a few troops, an extended territory from an enemy, which was averse to open warfare. He, in the most earnest manner, recommended offensive measures as the only method of giving complete protection to the scattered settlements.

In the year 1758, to his great joy, it was determined to undertake another expedition against Fort du Quesne, and he engaged in it with zeal. Early in July the troops were assembled at Fort Cumberland; and here, against all the remonstrances and arguments of Colonel Washington, Gen. Forbes resolved to open a new road to the Ohio, instead of taking the old route. Such was the predicted delay, occasioned by this measure, that in November it was resolved not to proceed further during that campaign. But intelligence of the weakness of the garrison induced an alteration of the plan of passing the winter in the wilderness. By slow marches the army was enabled, on the 25th of November, to reach Fort du Quesne, of which peaceable possession was taken, as the enemy on the preceding night, after setting it on fire, had abandoned it, and proceeded down the Ohio. The works in this place were repaired; and its name was changed to that of Fort Pitt. The success of the expedition was to be attributed to the British fleet, which intercepted reinforcements, destined for Canada, and to events in the northern colonies. The great object, which he had been anxious to effect, being now accomplished, and his health being enfeebled, Col. Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of all the troops raised in Virginia.

Soon after his resignation he was married to the widow of Mr. Custis, a young lady, to whom he had been for some time strongly attached, and who to a large fortune and a fine person added those amiable accomplishments, which fill with silent felicity the scenes of domestic life. His attention, for several years, was principally directed to the management of his estate, which had now become considerable. He had nine thousand acres under his own management. So great a part was cultivated, that in one year he raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn. His slaves and other

persons, employed by him, amounted to near a thousand; and the woollen and linen cloth necessary for their use was chiefly manufactured on the estate. He was at this period a respectable member of the Legislature of Virginia, in which he took a decided part in opposition to the principle of taxation, asserted by the British Parliament. He also acted as a judge of a county court. In 1774 he was elected a member of the first Congress, and was placed on all those committees, whose duty it was to make arrangements for defence. In the following year, after the battle of Lexington, when it was determined by congress to resort to arms, Colonel Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies. All were satisfied as to his qualifications, and the delegates from New-England were particularly pleased with his election, as it would tend to unite the southern colonies cordially in the war. He accepted the appointment with diffidence, and expressed his intention of receiving no compensation for his services, and only a mere discharge of his expenses. He immediately repaired to Cambridge, in the neighborhood of Boston, where he arrived on the second of July. He formed the army into three divisions in order the most effectually to enclose the enemy, intrusting the division at Roxbury, to Gen. Ward, the division on Prospect and Winter Hills to Gen. Lee, and commanding himself the centre at Cambridge. Here he had to struggle with great difficulties, with the want of ammunition, clothing, and magazines, defect of arms and discipline, and the evils of short enlistments; but instead of yielding to despondence he bent the whole force of his mind to overcome them. He soon made the alarming discovery, that there was only sufficient powder on hand to furnish the army with nine cartridges for each man. With the greatest caution to keep this fact a secret, the utmost exertions were employed to procure a supply. A vessel, which was despatched to Africa, obtained in Exchange for New-England rum, all the gunpowder in the British factories; and in the beginning of winter, Capt. Manly captured an ordnance brig, which furnished the American army with the precise articles, of which it was in the greatest want. In September, General Washington despatched

Arnold on an expedition against Quebec. In February, 1776, he proposed to a council of his officers to cross the ice and attack the enemy in Boston, but they unanimously disapproved of the daring measure. It was however soon resolved to take possession of the heights of Dorchester. This was done without discovery on the night of the fourth of March, and on the seventeenth the enemy found it necessary to evacuate the town. The recovery of Boston induced congress to pass a vote of thanks to Gen. Washington and his brave army.

In the belief that the efforts of the British would be directed towards the Hudson, he hastened the army to New-York, where he himself arrived on the fourteenth of April. He made every exertion to fortify the city, and attention was paid to the forts in the Highlands. While he met the most embarrassing difficulties, a plan was formed to assist the enemy in seizing his person, and some of his own guards engaged in the conspiracy; but it was discovered, and some, who were concerned in it, were executed.

In the beginning of July, Gen. Howe landed his troops at Staten Island. His brother, Lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, soon arrived; and as both were commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, the latter addressed a letter upon the subject to "George Washington, Esq." but the general refused to receive it, as it did not acknowledge the public character, with which he was invested by congress, in which character only he could have any intercourse with his lordship. Another letter was sent to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." This for the same reason was rejected.

After the disastrous battle of Brooklyn, on the 27th of August, in which Stirling and Sullivan were taken prisoners, and of which he was only a spectator, he withdrew the troops from Long-Island, and in a few days he resolved to withdraw from New-York. At Kipp's Bay, about three miles from the city, some works had been thrown up to oppose the enemy; but, on their approach, the American troops fled with precipitation. Washington rode towards the lines, and made every exertion to prevent the disgraceful flight. He drew his sword and threatened

to run the cowards through; he cocked and snapped his pistols; but it was all in vain. Such was the state of his mind, at this moment, that he turned his horse towards the advancing enemy, apparently with the intention of rushing upon death. His aids now seized the bridle of his horse and rescued him from destruction. New-York was on the same day, September the fifteenth, evacuated. In October he retreated to the White Plains, where, on the twenty-eighth, a considerable action took place, in which the Americans were overpowered. After the loss of Forts Washington and Lee, he passed into New-Jersey, in November, and was pursued by a numerous and triumphant enemy. His army did not amount to three thousand, and it was daily diminishing; his men, as the winter commenced, were barefooted and almost naked, destitute of tents and utensils, with which to dress their scanty provisions; and every circumstance tended to fill the mind with despondence. But General Washington was undismayed and firm. He showed himself to his enfeebled army with a serene and unembarrassed countenance, and they were inspired with the resolution of their commander. On the eighth of December he was obliged to cross the Delaware; but he had the precaution to secure the boats for seventy miles upon the river. While the British were waiting for the ice to afford them a passage, as his own army had been reinforced by several thousand men, he formed the resolution of carrying the cantonments of the enemy by surprise. On the night of the twenty-fifth of December, he crossed the river nine miles above Trenton, in a storm of snow, mingled with hail and rain, with about two thousand and four hundred men. Two other detachments were unable to effect a passage. In the morning, precisely at eight o'clock, he surprised Trenton, and took a thousand Hessian prisoners, a thousand stand of arms, and six field pieces. Twenty of the enemy were killed. Of the Americans two privates were killed, and two frozen to death; and one officer and three or four privates were wounded. On the same day he recrossed the Delaware with the fruits of his enterprise; but in two or three days passed again into New-Jersey, and concentrated his forces, amounting to five thousand,

at Trenton. On the approach of a superior enemy, under Cornwallis, January 2, 1777, he drew up his men behind Assumpinck Creek. He expected an attack in the morning, which would probably result in a ruinous defeat. At this moment, when it was hazardous, if not impracticable to return into Pennsylvania, he formed the resolution of getting into the rear of the enemy, and thus stop them in their progress towards Philadelphia. In the night he silently decamped, taking a circuitous route through Allen's Town to Princeton.—A sudden change of the weather to severe cold rendered the roads favorable for his march. About sunrise his van met a British detachment, on its way to join Cornwallis, and was defeated by it; but as he came up he exposed himself to every danger, and gained a victory. With three hundred prisoners he then entered Princeton.

During this march many of his soldiers were without shoes, and their feet left the marks of blood upon the frozen ground. This hardship, and their want of repose, induced him to lead his army to a place of security on the road to Morristown. Cornwallis, in the morning, broke up his camp, and alarmed for his stores at Brunswick, urged the pursuit. Thus the military genius of the American commander, under the blessing of divine Providence, rescued Philadelphia from the threatened danger, obliged the enemy, which had overspread New-Jersey, to return to the neighborhood of New-York, and revived the desponding spirit of his country. Having accomplished these objects, he retired to Morristown, where he caused his whole army to be inoculated for the small pox, and thus was freed from the apprehension of a calamity, which might impede his operations during the next campaign.

On the last of May he removed his army to Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick, where he fortified himself very strongly. An ineffectual attempt was made by Sir William Howe to draw him from his position, by marching towards Philadelphia; but after Howe's return to New-York, he moved towards the Hudson, in order to defend the passes in the mountains, in the expectation that a junction with Burgoyne, who was then upon the lakes, would be attempted. After the British

general sailed from New-York, and entered the Chesapeake, in August, General Washington marched immediately for the defence of Philadelphia. On the eleventh of September, he was defeated at Brandywine, with the loss of nine hundred in killed and wounded. A few days afterwards, as he was pursued, he turned upon the enemy, determined upon another engagement; but a heavy rain so damaged the arms and ammunition, that he was under the necessity of again retreating. Philadelphia was entered by Cornwallis on the twenty-sixth of September. On the fourth of October, the American commander made a well-planned attack upon the British camp at Germantown; but in consequence of the darkness of the morning and the imperfect discipline of his troops, it terminated in the loss of twelve hundred men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In December, he went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between twenty and thirty miles from Philadelphia. Here his army was in the greatest distress for want of provisions, and he was reduced to the necessity of sending out parties to seize what they could find. About the same time a combination, in which some members of congress were engaged, was formed to remove the commander-in-chief, and to appoint in his place Gates, whose successes of late had given him a high reputation. But the name of Washington was too dear to the great body of Americans, to admit of such a change. Notwithstanding the discordant materials, of which his army was composed, there was something in his character, which enabled him to attach both his officers and soldiers so strongly to him, that no distress could weaken their affection, nor impair the veneration, in which he was generally held. Without this attachment to him, the army must have been dissolved. General Conway, who was concerned in this faction, being wounded in a duel with General Cadwalader, and thinking his wound mortal, wrote to General Washington, 'You are, in my eyes, the great and good man.' On the first of February, 1778, there were about four thousand men in camp, unfit for duty, for want of clothes. Of these scarcely a man had a pair of shoes. The hospitals also were filled with the sick. At this time, the enemy,

if they had marched out of their winter quarters, would easily have dispersed the American army. The apprehension of the approach of a French fleet inducing the British to concentrate their forces, when they evacuated Philadelphia on the seventeenth of June, and marched towards New-York, Gen. Washington followed them. Contrary to the advice of a council, he engaged in the battle of Monmouth on the twenty-eighth; the result of which made an impression favorable to the cause of America. He slept in his cloak on the field of battle, intending to renew the attack the next morning; but at midnight the British marched off in such silence, as not to be discovered. Their loss in killed was about three hundred; and that of the Americans sixty-nine. As the campaign now closed in the middle states, the American army went into winter quarters, in the neighborhood of the Highlands upon the Hudson. Thus, after the vicissitudes of two years, both armies were brought back to the point, from which they set out. During the year 1779, Gen. Washington remained in the neighborhood of New-York. In January, 1780, in a winter memorable for its severity, his utmost exertions were necessary to save the army from dissolution. The soldiers, in general, submitted with heroic patience to the want of provisions and clothes. At one time, they ate every kind of horse-food but hay. Their sufferings at length were so great, that in March, two of the Connecticut regiments mutinied: but the mutiny was suppressed, and the ringleaders secured. In September, the treachery of Arnold was detected. In the winter of 1781, such were again the privations of the army, that a part of the Pennsylvania line revolted, and marched home. Such, however, was still their patriotism, that they delivered up some British emissaries to Gen. Wayne, who hanged them as spies. Committing the defence of the posts on the Hudson to General Heath, General Washington in August marched with Count Rochambeau for the Chesapeake, to co-operate with the French fleet there. The siege of Yorktown commenced on the twenty-eighth of September, and on the nineteenth of October, he reduced Cornwallis to the necessity of surrendering with upwards of seven thousand men, to the combined armies of

America and France. The day after the capitulation, he ordered that those who were under arrest should be pardoned, and that divine service, in acknowledgment of the interposition of Providence, should be performed in all the brigades and divisions. This event filled America with joy, and was the means of terminating the war.

Few events of importance took place in 1782. In March, 1783, he exhibited his characteristic firmness and decision, in opposing an attempt to produce a mutiny, by anonymous letters. His address to his officers on the occasion, displays in a remarkable degree his prudence, and the correctness of his judgment. When he began to read it, he found himself in some degree embarrassed, by the imperfection of his sight. Taking out his spectacles, he said, 'These eyes, my friends, have grown dim, and these locks white in the service of my country, yet I have never doubted her justice.' He only could have repressed the spirit which was breaking forth. On the nineteenth of April a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American camp. In June, he addressed a letter to the governors of the several states, congratulating them on the result of the contest in the establishment of independence, and recommending an indissoluble union of the states, under one federal head, a sacred regard to public justice, the adoption of a proper peace establishment, and the prevalence of a friendly disposition among the people of the several states. It was with keen distress, as well as with pride and admiration, that he saw his brave and veteran soldiers, who had suffered so much, and who had borne the heat and burden of the war, returning peaceably to their homes, without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets. On the twenty-fifth of November, New-York was evacuated, and he entered it, accompanied by Gov. Clinton, and many respectable citizens. On the fourth of December, he took his farewell of his brave comrades in arms. At noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' tavern, and their beloved commander soon entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass with wine, he turned to them and said, 'With a heart full of

love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish, that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drunk, he added, 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, General Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner, he took his leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated, to interrupt the silence and the tenderness of the scene. Ye men, who delight in blood, slaves of ambition! when your work of carnage was finished, could ye thus part with your companions in crime? Leaving the room, General Washington passed through the corps of light-infantry, and walked to White-hall, where a barge waited to carry him to Powles' Hook. The whole company followed in mute procession, with dejected countenances. When he entered the barge, he turned to them, and waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu: receiving from them the same last, affectionate compliment. On the twenty-third of December, he resigned his commission to congress, then assembled at Annapolis. He delivered a short address on the occasion, in which he said, 'I consider it an indispensable duty, to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.' He then retired to Mount Vernon, to enjoy again the pleasures of domestic life. Here the expressions of the gratitude of his countrymen, in affectionate addresses, poured in upon him, and he received every testimony of respect and veneration.

In his retirement, however, he could not overlook the public interests. He was desirous of opening by water carriage, a communication between the Atlantic and the western portions of our country, in order to prevent the diversion of trade down the Mississippi, and to Canada; from which he predicted consequences injurious to the union. Through his influence, two companies were formed for promoting inland navigation. The

legislature of Virginia presented him with three hundred shares in them, which he appropriated to public uses. In the year 1786, he was convinced, with other statesmen, of the necessity of substituting a more vigorous general government in the place of the impotent articles of confederation. Still he was aware of the danger of running from one extreme to another. He exclaims in a letter to Mr. Jay, 'What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable, and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocate of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems, founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious!' In the following year, he was persuaded to take a seat in the convention, which formed the present constitution of the United States; and he presided in that body. In 1789, he was unanimously elected the first president of the United States. It was with great reluctance, that he accepted this office. His feelings, as he said himself, were like those of a culprit, going to the place of execution. But the voice of a whole continent, the pressing recommendation of his particular friends, and the apprehension, that he should otherwise be considered as unwilling to hazard his reputation in executing a system, which he had assisted in forming, determined him to accept the appointment. In April he left Mount Vernon to proceed to New-York, and to enter on the duties of his high office. He every where received testimonies of respect and love. At Trenton, the gentler sex rewarded him for his successful enterprise, and the protection which he afforded them twelve years before. On the bridge over the creek, which passes through the town was erected a triumphal arch, ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each encircled with wreaths of evergreen. On the front of the arch was inscribed in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

At this place he was met by a party of matrons, leading their daughters, who were dressed in white, and who with baskets of flowers in their hands, sung with exquisite sweetness the following ode, written for the occasion:

Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at THEE the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your hero's way with flowers.

At the last line the flowers were strewed before him. After receiving such proofs of affectionate attachment, he arrived at New-York, and was inaugurated first President of the United States on the thirteenth of April. In making the necessary arrangements of his household, he publicly announced, that neither visits of business nor of ceremony would be expected on Sunday, as he wished to reserve that day sacredly to himself.

At the close of his first term of four years he prepared a valedictory address to the American people, anxious to return again to the scenes of domestic life; but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and the peculiar situation of his country, induced him to be a candidate for a second election. During his administration of eight years, the labor of establishing the different departments of a new government was accomplished; and he exhibited the greatest firmness, wisdom and independence. He was an American, and he chose not to involve his country in the contests of Europe. He accordingly with the unanimous advice of his cabinet, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph, issued a proclamation of neutrality, April 22, 1793, a few days after he heard of the commencement of the war between England and France. This measure contributed in a great degree, to the prosperity of America. Its adoption was the more honorable to the president, as the general sympathy was in favor of the sister republic, against whom it was said Great Britain had

commenced the war for the sole purpose of imposing upon her a monarchical form of government. He preferred the peace and welfare of his country to the breath of popular applause. Another act, in which he proved himself to be less regardful of the public partialities and prejudices, than of what he conceived to be for the public good, was the ratification of the British treaty. The English government had neglected to surrender the western posts, and by commercial restrictions, and in other ways, had evinced a hostile spirit towards this country. To avert the calamity of another war, Mr. Jay was nominated as envoy extraordinary in April, 1794. In June, 1795, the treaty which Mr. Jay had made, was submitted to the senate, and was ratified by that body on the condition, that one article should be altered. While the president was deliberating upon it, an incorrect copy of the instrument was made public by a senator, and the whole country was thrown into a state of extreme irritation. At this period, he, in August, conditionally ratified it, and in February, 1796, when it was returned from his Britannic Majesty with the proposed alteration, he declared it to be the law of the land. After this transaction, the house of representatives requested him to lay before them the papers relating to the treaty, but he, with great independence, refused to comply with their request, as they could have no claim to an inspection of them, except upon a vote of impeachment, and as a compliance would establish a dangerous precedent. He had before this shown a disposition to maintain the authority vested in his office, by declining to affix his signature to a bill which had passed both houses.

As the period for a new election of a president of the United States approached, and after plain indications that the public voice would be in his favor, and when he probably would be chosen for the third time unanimously, he determined irrevocably to withdraw to the shades of private life. He published, in September, 1796, his farewell address to the people of the United States, which ought to be engraven upon the hearts of his countrymen. In the most earnest and affectionate manner he called upon them to cherish an immoveable attachment to the

national union, to watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety, to discountenance even the suggestion, that it could in any event be abandoned, and indignantly to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest. Overgrown military establishments he represented as particularly hostile to republican liberty. While he recommended the most implicit obedience to the acts of the established government, and reprobated all obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities; he wished also to guard against the spirit of innovation upon the principles of the constitution. Aware that the energy of the system might be enfeebled by alterations, he thought that no change should be made without an evident necessity, and that in so extensive a country, as much vigor as is consistent with liberty, is indispensable. On the other hand, he pointed out the danger of real despotism by breaking down the partitions between the several departments of government, by destroying the reciprocal checks, and consolidating the different powers. Against the spirit of party, so peculiarly baneful in an elective government, he uttered his most solemn remonstrances, as well as against inveterate antipathies or passionate attachments in respect to foreign nations. While he thought that the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly and impartially awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, he wished that good faith and justice should be observed toward all nations, and peace and harmony cultivated. In his opinion, honesty, no less in public than in private affairs, is always the best policy. Providence, he believed, had connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue. Other subjects to which he alluded, were the importance of credit, of economy, of a reduction of the public debt, and of literary institutions: above all he recommended religion and morality as indispensably necessary to political prosperity. "In vain," says he, "would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness,

these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens." Bequeathing these counsels to his countrymen, he continued in office till the fourth of March, 1797, when he attended the inauguration of his successor, Mr. Adams, and with complacency saw him invested with the powers, which had for so long a time been exercised by himself. He then retired to Mount Vernon, giving to the world an example, most humiliating to its emperors and kings; the example of a man voluntarily disrobing himself of the highest authority, and returning to private life with a character, having upon it no stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profusion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice.

It was now that the soldier, the statesman and the patriot, hoped to repose himself, after the toils of so many years. But he had not been long in retirement, before the outrages of Republican France induced our government to raise an army, of which, in July, 1798, he was appointed commander-in-chief. Though he accepted the appointment, his services were not demanded, and he himself did not believe that an invasion would take place. Pacific overtures were soon made by the French Directory; but he did not live to see the restoration of peace. On Friday, December 13, 1799, while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner; but at night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain, and a sense of stricture in the throat, a cough, and a difficult deglutition; which were soon succeeded by fever, and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning, his family physician, Doctor Craik, was sent for; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. The appointed time of his death was near. Believing from the commencement of his complaint that it would be mortal, a few hours before his departure, after repeated efforts to be understood, he succeeded in expressing a desire that he might be permitted to die, without being disquieted by unavailing attempts to rescue him from

his fate. After it became impossible to get any thing down his throat, he undressed himself and went to bed, there to die. To his friend and physician, who sat on his bed, and took his head in his lap, he said with difficulty, 'Doctor, I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die.' Respiration became more and more contracted and imperfect, until half past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle.

Thus, on the fourteenth of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country, 'The man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens.' This event spread a gloom over the country; and the tears of America proclaimed the services and virtues of the hero and sage, and exhibited a people not insensible to his worth. The senate of the United States, in an address to the president on this melancholy occasion, indulged their patriotic pride, while they did not transgress the bounds of truth, in speaking of their WASHINGTON. 'Ancient and modern names,' said they, 'are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it.'

General Washington was rather above the common stature; his frame was robust and his constitution vigorous. His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness. His eyes were of a grey colour, and his complexion light. His manners were rather reserved than free. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him, were sensible. The attachment of those who possessed his friendship, was ardent but always respectful.

His temper was humane, benevolent, and conciliatory; but there was a quickness in his sensibility to any thing apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to watch and correct. He made no pretensions to vivacity or wit. Judgment rather than genius constituted the most prominent feature of his character. As a military man he was brave, enterprising, and cautious. At the head of a multitude, whom it was sometimes impossible to reduce to proper discipline before the expiration of their time of service, and having to struggle almost continually with the want of supplies, he yet was able to contend with an adversary superior in numbers, well disciplined, and completely equipped, and was the means of saving his country. The measure of his caution has by some been represented as too abundant; but he sometimes formed a plan which his brave officers thought was too adventurous, and sometimes contrary to their advice he engaged in battle. If his name is not rendered illustrious by splendid achievements, it is not to be attributed to the want of military enterprise. He conducted the war with that consummate prudence and wisdom, which the situation of his country and the state of his army demanded. He also possessed a firmness of resolution, which neither dangers nor difficulties could shake. In his civil administration he exhibited repeated proofs of that practical good sense, of that sound judgment, which is the most valuable quality of the human mind. More than once he put his whole popularity to hazard in pursuing measures, which were dictated by a sense of duty, and which he thought would promote the welfare of his country. In speculation he was a real republican, sincerely attached to the constitution of the United States, and to that system of equal political rights, on which it is founded. Real liberty, he thought, was to be preserved only by preserving the authority of the laws, and maintaining the energy of government. Of incorruptible integrity, his ends were always upright, and the means which he employed, were always pure. He was a politician, to whom wiles were absolutely unknown. When any measure of importance was proposed, he sought information, and was ready to hear without prejudice, whatever could be said in re-

lation to the subject; he suspended his judgment till it was necessary to decide: but after his decision had been thus deliberately made, it was seldom shaken, and he was as active and persevering in executing, as he had been cool in forming it. He possessed an innate and unassuming modesty, which adulation would have offended, which the plaudits of millions could not betray into indiscretion, and which was blended with a high sense of personal dignity, and a just consciousness of the respect which is due to station.

With regard to the religious character of Gen. Washington, there have been different opinions. In the extracts from some of his letters which have been published by the historian of his life, the name of the Supreme Being is once or twice introduced in a manner, which in common conversation is deemed irreverent. It is also understood, that in a few instances during the war, particularly when he met General Lee retreating in the battle of Monmouth, his language was unguarded in this respect. It may not be impossible, that a good man in a moment of extreme irritation should utter a profane expression; but perhaps it is less possible, that such a man, when his passion has passed away, and his sober recollections have returned, should not repent bitterly of his irreverence to the name of God. On the other hand, Gen. Washington, when at the head of the army, issued public orders, calling upon his officers to discountenance the habit of profanity; he speaks in his writings of "the pure and benign light of revelation," and of the necessity of imitating "the charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion;" he gratefully acknowledged the interpositions of Providence in favor of this country; his life was upright and virtuous; he principally supported an episcopal church in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon, where he constantly attended public worship; during the war he not unfrequently rode ten or twelve miles from camp for the benefit of the institutions of religion; and it is believed, that he every day had his hour of retirement from the world for the purpose of private devotion.

General Washington was blessed with abundant wealth, and

he was not ignorant of the pleasure of employing it for generous purposes. His style of living was dignified, though he maintained the strictest economy. While he was in the army, he wrote to the superintendent of his estate in the following terms: "Let the hospitality of the house be kept up with regard to the poor. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this sort of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, when you think it will be well-bestowed; I mean, that it is my desire, that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor my wife are in the way to do these good offices." Thus was he beneficent, while at the same time he required an exact compliance with engagements. A pleasing proof of the generous spirit which governed him, is exhibited in his conduct towards the son of his friend the Marquis de La Fayette. The marquis, after fighting in this country for American liberty, had returned to France; but in the convulsions of the French revolution he was exiled and imprisoned in Germany. General Washington gave evidence of sincere attachment to the unhappy nobleman, not only by exerting all his influence to procure his release from confinement, but by extending his patronage to his son, who made his escape from France, and arrived with his tutor at Boston, in 1795. As soon as he was informed of his arrival, he wrote to a friend requesting him to visit the young gentleman and make him acquainted with the relations between this country and France, which would prevent the president of the United States from publicly espousing his interest, but to assure him of his protection and support. He also directed his friend to draw upon him for moneys to defray all the expenses which young La Fayette might incur. Towards his slaves General Washington manifested the greatest care and kindness. Their servitude lay with weight upon his mind, and he directed in his will, that they should be emancipated on the decease of his wife. There were insuperable difficulties in the way of their receiving freedom previous to this event. On the death of Mrs. Washington, May 22d, 1802, the estate of Gen. Washington, as

he had no children, was divided according to his will, among his and her relations. It amounted by his own estimate, to more than five hundred thousand dollars.”*

ANTHONY WAYNE,

Major-General in the American Army.

“ANTHONY WAYNE, a major-general in the American army, occupies a conspicuous station among the heroes and patriots of the American revolution. He was born in the year 1745, in Chester county, in the state, then colony, of Pennsylvania. His father, who was a respectable farmer, was many years a representative of the county of Chester, in the general assembly, before the revolution. His grand-father, who was distinguished for his attachment to the principles of liberty, bore a captain’s commission under King William, at the battle of the Boyne. Anthony Wayne succeeded his father as representative for the county of Chester, in the year 1773; and from his first appearance in public life, distinguished himself as a firm and decided patriot. He opposed, with much ability, the unjust demands of the mother country, and in connexion with some gentlemen of distinguished talents, was of material service in preparing the way for the firm and decisive part which Pennsylvania took in the general contest.

In 1775, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which his character enabled him to raise in a few weeks, in his native county. In the same year he was detached under Gen. Thompson into Canada. In the defeat which followed, in which Gen. Thompson was made a prisoner, Colonel Wayne, though wounded, displayed great gallantry and good conduct, in collecting and bringing off the scattered and broken bodies of troops.

In the campaign of 1776, he served under General Gates, at Ticonderoga, and was highly esteemed by that officer for both

his bravery and skill as an engineer. At the close of that campaign he was created a brigadier-general.

At the battle of Brandywine, he behaved with his usual bravery, and for a long time opposed the progress of the enemy at Chad's Ford. In this action, the inferiority of the Americans in numbers, discipline, and arms, gave them little chance of success; but the peculiar situation of the public mind was supposed to require a battle to be risked: the ground was bravely disputed, and the action was not considered as decisive. The spirit of the troops was preserved by a belief that the loss of the enemy had equalled their own. As it was the intention of the American commander-in-chief to hazard another action on the first favorable opportunity that should offer, Gen. Wayne was detached with his division, to harass the enemy by every means in his power. The British troops were encamped at Tredyffrin, and Gen. Wayne was stationed about three miles in the rear of their left wing, near the Paoli tavern, and from the precautions he had taken, he considered himself secure, but about eleven o'clock, on the night of the 20th September, Maj. General Gray, having driven in his pickets, suddenly attacked him with fixed bayonets. Wayne, unable to withstand the superior number of assailants, was obliged to retreat; but formed again at a small distance, having lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. As blame was attached by some of the officers of the army, to Gen. Wayne, for allowing himself to be surprised in this manner, he demanded a court martial, which, after examining the necessary evidence, declared that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer, and acquitted him with honor.

A neat marble monument has been recently erected on the battle ground, to the memory of the gallant men who fell on the night of the 20th September, 1777.

Shortly after was fought the battle of Germantown, in which he greatly signalized himself, by his spirited manner of leading his men into action. In this action, he had one horse shot under him, and another as he was mounting; and at the same instant, received slight wounds in the left foot and left hand.

In all councils of war, General Wayne was distinguished for supporting the most energetic and decisive measures. In the one previous to the battle of Monmouth, he and Gen. Cadwalader were the only officers decidedly in favor of attacking the British army. The American officers are said to have been influenced by the opinions of the Europeans. The Baron De Steuben, and Generals Lee and Du Portail, whose military skill was in high estimation, had warmly opposed an engagement, as too hazardous. But General Washington, whose opinion was in favor of an engagement, made such disposition as would be most likely to lead to it. In that action, so honorable to the American arms, General Wayne was conspicuous in the ardor of his attack. General Washington, in his letter to congress, observes, 'Were I to conclude my account of this day's transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves, is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brigadier-General Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, throughout the whole action, deserves particular commendation.'*

"Among the many exploits of gallantry and prowess which shed a lustre on the fame of our revolutionary army, the storming of the fort at Stony-Point has always been considered one of the most brilliant.

"To General Wayne, who commanded the light-infantry of the army, the execution of the plan was intrusted. Secrecy was deemed so much more essential to success than numbers, that it was thought inadvisable to add to the force already on the lines. One brigade was ordered to commence its march so as to reach the scene of action in time to cover the troops engaged in the attack, in case of any unlooked for disaster; and Major Lee, of the light-dragoons, who had been eminently useful in obtaining the intelligence which led to the enterprise, was

*American Biographical Dictionary.

associated with General Wayne, as far as cavalry could be employed in such a service.

The night of the 15th of July, 1779, was fixed on for the assault; and it being suspected that the garrison would probably be more on their guard towards day, twelve was chosen for the hour.

Stony-Point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base; the remaining fourth is in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing into it below. Over this marsh, there is only one crossing place. But at its junction with the river is a sandy beach passable at low tide. On the summit of this hill was erected the fort, which was furnished with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance. Several breastworks and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal work, and about half way down the hill, were two rows of abattis. The batteries were calculated to command the beach, and the crossing place of the marsh, and to rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences, several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill.

The fort was garrisoned by about six hundred men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Johnson.

At noon of the day preceding the night of attack, the light-infantry commenced their march from Sandybeach, distant fourteen miles from Stony-Point, and passing through an excessively rugged and mountainous country, arrived about eight in the afternoon at Spring Steel's, one and a half miles from the fort, where the dispositions for the assault were made.

It was intended to attack the works on the right and left flanks at the same instant. The regiment of Febiger, and of Meiggs, with Maj. Hull's detachment, formed the right column, and Butler's regiment, with two companies under Maj. Murfree, formed the left. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by lieutenant-colonel Fleury and Major Posey, constituted the van

of the right; and one hundred volunteers under Major Stuart, composed the van of the left. At half past eleven, the two columns moved on to the charge, the van of each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. They were each preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, the one commanded by lieutenant Gibbon, and the other by lieutenant Knox, whose duty it was to remove the abattis and other obstructions, in order to open a passage for the columns which followed close in the rear.

Proper measures having been taken to secure every individual on the route, who could give intelligence of their approach, the Americans reached the marsh undiscovered. But unexpected difficulties having been experienced in surmounting this and other obstructions in the way, the assault did not commence until twenty minutes after twelve. Both columns then rushed forward, under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot. Surmounting every obstacle, they entered the works at the point of the bayonet, and without having discharged a single piece, obtained complete possession of the post.

The humanity displayed by the conquerers was not less conspicuous, nor less honorable, than their courage. Not a single individual suffered after resistance had ceased.

All the troops engaged in this perilous service manifested a degree of ardor and impetuosity, which proved them to be capable of the most difficult enterprises; and all distinguished themselves whose situation enabled them to do so. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British standard. Major Posey mounted the works almost at the same instant, and was the first to give the watch-word—‘The fort’s our own. Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox performed the service allotted to them, with a degree of intrepidity which could not be surpassed. Out of twenty men who constituted the party of the former, seventeen were killed or wounded.

The loss sustained by the garrison was not considerable. The return made by lieutenant-colonel Johnson, represented their dead at only twenty, including one captain, and their wounded, at six officers, and sixty-eight privates. The return made by General Wayne states their dead at sixty-three, inclu-

including two officers. This difference may be accounted for, by supposing, that among those colonel Johnson supposed to be missing, there were many killed. The prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, among whom were one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores taken in the fort were also considerable.

The loss sustained by the assailants was by no means proportioned to the apparent danger of the enterprise. The killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred men. Gen. Wayne himself, who marched at the head of Febiger's regiment in the right column, received a slight wound in the head, which stunned him for a time, but did not compel him to leave the column. Being supported by his aids, he entered the fort with the regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Hay was also among the wounded."*

The intrepidity, joined with humanity, its noblest companion, displayed on that occasion, by General Wayne and his brave followers, cannot be too highly esteemed nor too frequently commemorated.

General orders for the attack.

The troops will march at — o'clock, and move by the right, making a halt at the creek, or run, on this side, next Clement's; every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for every man in his platoon; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

When the head of the troops arrive in the rear of the hill, Colonel Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon in front as fast as they come up. Colonel Meiggs will form next in Colonel Febiger's rear, and Major Hull in the rear of Meigg's, which will form the right column.

Colonel Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and Major Murphy in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish them from the enemy.

* Marshall's Life of Washington.

At the word *march*, colonel Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the sally-port; he is to detach an officer and twenty men a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abattis and obstructions for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered muskets, led by Col. Febiger and General Wayne in person:—when the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops as they enter will give the watch word ——— with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favor the pass of the whole troops; should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

Colonel Butler will move by the route (2,) preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards in front of the column, which will follow under Colonel Butler, with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer and twenty men a little in front to remove the obstructions; as soon as they gain the works they will also give and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake.

If any soldier presume to take his musket from his shoulder, or to fire, or begin the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him; for the misconduct of one man is not to put the whole troops in danger or disorder, and he be suffered to pass with his life.

After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the closest attention paid to the commands of the officers.

The general has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command—the distinguished honor conferred on every officer and soldier who has been drafted in this corps by his excellency General Washington, the credit of the states they respectively belong to, and

their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the general cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory; and he hereby most solemnly engages to reward the first man that enters the works with five hundred dollars, and immediate promotion, to the second four hundred dollars, to the third three hundred dollars, to the fourth two hundred dollars, and to the fifth one hundred dollars; and will represent the conduct of every officer and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favorable point of view to his Excellency, whose greatest pleasure is in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every feeling of honor, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps or state he belongs to.

As General Wayne is determined to share the danger of the night—so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day in common with his fellow-soldiers.”*

“Immediately after the surrender of Stony-Point, General Wayne transmitted to the commander-in-chief, the following laconic letter:—

“*Stony-Point, July 16, 1779.*
2 o’clock, A. M.

“*Dear General*—The fort and garrison, with Col. Johnson, are ours; our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free. Yours most sincerely,

“ANTHONY WAYNE.

“General Washington.”

In the campaign of 1781, in which Lord Cornwallis, and a British army were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, he bore a conspicuous part. His presence of mind never failed him in the most critical situations. Of this he gave an eminent example on the James river. Having been deceived by some false information, into a belief that the British army had passed the river, leaving but the rear-guard behind, he hastened

* *Analectic Magazine.*



Eng'd by W. Woodcut from 'The'

STORMING OF STONEY POINT.



to attack the latter before it should also have effected its passage; but on pushing through a morass and wood, instead of the rear-guard, he found the whole British army drawn up close to him. His situation did not admit of a moment's deliberation. Conceiving the boldest to be the safest measure, he immediately led his small detachment, not exceeding 800 men, to the charge, and after a short but very smart and close firing, in which he lost 118 of his men, he succeeded in bringing off the rest under cover of the wood. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the attack to be a feint, in order to draw him into an ambuscade, would not permit his troops to pursue.

The enemy having made a considerable head in Georgia, Wayne was despatched by General Washington to take command of the forces in that state, and, after some sanguinary engagements succeeded in establishing security and order. For his services in that state, the legislature presented him with a valuable farm.

On the peace, which followed shortly after, he retired to private life: but in 1789, we find him a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and one of those in favor of the present federal constitution of the United States.

In the year 1792, he was appointed to succeed General St. Clair, who had resigned the command of the army engaged against the Indians on our western frontier. Wayne formed an encampment at Pittsburgh, and such exemplary discipline was introduced among the new troops, that, on their advance into the Indian country, they appeared like veterans.

The Indians had collected in great numbers, and it was necessary not only to rout them, but to occupy their country by a chain of posts, that should, for the future, check their predatory incursions. Pursuing this regular and systematic mode of advance, the autumn of 1793 found General Wayne with his army at a post in the wilderness, called Greenville, about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, where he determined to encamp for the winter, in order to make the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign to effect early in the following spring. After fortifying his camp, he took possession of the

ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, which he fortified also, and called the work Fort Recovery. Here he piously collected, and, with the honors of war, interred the bones of the unfortunate although gallant victims of the 4th of November, 1791. The situation of the army, menacing the Indian villages, effectually prevented any attack on the white settlements. The impossibility of procuring the necessary supplies prevented the march of the troops till the summer. On the 8th of August, the army arrived at the junction of the rivers Au Glaize and Miami of the lakes, where they erected works for the protection of the stores. About thirty miles from this place the British had formed a post, in the vicinity of which the Indians had assembled their whole force. On the 15th the army again advanced down the Miami, and on the 18th arrived at the Rapids. On the following day they erected some works for the protection of the baggage. The situation of the enemy was reconnoitered, and they were found posted in a thick wood, in the rear of the British fort. On the 20th, the army advanced to the attack. The Miami covered the right flank, and on the left were the mounted volunteers, commanded by Gen. Todd. After marching about five miles, Major Price, who led the advance, received so heavy a fire from the Indians, who were stationed behind the trees, that he was compelled to fall back. The enemy had occupied a wood in the front of the British fort, which, from the quantity of fallen timber, could not be entered by the horse. The legion was immediately ordered to advance with trailed arms, and roused them from their covert; the cavalry under Captain Campbell, were directed to pass between the Indians and the river, while the volunteers, led by General Scott, made a circuit to turn their flank. So rapid, however, was the charge of the legion, that before the rest of the army could get into action, the enemy were completely routed, and driven through the woods for more than two miles, and the troops halted within gun-shot of the British fort. All the Indians' houses and cornfields were destroyed. In this decisive action, the whole loss of General Wayne's army, in killed and wounded, amounted only to one hundred and seven men.

As hostilities continued on the part of the Indians, their whole country was laid waste, and forts established, which effectually prevented their return.

The success of this engagement destroyed the enemys' power; and, in the following year, General Wayne concluded a definitive treaty of peace with them.

A life of peril and glory was terminated in December, 1796. He had shielded his country from the murderous tomahawk of the savage. He had established her boundaries. He had forced her enemies to sue for her protection. He beheld her triumphant, rich in arts and potent in arms. What more could his patriotic spirit wish to see? He died in a hut on Presque Isle, aged about fifty-one years, and was buried on the shore of Lake Erie.

A few years since his bones were taken up by his son; Isaac Wayne, Esq. and entombed in his native county: and by direction of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, an elegant monument was erected. It is to be seen within the cemetery of St. David's Church, situated in Chester county. It is constructed of white marble, of the most correct symmetry and beauty."*

OTHO H. WILLIAMS,

Brigadier-General in the American Army.

"This gentleman was formed for eminence in any station. His talents were of a high order, and his attainments various and extensive. Possessing a person of uncommon symmetry, and peculiarly distinguished by the elegance of his manners, he would have graced, alike, a court or a camp.

Rich in that species of military science which is acquired by experience, and a correct, systematic, and severe disciplinarian, General Greene confided to him the important trust of adjutant-general to the southern army. The services which, in this and

* American Biographical Dictionary.

other capacities, he rendered to that division of the American forces, in the course of their toilsome and perilous operations were beyond all praise.

He was born in the county of Prince George, in the year 1748, and received, during his youth, but a slender education. This he so much improved by subsequent study, that few men had a finer taste or a more cultivated intellect.

He commenced his military career, as lieutenant of a rifle company, in 1775; and, in the course of the following year, was promoted to the rank of a Major in a rifle regiment.

In this corps he very honorably distinguished himself in the defence of Fort Washington, on York Island, when assaulted by Sir William Howe; and, on the surrender of that post became a prisoner.

Having suffered much by close confinement, during his captivity, he was exchanged for Major Ackland, after the capture of Burgoyne, and immediately rejoined the standard of his country.

Being now promoted to the rank of colonel of a regiment of infantry, he was detached, under the Baron De Kalb, to the army of the south.

General Gates having been appointed to the command of this division of the American forces, he was present with that officer, at his defeat before Camden; and during the action manifested great valor and skill, in directing and leading the operations against the enemy, while resistance was practicable; and an equal degree of self-possession and address, in conducting the troops from the field, when compelled to retreat.

But as an officer, his valor and skill in battle were among the lowest of his qualifications. His penetration and sagacity, united to a profound judgment, and a capacious mind, rendered him, in the cabinet, particularly valuable.

Hence he was one of General Greene's favorite counsellors, during the whole of his southern campaigns. Nor did any thing ever occur, either through neglect or mistake, to impair the confidence thus reposed in him. In no inconsiderable degree, he was to Greene, what that officer had been to General Wash-

ington, his strongest hope in all emergencies, where great policy and address were required.

This was clearly manifested, by the post assigned to him by General Greene, during his celebrated retreat through North Carolina.

In that great and memorable movement, on which the fate of the south was staked, to Williams was confided the command of the rear-guard, which was literally the shield and rampart of the army. Had he relaxed, but for a moment, in his vigilance and exertion, or been guilty of a single imprudent act, ruin must have ensued.

Nor was his command much less momentous, when, recrossing the Dan, Greene again advanced on the enemy. Still in the post of danger and honor, he now, in the van of the army, commanded the same corps with which he had previously moved in the rear.

A military friend, who knew him well, has given us the following summary of his character:

‘He possessed that range of mind, although self-educated, which entitled him to the highest military station, and was actuated by true courage, which can refuse, as well as give battle. Soaring far above the reach of vulgar praise, he singly aimed at promoting the common weal, satisfied with the consciousness of doing right, and desiring only that share of applause, which was justly his own.

There was a loftiness and liberality in his character, which forbade resort to intrigue and hypocrisy in the accomplishment of his views, and rejected the contemptible practice of disparaging others to exalt himself.

In the field of battle he was self-possessed, intelligent, and ardent; in camp, circumspect, attentive, and systematic; in council, sincere, deep, and perspicuous. During the campaigns of General Greene, he was uniformly one of his few advisers, and held his unchanged confidence. Nor was he less esteemed by his brother officers, or less respected by his soldiery.’

Shortly before the close of the war, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.”*

* Life of Greene.

BENEDICT ARNOLD,

The Traitor.

"BENEDICT ARNOLD, a major-general in the American army during the revolutionary war, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, was early chosen captain of a volunteer company in New-Haven, Connecticut, where he lived. After hearing of the battle of Lexington, he immediately marched, with his company, for the American head-quarters, and reached Cambridge, April 29, 1775.

He immediately waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton, was attended by one servant only. Here he joined Colonel Allen, and on the tenth of May, the fortress was taken.

In the fall of 1775, he was sent by the commander-in-chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the District of Maine, into Canada. On the 16th of September, he commenced his march, with about one thousand men, consisting of N. England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division was obliged to return, or it would have perished by hunger. After sustaining almost incredible hardships, he in six weeks arrived at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The appearance of an army emerging from the wilderness, threw the city into the greatest consternation. In this moment of surprise, Arnold might probably have become master of the place; but the small crafts and boats in the river were removed out of his reach.

It seems that his approach was not altogether unexpected. He had imprudently, a number of days before, sent forward a letter to a friend, by an Indian, who betrayed him. A delay of several days, on account of the difficulty of passing the river was inevitable; and the critical moment was lost.

On the 14th of November, he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and ascending the precipice which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height, near the memorable Plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one-third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in their march through the wilderness, success could not be expected. After parading some days on the heights near the town, and sending two flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there awaited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged, but the best measures had been taken for its defence. On the morning of the last day of the year, an assault was made on the one side of the city, by Montgomery who was killed. At the same time, Colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles, through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape-shot and musketry as he approached the first barrier, he received a musket-ball in the leg, which shattered the bone; and he was carried off to the camp. Though the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May, 1776; when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault, was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another, till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain.

In August, 1777, he relieved Fort Schuyler under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, which was invested by Colonel St. Leger, with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle near Stillwater, September the nineteenth, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity: being engaged incessantly, for four hours. In the action of October the 7th, after the British had been driven into their lines, Arnold pressed forward, and, under a tremendous fire, assaulted their works from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced,

and with a few men he actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack.

Being rendered unfit for active service, in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of Governor Penn, the best house in the city, his head-quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal, in his retreat from Canada; and at Philadelphia he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public, in his accounts; and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants, not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading speculations, and had shares in several privateers; but was unsuccessful.

From the judgment of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to Congress; and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business. The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. By these disappointments he became irritated, and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against congress were not less violent; than those which he had before thrown out against the commissioners. He was, however, soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court-martial, upon the charges exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania; and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June, 1778, but such were the delays occasioned





W. Woodcut

CAPTURE OF ANDRE.

by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until the 26th day of January, 1779.—The sentence of a reprimand was approved by congress, and was soon afterward carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which General Arnold was reduced, in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage.

Even in this time, probably, his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He returned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New-York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high; and a member of congress from this state, recommended him to Washington for the service which he desired. But this request could not be immediately complied with. The same application to the commander-in-chief was made not long afterwards through General Schuyler. Washington observed, that, as there was a prospect of an active campaign, he should be gratified with the aid of General Arnold in the field, but intimated at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested if it should be more pleasing to him.

Arnold, without discovering much solicitude, repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed in person, the solicitations which had been before indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New-York, but he declined it under the pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism, he was invested with the command of West Point. Previously to his soliciting this station, he had, in a letter to Colonel Robinson, signified his change of principles and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to

concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general.

His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works, under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution, the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favor of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason, and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was, for some time, carried on between them under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length, to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North River and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September the 21st, 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was despatched for the purpose, and carried to the beach without the posts of both armies, under a pass for John Anderson. He met General Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet unfinished, daylight approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed, that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold, to respect this objection, was not observed. He was carried within them contrary to his wishes and against his knowledge. He continued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when on the following night, he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boatmen refused to carry him, because she had, during the day, shifted her station, in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced

him to the necessity of endeavoring to reach New-York by land. Yielding with reluctance to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on a plain suit of clothes, and receiving a pass from the American general authorizing him, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service, to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he set out on his return. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New-York, in perfect security, when, on the 23d of September, one of three militia-men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self-possession, which can be attributed only to a kind Providence, asked the man hastily, where he belonged; and being answered, 'to below,' replied immediately, 'and so do I.' He then declared himself to be a British officer, on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia-men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was too late to repair it. He offered a purse of gold and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape, but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia-men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots, exact returns, in Arnold's handwriting, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependencies; critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and, regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character which he had assumed, and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. An express was accordingly

despatched, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped.

Major Andre, after his detection, was permitted to send a message to Arnold, to give him notice of his danger, and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the *Vulture*, on the 25th of September, 1780, a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford, Connecticut. It is supposed, however, that he would not have escaped, had not an express to the commander-in-chief, with an account of the capture of Andre, missed him by taking a different road from the one which he travelled.”*

Arnold, on the very day of his escape, wrote the following letter to Washington:

“ *On board the Vulture,*
“ *Sept. 25, 1780.*

“ SIR—The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong; I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and the colonies; the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judge right of any man’s actions.

“ I have no favor to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but from the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold, from every insult or injury that the mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me: she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may choose; from your Excellency I have no fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

“ I have to request that the enclosed letter may be delivered to Mrs. Arnold, and she permitted to write to me.

* American Biographical Dictionary.

"I have also to ask that my clothes and baggage, which are of little consequence, may be sent to me; if required, their value shall be paid in money.

"I have the honor to be, &c.

"B. ARNOLD.

"His excellency, General Washington.

"N. B. In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Colonel Varrick, and Major Franks, I think myself in honor bound to declare that they as well as Joshua Smith, Esq. (who I know are suspected) are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine, which they had reason to believe were injurious to the public."

Mrs. Arnold was conveyed to her husband at New-York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him.

"The following is a concise description of the figures exhibited and paraded through the streets of the city of Philadelphia, two or three days after the affair :

"A stage raised on the body of a cart, on which was an effigy of General *Arnold* sitting; this was dressed in regimentals, had two faces, emblematical of his traitorous conduct, a mask in his left hand, and a letter in his right from Belzebub, telling him that he had done all the mischief he could do, and now he must hang himself.

At the back of the General was a figure of the devil, dressed in black robes, shaking a purse of money at the General's left ear, and in his right hand a pitchfork, ready to drive him into hell, as the reward due for the many crimes which his thirst of gold had made him commit.

In the front of the stage, and before General Arnold, was placed a large lanthorn of transparent paper, with the consequences of his crimes thus delineated, *i. e.* on one part General Arnold on his knees before the devil, who is pulling him into the flames—a label from the General's mouth with these words: 'My dear sir, I have served you faithfully;' to which the devil replies, 'And I'll reward you.' On another side, two figures hanging, inscribed 'The Traitor's Reward,' and wrote underneath, 'The Adjutant-General of the British Army, and Joe

Smith; the first hanged as a spy, and the other as a traitor to his country.' And on the front of the lanthorn was wrote the following:

"Major General Benedict Arnold, late commander of the fort West Point. The crime of this man is high treason.

He has deserted the important post, *West Point*, on Hudson's River, committed to his charge by his Excellency the commander-in-chief, and is gone off to the enemy at New-York.

His design to have given up this fortress to our enemies has been discovered by the goodness of the Omniscient Creator who has not only prevented him from carrying it into execution, but has thrown into our hands *Andre*, the Adjutant-General of their army, who was detected in the infamous character of a spy.

The treachery of the ungrateful general is held up to public view for the exposition of infamy; and to proclaim with joyful acclamation, another instance of the interposition of a bounteous Providence.

The effigy of this ingrate is therefore hanged, (for want of his body,) as a traitor to his native country, and a betrayer of the laws of honor."

The procession began about four o'clock, in the following order:

Several gentlemen mounted on horseback.

A line of continental officers.

Sundry gentlemen in a line.

A guard of the city infantry.

Just before the cart, drums and fifes playing the

Rogue's March.

Guards on each side.

The procession was attended with a numerous concourse of people, who, after expressing their abhorrence of the treason and the traitor, committed him to the flames, and left both the effigy and the original to sink into ashes and oblivion."*

"During the exertions which were made to rescue *Andre* from the destruction which threatened him, *Arnold* had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the com-

* Niles' Revolution.

mander-in-chief, and then sought to intimidate him, by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina, who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British General. This clemency, he said, could no longer in justice, be extended to them, should Major Andre suffer.

Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honorable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him, to forget that he was a traitor, first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. 'I am mistaken,' says Washington, in a private letter, 'if *at this time*, Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hacknied in crime, so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse.

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavored to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said, from apprehension that the rights of his country were in danger. He had acquiesced in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance, had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandisement, and had made him a confirmed royalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of congress held the people in sovereign contempt.

This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed 'to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interests of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France.' To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause which they had embraced, he represented that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the same footing with the other troops in the British service; that he should with pleasure advance those whose valor he had witnessed; and that the private men who joined him should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment, at the full value, for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. 'You are promised liberty,' he exclaims, 'but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it saving your oppressors? Who among you dare to speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with blood?' 'What,' he exclaims again, 'is America now but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses. In either case you surely can no longer continue in their service with honor or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which, with equal indifference to yours, as well as to the labor and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colors, will be redeemed from their tyranny.'

These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon despatched by Sir Henry Clinton, to make a diversion in Virginia. With about seventeen hundred men he arrived in the Chesapeake, in January, 1781, and being

supported by such a naval force as was suited to the nature of the service, he committed extensive ravages on the rivers, and along the unprotected coasts. It is said that, while on this expedition, Arnold inquired of an American captain whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him if he should fall into their hands. The captain at first declined giving him an answer, but upon being repeatedly urged to it, he said, 'Why, sir, if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth: if my countrymen should catch you, I believe they would first cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honors of war, and afterward hang the remainder of your body on gibbets.' The reader will recollect that the captain alluded to the wound Arnold received in one of his legs at the attack upon Quebec, in 1776."

The return of General Arnold to New-York from Virginia, did not fix him in a state of inactivity. He was sent on an enterprise against New-London, with a sufficient land and marine force.—The embarkation having passed over from Long-Island shore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbor, at ten o'clock in the morning of the 6th of September; that on the Groton side being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, and that on New-London side by the general, who met no great trouble. Fort Trumbull and the redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbor and town, not being tenable, were evacuated as he approached, and the few men in them crossed the river to Fort Griswold, on Groton Hill. Arnold proceeded to the town without being otherwise opposed than by the scattered fire of small parties that had hastily collected. Orders were sent by the general to Eyre for attacking Fort Griswold, that so the possession of it might prevent the escape of the American shipping. The militia, to the amount of one hundred and fifty-seven, collected for its defence, but so hastily as not to be fully furnished with fire arms and other weapons. As the assailant's approached, a firing commenced, and the flag-staff was soon shot down, from whence the neighboring spectators inferred that the place had surren-

dered, till the continuance of the firing convinced them to the contrary. The garrison defended themselves with the greatest resolution and bravery; Eyre was wounded near the works, and Major Montgomery was killed immediately after, so that the command devolved on Major Broomfield. The British at one time staggered; but the fort being out of repair, could not be maintained by a handful of men against so superior a number as that which assaulted it. After an action of about forty minutes, the resolution of the royal troops carried the place by the point of the bayonet. The Americans had not more than half a dozen killed before the enemy entered the fort, when a severe execution took place, though resistance ceased. The British officer inquired, on his entering the fort, who commanded? Colonel Ledyard answered—‘I did, sir, but you do now;’ and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through and killed. The slain were seventy-three: the wounded between thirty and forty, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. Soon after reducing the fort, the soldiers loaded a wagon with wounded, as said, by order of their officers, and set the wagon off from the top of the hill, which is long and very steep; the wagon went a considerable distance with great force, till it was suddenly stopped by an apple tree, which gave the faint and bleeding men so terrible a shock that part of them died instantly. About fifteen vessels, with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, notwithstanding the reduction of the fort, and four others remained in the harbor unhurt; a number were burnt by the fire’s communicating from the stores when in flames. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty-four stores were burned, including those on both sides of the harbor and in New-London. The burning of the town was intentional and not accidental. The loss that the Americans sustained in this destruction was very great; for there were large quantities of naval stores, of European goods, of East and West India commodities, and of provisions in the several stores. The British had two commissioned officers and forty-six privates killed; eight officers, (some of whom are since dead) with one hundred and thirty-five non-commissioned and privates wounded.”*

* Niles’ Revolution.

“From the conclusion of the war till his death, Gen. Arnold resided chiefly in England. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. His character presents little to be commended.—His daring courage may excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection and without principle. He fought bravely for his country; and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self-indulgence to treason, was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxurious, and to gratify his giddy desires, he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus from the high fame to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too, he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind, in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained while the heart is unsound, and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved.”*

* American Biographical Dictionary.

BIOGRAPHY

OF

REVOLUTIONARY NAVAL OFFICERS.

JOHN PAUL JONES,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“THE following interesting narrative is translated from a French manuscript, written by himself. While we condemn the author for his egotism, we must make great allowances, on that account, for the splendid success that attended his enterprises, and estimate his vanity by the reasons he had to be vain. Few even, perhaps, circumstanced as Paul Jones was, would have praised themselves less than he has done in this sketch; which possesses the singular merit of being substantially correct in all its parts, so far as we are informed of the matter.”*

At the commencement of the American war (during the year 1775) I was employed to fit out a little squadron, which the congress had placed under Commodore Hopkins, who was appointed to the command of all the armed vessels appertaining to America; and I hoisted, with my own hands, the American flag, on board the *Alfred*, which was then displayed for the first time.

I at the same time acquainted Mr. Hewes, a member of congress, and my particular friend, with a project for seizing on the Island of St. Helena, by means of our little squadron, which would have infallibly rendered us masters of part of the homeward-bound East India fleet; and as the congress, at that time, proposed to appropriate two-thirds of the prizes to itself, they would have thus been furnished with the means of carrying on

* Niles' Register.

the war during several years; but an event of a more pressing nature prevented this scheme from being carried into execution.

The cruelties and vexations at that time exercised by Dunmore, in Virginia, determined the congress to detach the squadron against him; but Mr. Hopkins displayed neither zeal nor talents upon this occasion, and lost so much time that his squadron was frozen in the Delaware.

After a delay of two months, the squadron was at length disengaged, and set sail for New-Providence, the principal of the Bahama islands. There we found a large quantity of artillery, mortars, and other implements of warfare, of which we stood greatly in want in America; and I had the good fortune to render myself extremely useful to the Commodore, who was but little acquainted with military operations. It was to me he was indebted for the plan adopted by him when the squadron came in sight of New-Providence, and I also undertook to moor the squadron in a proper birth to execute our enterprise.

On our return from New-Providence we took two armed vessels, one of which was loaded with bombs, and fell in, near Rhode-Island, with an English man of war, called the Glasgow, carrying twenty-four guns; but, notwithstanding our superiority, both in point of force and sailing, the commander-in-chief suffered her to escape, after having lost many men killed and wounded, both on board the Alfred and the Cabot.

The squadron now entered the port of New-London, in Connecticut; and Hopkins, on receiving intelligence that the English frigates had been driven from Newport, took advantage of the darkness of the nights to repair to Rhode-Island.

A council of war having dismissed the captain of the Providence, one of the ships of the squadron, the Commodore gave me orders in writing to take the command of her, and to escort some troops that were proceeding from Rhode-Island to New-York, with a view of serving under general Washington. After this, I received instructions to escort a convoy of artillery from Rhode-Island to New-York, for the defence of which it was destined. On this occasion I had two different engagements with the Cerberus frigate; the first for the protection of the vessels

under my command, and the second for the preservation of a vessel from St. Domingo, laden with naval stores for the congress. In the course of my service between Boston and New-York, I had also many actions with ships of war under the command of Lord Howe; but on these, as on former occasions, I was enabled to preserve my convoy, and I at length arrived safe in the Delaware, August 1, 1776.

On the 8th of the same month the president of the congress presented me in person, with the commission of captain in the marine of the United States; this was the first granted by congress since the declaration of independence, which took place on the 4th of July of that same year.

Orders had been given for the construction of thirteen frigates; but, as none of them was yet ready, I proceeded to sea alone, on board the Providence, which was a vessel of but small force, as she carried no more than seventy men, and twelve small cannon. When in the neighborhood of Bermudas, we fell in with the Solebay, and her convoy, from Charleston; she was a thirty-two gun frigate, and formed part of the squadron under Admiral Parker. I was of course desirous to avoid an engagement with such superior force; but, as my officers and men insisted that it was the Jamaica fleet, as it was necessary to command by means of persuasion at this epoch of the war, the result was a serious engagement during six hours, which, toward the close, was carried on within pistol shot. A desperate manœuvre was the sole resource left me; I attempted this, it succeeded, and I was fortunate enough to disengage myself.

A short time after this, I took several prizes, and then sailed towards the coast of Nova Scotia, on purpose to destroy the whale and cod fisheries in that neighborhood. When near Sable Island, we fell in with the Milford frigate, carrying thirty-two guns, with which it was impossible to avoid an engagement. A cannonade accordingly took place, from ten o'clock in the morning until sunset; but the engagement was neither so close nor so hot as that with the Solebay, and I at length escaped by passing through the flats, and entered a little harbor next day, where I destroyed the fishery and vessels.

After this I set sail for Ile Madame, where I made two descents, at the same time destroying the fisheries, and burning all the vessels I could not carry away with me. Having accomplished this, I returned to Rhode-Island, after an absence of six weeks and five days from the Delaware; during this interval I had taken sixteen prizes, without including those destroyed.

The commander-in-chief, who had remained all this time in harbor, now adopted a plan proposed by me, and which consisted,

1. In the destruction of the enemy's fisheries at Ile Royale; and

2. Of restoring to liberty more than three hundred American prisoners detained there in the coal mines. Three vessels were destined for this service, the Alfred, the Hampden, and the Providence; but the Hampden having received considerable damage in consequence of running on a rock, could not accompany me. I, however, embarked on board the Alfred, and taking the Providence by way of consort, I set sail, and on the 2d of November, 1776, made a prize of a vessel from Liverpool, and soon after the Mellish, a large armed vessel, having two British naval officers on board, and a captain belonging to the land service, with a company of soldiers. This ship was carrying ten thousand complete sets of uniform to Canada, for the army posted there under the orders of generals Carleton and Burgoyne.

The Providence having now left the Alfred during the night without the least pretext whatever, I remained alone, and that too during the stormy season, on the enemy's coast; but notwithstanding this, and that I was also greatly embarrassed with my prisoners, I resolved not to renounce my project. I accordingly effected a descent, destroyed a transport of great value, and also burned the magazines and buildings destined for the whale and cod fishery.

In addition to this, I took three transports, and a vessel laden with ling and furs, near Ile Royale; these prizes were escorted by the Flora frigate, which happened to be at a small distance, but which was concealed from us by a fog. Having taken a

privateer from Liverpool, mounting sixteen guns, in the course of next day, I instantly returned with my prizes, toward the United States; but when in the latitude of Boston, fell in with the Milford frigate, which I unwillingly engaged. Toward night, however, I placed the Alfred between the enemy and my prizes, and having given the necessary instructions to the latter, to make for the nearest port, I changed my course, set up lights, and by this stratagem saved the vessels I had captured, as the frigate continued in chase of me. Next day I myself was fortunate enough to escape, after a very serious action, which was not terminated until dark, and even then in consequence of a hard gale of wind.

Having returned to Boston, December 10, 1776, the intelligence of the uniforms taken on board the Mellish, reanimated the courage of the army under Gen. Washington, which at that period happened to be almost destitute of clothing. Let me add also, that this unexpected succour contributed not a little to the success of the affair at Trenton against the Hessians, which took place immediately after my arrival.

I now paid out of my own purse the wages due to the crews of the Alfred and the Providence, and lent the rest of my money to the congress. That assembly transmitted me orders from Philadelphia, on the 5th of February, to undertake a secret expedition of great importance, the design of which was, to lay the Island of St. Christopher, and the north side of Jamaica, under contribution; after which we were to attack Pensacola. The project was first conceived by me, and then communicated to Mr. Morris, afterward minister of finance: But such was the jealousy of Hopkins, the commander-in-chief, that it was never carried into execution. He was, however, soon after suspended, and then dismissed from the service.

The season being now too far advanced for the execution of the scheme in the West Indies, myself and crew received orders to remove on board the Amphytrite, a French vessel destined to sail from Portsmouth, New-Hampshire to France, whence we were to pass into Holland and take possession of the Indienne, a large frigate, constructing there for the congress; some

difficulties however ensued, and I was ordered to prepare the *Ranger*, a vessel mounting eighteen guns.

When General Burgoyne and his army were obliged to surrender at Saratoga, it was I who was the first obliged to carry this interesting intelligence to Nantes, whither I arrived on the 2d of December, 1777. In the course of my voyage, I took two prizes, forming a part of a convoy from the Mediterranean, under the protection of the *Invincible*, a seventy-four gun ship, under the guns of which one of them was taken.

In the month of January, 1778, I repaired to Paris, to make the necessary arrangements with the American ministers, relative to the equipment of the *Indienne*; but, as the recent intelligence relative to the capture of Burgoyne had determined the court of France to recognise the independence of America by means of a treaty of alliance, and as the English ambassador at the Hague, in consequence of obtaining possession of the papers of an American agent, found that the *Indienne* was the property of congress, I acquiesced in the opinion of the American ministers; and it was determined to cede the property to his most Christian majesty, this being the most likely method of preserving the property.

I then returned on board the *Ranger*, and as I had received information from America, relative to the force and stations of the English fleet in that quarter, I immediately transmitted a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the American ministers at Paris, communicating a plan of an expedition with a squadron of ten sail of the line, a few frigates, and a small body of land forces, with a view of completely destroying the enemy's naval power acting against the United States. This scheme was not adopted until it was too late, and then it of course became impracticable.

In the mean time I took several American vessels under my convoy, from Nantes, to the bay of Quiberon, where M. La Motte Piquet was lying at anchor with six sail of the line, a few frigates, and several merchantmen, which he was to take under his protection to the westward of Cape Finisterre. M. de La Fayette was on board this fleet, which was provided

with clothing, ammunition, and military stores for America. I reached the bay, February 13, 1778, and sent to demand of the admiral, *if he would return my salute*; and this compliment was immediately agreed to by that brave officer, although neither he nor I knew at that period, that a treaty of alliance had been signed between France and America seven days before. This was the first salute received by the American flag from any power, and occasioned much dispute in the English parliament.

I now set sail from the bay of Quiberon to Brest, but did not enter the road; on the contrary, I anchored at Cammeret, where I was detained by contrary winds until the French ambassador at the court of St. James, had announced the treaty lately concluded between his most Christian majesty and the United States.

On this, I immediately sailed into Brest water, and saluted the Count D'Orvilliers, who returned the salute, and received me with all the honors due to an admiral, on board his flag-ship *La Bretagne*.

In the month of February, 1776, the parliament of England had authorized George III. to treat all the Americans taken at sea, with arms in their hands, as traitors, pirates, and felons; this, more than any other circumstance, rendered me the declared enemy of Great Britain. From the very commencement of the war, an exchange of prisoners had taken place between General Washington and the commanders of the enemy's army; notwithstanding the haughty conduct of Great Britain, she was obliged to submit to this arrangement, and consider the American soldiers, as prisoners of war. It was, however, an atrocious crime to act against her by sea; and England, on this occasion, perpetrated anew, all the cruelties on America which she had lavished on Scotland in 1745. A ferocious and vindictive people would have rejoiced to have seen the American sailors cut down from the gibbet while yet alive, their breast opened with a knife, and their yet palpitating hearts thrown into the flames! If they did not dare to attempt this, they, however, shut up a number of citizens of the United States in the English prisons during five whole years, where they suffered all the horrors

proceeding from cold, hunger, and every sort of mal-treatment. Some of these unfortunates were sold on the coast of Africa, while others, were transported to the West Indies. The firmness with which these martyrs of liberty supported their hard lot, is wholly unexampled; for they preferred every kind of persecution to serving on board the English navy.

Indignant at the barbarous treatment experienced by the Americans, I determined to make a grand effort in their behalf with a view of stopping the barbarous proceedings of the English in Europe, as well as on the western continent; in the latter of which they set fire to their houses, destroyed their property, and burned and destroyed whole towns. I accordingly determined, by way of retaliation, to effect a descent upon some part of England, with a view of destroying the shipping. It was also my intention to make some person of distinction prisoner, whom I resolved to detain as a hostage for the security of, and in order to exchange with, the American prisoners in England.

Admiral D'Orvilliers, to whom I communicated this project, offered to procure for me a captain's commission in the French marine, that, in case I met with any disaster, I might claim the protection of his most Christian majesty; but however advantageous this was, I determined to decline the acceptance; because in the first place, I was not authorized by congress to change my flag; and, in the second, such a conduct might have rendered my attachment to America suspected.

I accordingly sailed from Brest, and advanced towards Ireland, neglecting the capture of a number of vessels within my reach, as I did not wish to diminish the strength of my crew. Near to the entrance into Carrickfergus, I however, seized on a fishing-boat, manned with six persons, who proved to be pilots. The Drake, a twenty-gun ship, happened to be then on the road and even within sight; I imagined it possible to obtain possession of her by surprise during the night. With this view, I immediately gave orders for making the necessary preparations; but the mate, who had drank too much brandy, did not let go the anchor according to orders, which prevented the Ranger from *running*

foul of the *Drake*, according to my intentions. As I had reason to believe, that my appearance had not hitherto given any alarm, I deemed it prudent to cut my cable and return into St. George's channel. I remained there, buffeted about by the winds, during three days, until the weather having become more favorable, I determined a second time to attempt a descent; this project, however, greatly alarmed my lieutenants; they were poor, they said, and their object was gain, not honor: they accordingly excited disobedience among the ship's company, by persuading them that they had a right to determine, whether the measures adopted by me were well concerted or not.

I happened to be at this period within sight of Whitehaven, in Cumberland, at the mouth of the Solway Frith. This is a considerable harbor, in which there then were about 400 sail, some of them vessels of 250 tons burthen; and I had determined to take advantage of the ebb tide, when the shipping was dry, to destroy them. To effect this, it was necessary to land about midnight, with a party of determined men, and seize on a fort and battery, which defended the port. My two lieutenants, being averse to the enterprise, and yet being unwilling to discover their true motives, feigned illness. On this I determined to take the command in person, and with much difficulty prevailed on thirty volunteers to follow me.

With this handful of men, and two small boats, I quitted the *Ranger*, at eleven o'clock at night, and rowed towards the harbor; but, it being farther off than we imagined, and the tide against us, day broke before we had effected a landing.

I now sent the smallest of the boats towards the northern side of the harbor to set fire to the vessels, while I myself advanced with the other to the south, to take possession of the fort and battery, the first of which was taken by assault, I myself being the first to enter it through one of the embrasures. We then nailed up the thirty-six cannon mounted on the batteries, and advanced towards the south, with a view of burning all the vessels, when to my infinite astonishment, I beheld the other boat returning, without having done any thing.

On this I deemed it best to unite my forces, with a view of effecting, at least, some part of our enterprise. In short we set fire to some of the vessels, and it soon burned with great fierceness, and began to communicate; but as it was now eight o'clock in the morning, and the inhabitants began to approach near us in crowds, I could no longer defer my retreat, which was made in good order. On my return on board the *Ranger*, the wind being favorable, I set sail for the coast of Scotland. It was my intention to take the Earl of Selkirk prisoner, and detain his lordship as a hostage, in conformity to the project already mentioned. It was with this view about noon of the same day I landed on that nobleman's estate, with two officers and a few men. In the course of my progress, I fell in with some of the inhabitants, who, taking me for an Englishman, observed, that Lord Selkirk was then in London, but that her ladyship and several other ladies were at the castle.

On this, I determined to return: but such moderate conduct was not conformable to the wishes of my people, who were disposed to pillage, burn, and destroy every thing in imitation of the conduct of the English towards the Americans. Although I was not disposed to copy such horrid proceedings, more especially when a lady was in question, it was yet necessary to recur to such means as should satisfy their cupidity, and at the same time provide for Lady Selkirk's safety. It immediately appeared to me, to be the most proper mode to give orders to the two officers to repair to the castle with the men, who were to remain on the outside under arms, while they themselves entered alone. They were then instructed to enter, and demand the family plate, in a polite manner, accepting whatever was offered them, and then to return, without making any further inquiries, or attempting to search for more.

I was punctually obeyed; the plate was delivered: Lady Selkirk herself observed to the officers, that she was exceedingly sensible of my moderation; she even intimated a wish to repair to the shore, although a mile distant from her residence, in order to invite me to dinner; but the officers would not allow her ladyship to take so much trouble.

Next day, April 4, 1778, I prepared to return to Carrickfergus, to attack the Drake in open day; but the lieutenants were averse to the project, and the crew of the Ranger became so mutinous, that I ran no small risk of being either killed or thrown into the sea; and but two days before, I was on the point of being abandoned and left ashore at Whitehaven.

In the mean time, the captain of the Drake sloop of war, having been informed of our descent upon Whitehaven, prepared to attack us; and, while every thing was getting ready, he despatched an officer on board his boat, with a spy-glass, in order to reconnoitre the Ranger. On this, I immediately masked my guns, kept my men out of sight, and disguised the vessel in such a manner as to resemble a merchantman; in consequence of this the crew of the boat were deceived and taken. This trifling success produced the effect of enchantment on my sailors, who were no longer averse to giving her battle.

The Drake having fired some cannon to recal her boat, hoisted her anchor, and came out attended by a number of yachts and pleasure-boats, with ladies and gentlemen on board: but when the engagement became serious, they thought proper to withdraw to a respectful distance.

No sooner did the enemy make his appearance, than *I lay to*, determined not to engage until she came within pistol shot. The engagement was accordingly sustained with great vivacity on both sides, during an hour and five minutes, when the captain and lieutenant being both mortally wounded, the English flag was lowered, and I took possession of her. I regretted greatly the death of these brave men, and committed them to the ocean with all the honors due to their valor. I, at the same time, dismissed the six fishermen, whom I have before mentioned, whose loss I repaired, and whose services I recompensed out of my own purse.

The Drake was greatly damaged in her masts and tackling, and lost forty men either killed or wounded during the action. I had also taken several other prizes; but, as my complement of men had only amounted to one hundred and twenty-three, I retained no more than two of them, which arrived in safety at Brest, where I myself anchored with the Ranger and Drake.

on the 7th of May, after an absence of twenty-eight days, during which I had taken upwards of two hundred prisoners. This expedition was of great disservice to Great Britain, as she was not only obliged to fortify her ports, but also to permit the arming of the Irish volunteers, as Lord Mountmorris demonstrated in a speech in parliament.

At the time I had been obliged to permit my people to take Lady Selkirk's plate, I determined to redeem it out of my own funds the moment it should be sold, and restore it to the family. Accordingly on my arrival at Brest, I instantly despatched a most pathetic letter to her ladyship, in which I detailed the motives of my expedition, and the cruel necessity I was under, in consequence of the conduct of the English in America, to inflict the punishment of retaliation. This was sent open to the post-master-general, that it might be shown to the king of England and his ministers, and the court of St. James was at length obliged to renounce the sanguinary act of its parliament, and exchange those very Americans whom they called traitors, pirates and felons, against the prisoners of war, whom I had taken and carried to France.

“RANGER, BREST, 8TH MAY, 1778.

“MADAM—It cannot be too much lamented, that in the profession of arms, the officer of finer feeling, and of real sensibility, should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such action by authority.

This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with his king, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war. It was perhaps fortunate for you madam, that he was from home, for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and to have detained him, until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

“When I was informed, by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing, that in America no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property, setting fire not only to towns, and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milk-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me as volunteers the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time, do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it; to treat you, madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered; and to come away without making a search, or demanding any thing else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity which is expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men, and when the plate is sold I shall become the purchaser, and *will gratify my own feelings*, by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

“Had the earl been on board the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back at such scenes of horror, and cannot but execrate the vile promoters of this detested war:—

For *they*, 'twas *they*, unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.

“The British ship of war Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, besides a number of volunteers, came out from Carrickfergus, in order to attack and take the continental ship of war Ranger, of eighteen guns, and short of her complement of officers and

men; the ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and five minutes, when the gallant commander of the Drake fell, and victory declared in favor of the Ranger. His amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded. A melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honors due to the memory of the brave.

“Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of man, yet I am in arms merely as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness, I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from the sea-service, in favor of ‘calm contemplation and poetic ease.’ I have sacrificed, not only my favorite scheme of life, *but the softer affections of the heart*, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life, also, with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture would restore peace and good will among mankind.

“As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot, in that respect, but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, madam, to use your soft persuasive arts with your husband, to endeavor to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practices of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated in Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded you will attempt it—and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavors to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity, which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

“I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair! I acknowledge their

power, and bend before it with profound submission! Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

"The honor of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a very singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service, in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of service. I wish to know, exactly the behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty.

"I have the honor to be, with much esteem and profound respect, madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"PAUL JONES.

"To the Right Hon. the Countess of }
Selkirk, St. Mary's Isle, Scotland." }

During the course of the war, I found it impossible to restore the plate belonging to the Selkirk family; I however, purchased it at a great price, and at length found means to send it by land from l'Orient to Calais, by means of M. de Calonne, who transmitted me a very flattering letter on the occasion; in short, I at length received a very flattering letter from the Earl of Selkirk, acknowledging the receipt of it.

I had no sooner arrived at Brest, than Admiral the Count D'Orvilliers transmitted an account of my expedition to the minister of the marine, in consequence of which it was intimated to Dr. Franklin, that his majesty was desirous that I should repair to Versailles, as he was resolved to employ me on a secret expedition, for which purpose he would give me the *Indienne*, with some other frigates, with troops, &c. for the purpose of effecting a descent. I was instantly informed of this by the ambassador, who observed to me at the same time, that this must be considered as a profound secret, it being of so important a nature, that it had been deemed proper to withhold a communication of it even to his colleagues.

M. de Sartine received me with the most distinguished politeness, making me, at the same time, the most flattering promises;

and the Prince de Nassau was sent into Holland to give instructions for the necessary arrangements for arming and equipping the frigate intended for me. But, in a short time after this, hostilities took place between France and England in consequence of the action with *La Belle Poule*. This not a little embarrassed the Minister of the Marine, and the difficulty was not diminished by the intelligence brought by the prince, who asserted that the Dutch would not permit the *Indienne* to be equipped.

As M. de Sartine had written to the three American ministers, and obtained their consent for my remaining in Europe, I offered to serve on board of the grand fleet; I also communicated several plans for crippling the power of England, such as that of destroying her trade and settlements on the coast of Africa, and in Hudson's Bay; of annihilating their fisheries in Newfoundland; intercepting their East and West India, and, above all, the Baltic fleet, which was escorted by a single frigate, as I learned by certain information from England. The minister adopted the last of these plans; and I accordingly repaired to Brest, to take the command of one of the frigates of that port, with two others, and a cutter, &c. then at St. Maloes; but I found on my arrival, that the admiral had appointed a French officer to the vessel in question; and as there was not a single moment to be lost, the senior officer of the frigate at St. Maloes was despatched against the Baltic fleet, which he missed by not steering sufficiently near to the coast of England to intercept it.

Being greatly disgusted with a series of delays, that ensued during nine months, I at length repaired to Versailles, with an intention of returning to America, if I should not immediately obtain a command: for I recollected the saying of Old Richard, 'If you wish that your affairs should be prosperous, superintend them in person,' &c. This induced me to promise, that if the minister should at length comply with my request, I should call my own ship, 'Old Richard.'

Accordingly, on obtaining *Le Duras*, until a better vessel could be procured, I called her ————. She was a very

small and very old and infirm vessel, that had made four voyages to the East Indies. As proper guns could not be procured at L'Orient, where the ————— lay, I repaired first to Bordeaux, and then to Angouleme, where I made a contract for such as I wanted. On my return, I found that the Marquis de la Fayette, who had returned from America, was desirous to join me in the expedition, it being intended that he should command a body of land forces, he having obtained the king's command for that purpose.

While the necessary arrangements were making at court, a naval commissary purchased at Nantes, a merchantman, called *La Pallas*, of thirty-two eight pounders, and a brig called *La Vengeance*, of twelve three pounders; but neither of them was calculated for war: to these was added *Le Cerf*, a very fine cutter belonging to the royal navy, carrying eighteen nine pounders; with the *Alliance*, a new frigate, belonging to the United States: but as the guns had not as yet arrived from Angouleme, *The Good Man Richard* was armed from an old battery of twelve pounders; and as the expedition was intended against the enemy's ports, I mounted six old eighteen pounders in the gun room, so that she might in some measure be called a forty gun ship. As it was found impossible to procure a sufficient number of Americans sailors, I determined to supply the deficiency by enrolling English ones, who happened to be prisoners of war in France; and in addition to these, a certain number of peasants was levied; so that we may be said to have had as bad a crew as was ever shipped on board any vessel. I was given to understand, however, that the *chosen body of troops*, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, would serve as a guarantee for their good conduct; but no sooner was the little squadron ready, than I received a letter from the Marquis, intimating that, the object of the expedition having been divulged at Paris, the king had issued orders to prevent the embarkation of the troops, in consequence of which he had joined his regiment.

Thus the project, which was no less than that of putting Liverpool, the second town in England, under contribution, failed, in consequence of having been indiscreetly communicated to

I ought also to remark, that, according to the first arrangement, my little squadron was to have been joined by two fire ships, and five hundred men of Walsh's Irish regiment; but the minister did not keep his word; for he neither procured for me the fire-ships nor the soldiers; so that it became impossible for me to fulfil the plan I had concerted, although it was still more important than that of seizing on Liverpool.

I now received orders to escort a fleet of transports and merchantmen from L'Orient, destined for different ports between that and Bordeaux; and after that I was to chase away the English cruizers from the Bay of Biscay, and then to return for further orders.

After executing this commission, on my representing how necessary it was to make a diversion in favor of the Count D'Orvilliers, then cruising in the Channel, with sixty-six ships of the line, I received a *carte blanche* during six weeks, without any other restriction than that of repairing to the Texel, by the first of October. By this time, I received intimation from England, that eight East Indiamen were soon expected on the coast of Ireland, near to Limerick. This was an object of great attention; and as there were two privateers at Port L'Orient, ready for sea, *Le Monsieur*, of forty guns, and *Le Granville*, of fourteen, the captains of which offered to place themselves under my orders, I accepted the proposition. But the French commissary, who superintended the naval department, acted with great impropriety on this, as well as on many former occasions.

The little squadron at length set sail from the road of Groays, on the 14th of August, 1779; but we had no sooner proceeded to the north of the mouth of the Channel, than *Le Monsieur* and *Le Granville* abandoned me during the night, and *Le Cerf* soon after imitated their conduct. I was extremely anxious to cruize for a fortnight in the latitude of Limerick; but the captain of the *Alliance*, after objecting to this, also left me during the night; and as I had now with me only the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, I was obliged to renounce my original intentions.

I took two prizes on the coast of Ireland; and, within sight of Scotland, came up and seized two privateers, of twenty-two

guns each, which, with a brigantine, I sent to Bergen, in Norway, according to the orders I had received from Dr. Franklin: these prizes, however, were restored to the English by the king of Denmark.

When I entered the North Sea, I captured several vessels; and learned by my prisoners, as well as by the newspapers, that the capital of Scotland and the port of Leith were left totally defenceless. I also understood, at the same time, that my information relative to the eight Indiamen was correct; they having entered Limerick three days after I had been obliged to leave the neighborhood of that port.

As there was only a twenty gun ship and two cutters in Leith Road, I deemed it practicable to lay those two places under contribution. I had indeed no other force to execute this project than the *Richard*, the *Pallas*, and the *Vengeance*; but I well knew, that in order to perform a brilliant action, it is not always necessary to possess great means. I therefore held out the prospect of great booty to the captains under my command; and, as to myself, I was satisfied with the idea of making a diversion in favor of the Count D'Orvilliers, who was then in the Channel.

I now distributed red clothes to my men, and put some of them on board the prizes, so as to give them the appearance of transports full of troops. All the necessary arrangements were also taken to carry the enterprise into execution; but, about a quarter of an hour before the descent was to have been made, a sudden tempest arose, and drove me out of the Forth, or Edinburgh Frith, and so violent was the storm, that one of my prizes was lost.

This did not, however, deter me, notwithstanding the smallness of my forces, from forming different enterprises of a similar nature: but I could not induce the captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* to second my views; I was therefore obliged to content myself by spreading alarm on the coast, and destroying the shipping, which I did as far as Hull.

On the morning of the twenty-third of September, while I was cruising in the latitude of Flamborough Head, which I had

appointed as a place of rendezvous for my little squadron, and where I hoped to be rejoined by the Alliance and Le Cerf, and also to fall in with the Baltic fleet; this convoy accordingly appeared, at a time when I had been abandoned by several of my consorts, had lost two boats, with their crews, who had run away on the coast of Ireland, and when a third, with eighteen men on board, was in chase of a merchantman to the windward, leaving me with a scanty crew, and only a single lieutenant and some inferior officers on board.

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that the Baltic fleet appeared in view; I then happened to have the wind of it, and was about two leagues distant from the coast of England. I learned from my prisoners that the convoy was escorted by the Serapis, a new vessel, that could mount fifty-six guns, but then carried only forty-four, on two decks, the lower battery carrying eighteen pounders, and the Countess of Scarborough, a new twenty-two gun ship.

We were no sooner descried, than the armed vessels stood out to sea, while the trade took refuge under the cannon of Scarborough castle.

As there was but little wind, I could not come up with the enemy before night. The moon did not rise until eight, and at the close of the day the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough tacked and stood in for the fortress. I was lucky enough to discover this manœuvre by means of my night glass, without which I should have remained in ignorance of it. On this I immediately altered my course six points, with a view of cutting off the enemy; which was no sooner perceived by the Pallas, than it was supposed my crew had mutinied, which induced her captain to *haul his wind* and stand out to sea, while the Alliance *lay to*, to windward, at a considerable distance; and as the captain of this vessel had never paid any attention whatever to the signals of the Richard since her leaving France, I was obliged to run all risks, and enter into an action with the Richard only, to prevent the enemy's escape.

I accordingly began the engagement at 7 o'clock at night, within pistol shot of the Serapis, and sustained the brunt of it

for nearly a whole hour at that distance, exposed, not only to her fire, but also to that of the Countess of Scarborough, which *raked* the Richard, by means of the broadsides she fired into her stern.

It ought to be here remarked, that the Richard, properly speaking, was only a thirty-four gun frigate, carrying only twelve pounders; but six eighteen pounders had been placed in the gun room, in case of being obliged to recur to a cannonade in an enemy's harbor. The sea being very calm during the engagement, I hoped to be able to derive great advantage from this circumstance; but instead of this, they burst at the commencement of the action, and the officers and men posted at this service, and who were selected as the best of the whole crew, were either killed, wounded, or affrighted to such a degree that none of them were of any service during the rest of the engagement.

In this unfortunate extremity, having to contend with three times my own strength, the Richard being in imminent danger of going to the bottom, and her guns being no longer in a condition to return the enemy's fire, I had recourse to a dangerous expedient, to grapple with the Serapis, in order, on the one hand, to render her superiority useless, and, on the other, to cover ourselves from the fire of her consort. This manœuvre succeeded most admirably, and I fastened the Serapis, with my own hands, to the Richard. On this, the captain of the Countess of Scarborough, who was a natural son of the Duke of Northumberland, conducted himself like a man of sense, and from that moment ceased to fire upon us, well knowing that he must at the same time damage the Serapis.

That vessel being to windward at the moment we had grappled, instantly dropped her anchor, hoping by this to disengage herself from us; but this did not answer her expectations, and the engagement from that moment consisted of the discharge of great guns, swivels, musketry, and grenades. The English at first testified a desire to board the Richard, but they no sooner saw the danger than they desisted. The enemy, however,

possessed the advantage of their two batteries, besides the guns on the forecastle and quarter-deck, while our cannon was either burst or abandoned, except four pieces on the forecastle, which were also relinquished during some minutes. Mr. Mease, the officer who commanded these guns, had been dangerously wounded on the head, and having at that period, no greater object to occupy my attention, I myself took his post. A few sailors came to my assistance of their own accord, and served the two guns next to the enemy with surprising courage and address. A short time after this, I received sufficient assistance to be able to remove one of the forecastle guns from the opposite side; but we had not strength sufficient to remove the other, so that we could only bring three guns to bear upon the enemy during the remainder of the action.

The moon, which, as I have already observed, rose at eight, beheld the two vessels surrounded by flame, in consequence of the explosion of the cannon. It so happened at this period, that the mainmast of the *Serapis*, which was painted yellow, appeared extremely distinct, so as to form an excellent mark; on this I pointed one of my guns at it, taking care to *ram home* the shot. In the mean time the two other pieces were admirably served against the ————— and swept its forecastle by means of an oblique fire. The *tops* also seconded us bravely, by means of musketry and swivels, and also threw a multitude of grenades so as greatly to annoy the enemy. By these means they were driven from their quarters, notwithstanding their superiority in point of men and artillery.

The captain of the *Serapis*, after consulting with his officers, resolved to strike; but an unlucky accident which occurred on board the *Richard*, prevented this: a bullet having destroyed one of our pumps, the carpenter was seized with a panic, and told the gunner and another petty officer, that we were sinking. Some one observed at the same time, that both I and the lieutenant were killed; in consequence of which, the gunner, considering himself as commanding officer, ran instantly to the quarter-deck, in order to haul down the American colors, which he would have actually hauled down, had not the flag-staff

been carried away at the time the *Richard* grappled with the *Serapis*.

The captain, on hearing the gunner express his wishes to surrender, in consequence of his supposing that we were sinking, instantly addressed himself to me, and exclaimed, "Do you ask for quarter?—Do you ask for quarter?" I was so occupied at this period, in serving the three pieces of cannon on the fore-castle, that I remained totally ignorant of what had occurred on deck; I replied, however, "I do not dream of surrendering, but I am determined to make you strike!"

The English commander, however, conceived some faint hopes, in consequence of what had been said, that the *Richard* was actually sinking; but when he perceived that her fire did not diminish, he immediately ordered his men from the fore-castle, where they were too much exposed, and stationed them below, where they kept up such a tremendous discharge against the *Richard*, that it at once indicated vengeance and despair.

It has already been observed, that when I commenced the action, the *Pallas* was at a great distance to windward, while the *Alliance* lay to in the same position. When the captain of the former perceived that the engagement took place, he spoke to his consort; but they lost a great deal of time, and it was not until now, that they came within gun shot of the *Countess of Scarborough*, and a kind of running fight took place between the latter and the *Pallas*. The *Alliance* followed them, and on passing us, fired a broadside, which, as we were closely engaged with the enemy, did no more harm to them than to us.

The battle still continued with uncommon ardor between us and the enemy, whose ————— or burned, and her main-mast cut away, by degrees, by our bullets; while the heavier metal of the *Serapis* drove in one of the sides of my ship, and met with little or no resistance. In short, our helm was rendered useless, and the poop was only supported by an old and shattered piece of timber, which alone prevented it from giving way.

At length, after a short engagement, the *Countess of Scarborough* surrendered to the *Pallas*; it was then that the captain

of the latter asked the commander of the Alliance, "whether he would take charge of the prize, or sail and give succor to the commodore?" On this, the Alliance began to stand backward and forward under her topsails, until having got to the windward, she came down, and discharged a second broadside against the fore-part of the Serapis, and the hind part of the Richard. On this I and several other persons begged for God's sake, that they would cease firing, and send a few men on board of us: but he disobeyed, and fired another broadside as he passed along: after which he kept at a most respectful distance, and took great care not to expose himself during the remainder of the action, without receiving a single shot, or having a man wounded during the whole engagement.

The idea that we were sinking had taken such possession of the armorer's mind, that he actually opened the scuttles, and made all the prisoners, to the number of a hundred, sally forth, in opposition to my reiterated orders. This event might have proved fatal, had I not taken advantage of their affright to station them at the pumps, where they displayed surprising zeal, appearing actually to forget their captivity; for there was nothing to prevent their going on board the Serapis; or, it was in their power to put an end to the engagement in an instant, by either killing me, or throwing me into the sea.

As our three quarter deck guns continued to play without interruption on the enemy, raked her hinder parts, and damaged her mast in such a manner, that it was only supported from falling by the yards of our ship, while the tops poured in a continual discharge; the fire of the English began to deaden in such a manner as to bereave them of all hope of success.

A circumstance, however, occurred, that contributed not a little to the victory of the Richard: this was the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind of a Scotch sailor, posted in the main-top; this brave fellow, of his own accord, seized a lighted match, and a basket of hand-grenades, with which he advanced along the main-yard, until he had arrived exactly above the enemy's deck. As the flames of their parapets and shrouds, added to the light of the moon, enabled him to distin-

guish objects, the moment he perceived two or three persons assembled together, he instantly discharged a hand grenade among them; he had even address enough to drop several through their scuttles, and one of them set fire to the cartridge of an eighteen pounder belonging to the lower deck, the discharge of which scorched several of the crew.

On this, the captain of the *Serapis* came upon the quarter-deck, lowered his flag, and asked for quarter, at the very moment his main-mast had fallen into the sea. He then came on board, with his officers, and presented me with his sword. While this was transacting, eight or ten men belonging to the *Richard* seized on the *Serapis'* shallop, which had been at anchor during the engagement, and made off.

It was more than eleven o'clock when the battle ended; it had consequently lasted more than four hours. My ship had no more than 322 men, good, bad, and indifferent, on board, at the commencement of the engagement, and the sixty of these, posted in the gun-room when the gun burst, having been of no further service during the action, could not properly be considered as forming part of the crew opposed to the *Serapis*, which had received a supply of English sailors while in Denmark; and it appeared, indeed, by the muster-roll, that there were upwards of 400 on board of her, when the first gun was fired. Her superiority was still more considerable in respect to guns, without mentioning her greater weight in metal, which surpassed ours beyond all comparison. Thus, setting aside the damage done by the *Countess of Scarborough*, during the fore part of the action, and also by three broadsides from the *Alliance*, it will be easy to form a due judgment of the combat between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, and set a proper value on a victory obtained over a force so greatly superior, after such a long, bloody, and close engagement.

The *Vengeance*, a corvette, mounting twelve three pounders, and the boat belonging to the pilot, with my second lieutenant, another officer, and ten men, would have been of singular service, either in pursuing and capturing the convoy, or by reinforcing me: but strange as it may appear, the fact is, that they

remained all this time mere spectators of the action, in which they took no interest, keeping themselves to windward, and out of all danger; while, on the other hand, the conduct of the Alliance had, at least, the appearance of proceeding from a principle worse than ignorance or insubordination.

It must appear clear, from what has been already said, that if the enemy's ports were not annoyed, the Baltic fleet taken, and the eight Indiamen seized, the blame did not lie with me.

It is but justice, however, to observe, that some of my officers conducted themselves admirably during the action. The lieutenant, Mr. Dale, being left alone at the guns below, and finding he could not rally his men, came upon deck and superintended the working of the pumps, although he had been wounded. Notwithstanding all his efforts, the hold was more than half full of water when the enemy surrendered.

During the last three hours of the action both the vessels were on fire; by throwing water on the flames, it was sometimes supposed that they were quenched, but they always broke forth anew, and on the close of the action we imagined it wholly extinguished. It was very calm during the remainder of the night; but when the wind began to blow, our danger became imminent, the fire having penetrated the timbers, and spread until it had reached within a few inches of the powder-magazine. On this, the ammunition was brought on the deck, to be thrown in the sea, in case of extremity; but we at length succeeded in our endeavors, by cutting away a few planks, and employing our buckets.

Next morning, the weather was hazy, and not a sail to be seen. We then examined the *Richard* to see if it were possible to carry her into any port. This proving wholly impracticable, all the boats were employed in carrying the wounded on board the other vessels. This occupied much of our time, and on the succeeding day, notwithstanding all our pumps had been at work, the hold was entirely full of water, and the vessel soon after sunk. On this occasion I could only save the signal flags, and I lost all my property, amounting to more than five thousand livres.

On this I instantly assumed the command of the *Serapis*, on which we erected *jury masts*; but the sea was so tempestuous, that it was ten days before we reached the Texel.

No sooner was my arrival known than forty-two vessels, forming different squadrons of frigates, were fitted out from the various ports in Great Britain against me, and two of these were stationed during three months at the mouths of the Texel and the Fly. My situation in Holland influenced not a little the conduct of the belligerent powers, at the same time that it excited the attention of all Europe. The English minister at the Hague addressed different memorials to the states general, in all which he insisted that the *Serapis* and the Countess of Scarborough "should be delivered up to the king, his master;" and he, at the same time, claimed me under the appellation of "the Scotch pirate."

Instead of listening to these propositions, the states general permitted me to land my wounded on the island of the Texel, which was delivered up to me for that purpose; on this the British government became furious, and Holland was reduced to so critical a situation, that the states were under the necessity of insisting that I should either leave the Texel, or produce a commission from his most Christian majesty, and hoist the French flag.

The prince of Orange, who was attached to the English interest, sent the Vice-Admiral Rhynst, who was also English in his heart, to assume the command of the Dutch squadron in the Texel, composed of thirteen two-deckers. This officer drew up his squadron, during six weeks, in such a manner as to menace us; and, in short, did every thing in his power to render my situation both dangerous and disagreeable.

In the mean time I had an interview with the Duke de la Vanguyon, at Amsterdam, who intimated to me, that it was the intention of the king of France that I should hoist his flag during my stay in the Texel, as he imagined that my prizes would assuredly fall into the enemy's hands if I tried to escape. I however, refused this honor, as I had declared myself an American officer, and had given a copy of my commission from

congress to the Dutch admiral. It was contrived, however, at length, that I should go on board the frigate *Alliance*, the captain of which had been sent to Paris, to give an account of his conduct, and where I should still carry my former colors, while the prizes should hoist the French flag.

At length the wind becoming favorable, on the 27th of February, 1779, the *Alliance* set sail, after having lost all her anchors, one only excepted, in consequence of Admiral Rhynst's instructions to the pilot; and it was at least an hundred to one, that we should fall in with the enemy. I, however, had the good fortune to escape, although the *Alliance* passed the Straits of Dover, within sight of the English squadron in the Downs. After getting clear of the Channel I soon reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, and entered the port of Corunna, January 16, 1780.

On my return to France, I found that the French commissary had made a private sale of my prizes to the king without consulting me. On this I repaired to Versailles, along with Dr. Franklin, but was received with great coolness by the minister of the marine. On this account I declined asking him to present me to his majesty. This honor was conferred on me next day by the Prince de Beauveau, captain of the guards. The public received me at the opera, and all the public places where I appeared, with the most lively enthusiasm; this, added to the very favorable reception I received from his majesty, afforded me singular satisfaction: and the minister of the marine from that moment paid me the most marked attention.

The Count de Maurapas about this time intimated to me, that his majesty had resolved to confer some distinguished mark of his bounty and personal esteem on me; this proved to be a sword, mounted with gold, on which was engraven the following flattering motto:—

VINDICATI MARIS
LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR
STRENUO VINDICI.

The hilt was of gold, and the blade, &c. were emblazoned with his majesty's arms, the attributes of war, and an emble-

matical representation of the alliance between France and America. The most Christian king, at the same time, transmitted a most admirable letter to congress, in which he offered to decorate me with the order of military merit. All this was extremely flattering, as Louis XVI, had never presented a sword to any other officer, and never conferred the cross, except on such officers as were invested with his majesty's commission.

The minister of the marine, a short time after this, lent me the *Ariel*, a king's ship, carrying twenty guns, with which I sailed, October 8th, 1780, for America. The wind was at first favorable; but I was soon after in danger of foundering on the Penmarks—and escaped only by cutting away my main and mizen masts. As soon as the storm abated, we erected jury masts, and returned to refit; in short it was the 18th of December before I could proceed for Philadelphia.

During the voyage, I fell in with an English twenty gun ship, called the *Triumph*, and partly by stratagem, and partly by hard fighting, forced her to strike her flag; but while we were about to take possession of her, the captain, taking advantage of her superior sailing, made off and escaped.

On my arrival in America, the congress, on the representation of the Chevalier De la Luzerne, passed a law to enable me to accept the military order of France. The French minister, on this occasion, gave an entertainment, to which all the members of congress, and the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, were invited; after which I was invested, in their presence, with the decorations of the order.

As the three ministers plenipotentiary from America had unfortunately disagreed, it necessarily follows that there would be some contradiction in respect to their reports concerning me. In consequence of this, the congress enjoined the admiralty to inquire into the nature of my connection with the court of France, and the reasons which had induced me to remain in Europe, and delay the convoy of the military stores appertaining to the United States. In consequence of the examination that ensued, and the report that was delivered in, the congress passed an act, dated April 14, 1781, in which I was thanked, in

the most flattering manner, 'for the zeal, the prudence, and the intrepidity, with which I had sustained the honor of the American flag; for my bold and successful enterprises, with a view to redeem from captivity the citizens of America, who had fallen into the power of the English, and for the eminent services by which I had added lustre to my own character and the arms of America.' A committee of congress was also of opinion, 'that I deserved a gold medal in remembrance of my services.'

On the 21st of June, 1781, I was appointed, by an unanimous vote of congress, to the command of the *America*, a 74 gun ship, then building; and on the birth of the Dauphin, I, at my own expense, celebrated that happy event by royal salutes during the day, and a brilliant illumination in the evening, accompanied by fire-works.

An unfortunate accident, soon after this, deprived me of the command of that fine vessel: for the *Magnifique*, of 74 guns, belonging to the Marquis de Vandreuil's fleet, happening to be lost at Boston, the congress seized on this occasion to testify its gratitude to his most Christian majesty, by presenting him with the *America* to replace her.

In the mean time, it was resolved to place a French frigate, called *l'Indienne*, with two or three armed vessels, under my orders, in order to seize on Bermudas; but, as this was never put into execution, I applied to congress for leave to serve on board the fleet of the Count D'Estaing, then destined for an expedition against Jamaica.

The Marquis de Vandreuil received me with great distinction on board his own ship, the *Triumphant*, where I occupied the same cabin as the Baron de Viomenil, who commanded the land forces. When we were within sight of Porto Rico, intelligence was received, that Admirals Pigot and Hood were preparing to intercept us; and as Don Solano, with the Spanish fleet, did not meet us at Porto Cabello, according to his promise, many of the officers, becoming disgusted with the enterprise, fell sick, and I myself was in a dangerous state; but we were relieved from our disagreeable situation, by intelligence from Europe that a general peace had taken place. This circum-

stance afforded me great pleasure; as I now learned that Great Britain, after a long and bloody contest, had been forced to recognise the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America.

On this, we repaired to St. Domingo, where I received every possible mark of esteem from Mr. De Bellecomb, the governor; after a short stay, I embarked for Philadelphia, penetrated with gratitude for the various marks of esteem I had received from all the French officers, during the five months I had been on board his majesty's squadron.

I was unable to re-establish my health, during the rest of the summer, which I spent in Pennsylvania; and I did not get well until the autumn, when I recovered by means of the cold bath.

I then demanded permission to return to Europe, on purpose to recover the prize-money due to myself, officers, and sailors, which was granted me by an act of congress, dated at Princeton, November 1, 1783.

On this I embarked at Philadelphia, on board a packet-boat destined for Havre de Grace; but being forced into Plymouth by contrary winds, I took post-horses for London, and then set out for Paris, and was received with great cordiality by the ministry.

Having at length received from the court of France the amount of the prizes, I returned to America on board a French packet-boat.

JOHN BARRY,

Commodore in the American Navy.

"THE father of the commodore was a respectable farmer in the county of Wexford, Ireland, where his son, the subject of this memoir, was born, in the year 1745. After having received the first elements of an English education, to gratify his particular inclination for the sea, his father entered him into the merchant service. When about fifteen years of age, he ar-

rived in Pennsylvania, and selected it as the country of his future residence. With the circumstances which induced him to leave his native land, and take up his abode in a foreign country, we are not acquainted. Of this, however, we are certain, that they cannot have been, in the least, injurious to his character; as we find that in the capital of the British provinces in the northern section of the western hemisphere, he was, for a number of years, in the employment of many of the most respectable merchants, of whose unlimited confidence he ever retained the full possession. Among the many gentlemen in whose service he was, Messrs. Meridith, Welling, and Morris, and Nixon, stand most conspicuous. The ship *Black Prince*, a very valuable vessel, belonging to Mr. Nixon, engaged in the London trade, was commanded by him, at the commencement of the American Revolution; but was shortly after purchased by Congress, and converted into a vessel of war.

In reviewing the causes which led to hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies, Barry was satisfied that justice was on the side of the latter. He therefore engaged under the banners of freedom, and resolved to devote his best exertions to the emancipation of the colonies from the thralldom of the mother-country.

Confiding in his patriotism, congress, in February, 1776, a few months prior to the declaration of independence, appointed him commander of the brig *Lexington*, of sixteen guns, and his was the first *continental* vessel which sailed from the port of Philadelphia. His cruises were successful. Congress had caused to be built three large frigates, one of which was called the *Effingham*, to the command of which he was appointed immediately after that memorable æra, which gave to the United States a name among the nations of the world. During the following winter, as his naval employment became nugatory, in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, he, from an aversion to inactivity, became a volunteer aid, in that season of peril, to the intrepid Gen. Cadwalader.

The city of Philadelphia, and forts on the Delaware, fell into the hands of the British, in the following year, 1777; and Com.

Barry, with several vessels of war, made good his retreat up the river, as far as Whitehill, where, however, they were afterward destroyed by the enemy.

Prior to the destruction of these vessels, he successfully employed those under his command in annoying the enemy, and cutting off the supplies.

After the destruction of the American squadron, and soon after the capture of Philadelphia, he was appointed to command the Raleigh, of thirty-two guns, which, on a cruize, was run on shore by a British squadron on Fox Island, in Penobscot Bay.

Subsequent to the above disasters, he commanded a vessel commissioned with letters of marque and reprisal, and engaged in the West India trade for some time.

When congress concluded to build a 74 gun ship in New-Hampshire, he was ordered to command her. It was, however, afterward determined to make a present of this vessel to his most Christian majesty, when that august body gave him the command of the Alliance frigate.

The situation of American affairs becoming important, in a foreign point of view, Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina, son of Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London, was ordered to France on a special mission. Commodore Barry sailed in the Alliance from Boston for L'Orient, in February, 1781, having the minister extraordinary and suite on board. After landing the ambassador and suite at L'Orient, in the early part of the same year, the Alliance sailed on a cruize.

On the 29th of May following, at day-light, Commodore Barry discovered a ship and a brig on his weather-bow, appearing afterward to wear the British flag. He consequently prepared for immediate action. The British ship proved to be the Atalanta, Captain Edwards, of between twenty and thirty guns, and the brig Treposa, Captain Smith. An action shortly commenced, and by three P. M. both vessels struck. Barry was wounded early in the engagement; but notwithstanding his sufferings, in consequence of this casualty, he still remained on deck, and it was owing to his intrepidity and presence of mind, that the Alliance was the victor.

On December 25, 1781, he sailed in the *Alliance* for France, from Boston, having on board the Marquis de La Fayette, and Count de Noailles, who were desirous of going to their native country, on business of the highest importance. He had scarcely arrived at his destined port, (L'Orient,) than he sailed in February, 1782, on a cruize, during which he fell in with an enemy's ship of equal size, and had a severe engagement. The enemy would have been captured, had it not been for two consorts, which, however, were kept at a distance during the action, by a French fifty gun ship, which hove in sight. The continental ship *Luzerne*, of twenty guns, had her guns thrown overboard before the battle began, in order to facilitate her escape, as she had a quantity of specie on board from Havana, for the use of the United States. The captain of the British frigate, who was soon after advanced to be vice-admiral of the red, acknowledged that he had never received a more severe flagellation than on this occasion, although it seemed to have had the appearance of a drawn battle.

During the time that General Lord Howe was the British commander-in-chief, he attempted to alienate the commodore from the cause which he had so ardently espoused, by an offer of 20,000 guineas, and the command of the best frigate in the British navy; but he rejected the offer with scorn. The return of peace, however, in the year 1783, put an end to all such dishonorable propositions, and our commodore returned to private life.

In the treaty of Paris, 1783, there was an article prohibiting the United States from building vessels of war during the term of twelve years. At the expiration of this limitation, however, our government conceived themselves to be on the eve of a war with Great Britain, in consequence of the celebrated *corn order* of the privy council of 1793, for the avowed purpose of starving France, and the subsequent aggressions on American commerce. These apprehensions gave birth to a law for creating a navy, to the command of which Commodore Barry was designed. The treaty of 1795, however, prevented the law from being carried into full execution, although Mr. Barry, in consequence of that law, was retained in service.

That the United States were under great obligations to France for the aid she lent them, during their struggle for liberty and independence, is a fact which few will deny; and the extent of these obligations was fully expressed in the treaty between the two countries in 1778. It was therefore, a matter of surprise to many, who have not, till this day, called in question the integrity of the illustrious man, who then directed the destinies of our nation, to find that he had issued a proclamation, enjoining a strict neutrality, as if no compact between the two governments had ever existed. He was, however, unquestionably actuated by the purest motives, and must have thought that the steps which he had taken would promote the interest of his country.

In 1797, it was deemed proper by the American government, from some cause not generally known, or explicitly avowed, to annul the consular convention with France; the pretext for which was French aggression on the American commerce. During the maritime disturbance thus created between the two countries, Mr. Barry was actively engaged in protecting the commerce of his adopted country, and was held in the highest estimation by his nautical brethren. When this dispute was at last satisfactorily adjusted, a law was passed, during the last year of Mr. Adams' administration, for reducing the navy; in consequence of which, the vessel he commanded was laid up in ordinary, and he once more returned to private life.

Bold, brave, and enterprising, he was, at the same time, humane and generous. He was a good citizen, and greatly esteemed by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His person was above the ordinary size, graceful and commanding; his deportment dignified, and his countenance expressive.

He died in Philadelphia, on the 30th of September, 1803, and a vast concourse of his fellow-citizens testified their respect to his memory, by attending his remains to the silent grave.”*

* Wilson's American Biography.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“CAPTAIN BIDDLE was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, Capt. Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed so soon the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the Bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the 2d day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took to their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about three leagues distant from the reef upon which they had struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was refitted. As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions, suffered extreme hardships for want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and sufferings in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed the oldest seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned

home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

In the year 1770, when a war between Great Britain and Spain was expected, in consequence of the dispute relative to Falkland's Island, he went to London, in order to enter into the British navy. He took with him letters of recommendation from Thomas Willing, Esq. to his brother-in-law, Captain Sterling, on board of whose ship he served for some time as a midshipman. The dispute with Spain being accommodated, he intended to leave the navy, but was persuaded by Captain Sterling to remain in the service, promising that he would use all his interest to get him promoted. His ardent mind, however, could not rest satisfied with the inactivity of his situation, which he was impatient to change for one more suited to his disposition.

In the year 1773, a voyage of discovery was undertaken, at the request of the Royal Society, in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole, to advance the discovery of a north-west passage into the South Seas, and to make such astronomical observations as might prove serviceable to navigation.

Two vessels, the *Race Horse* and *Carcase*, were fitted out for the expedition, the command of which was given to Capt. Phipps, afterward Lord Mulgrave. The peculiar dangers to which such an undertaking was exposed, induced the government to take extraordinary precautions in fitting out and preparing the vessels, and selecting the crews, and a positive order was issued that no boys should be received on board.

To the bold and enterprising spirit of young Biddle, such an expedition had great attractions. Extremely anxious to join it, he endeavored to procure Captain Sterling's permission for that purpose, but he was unwilling to part with him, and would not consent to let him go. The temptation was, however, irresistible. He resolved to go, and laying aside his uniform, he entered on board the *Carcase* before the mast. When he first went on board, he was observed by a seaman who had known him before and was very much attached to him. The honest

fellow, thinking that he must have been degraded and turned before the mast in disgrace, was greatly affected at seeing him, but he was equally surprised and pleased when he learned the true cause of the young officer's disguise, and he kept his secret as he was requested to do. Impelled by the same spirit, young Horatio, afterward Lord Nelson, had solicited and obtained permission to enter on board the same vessel. These youthful adventurers are both said to have been appointed cockswains, a station always assigned to the most active and trusty seamen. The particulars of this expedition are well known to the public.

These intrepid navigators penetrated as far as the latitude of eighty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes, and they were at one time enclosed with mountains of ice, and their vessels rendered almost immoveable for five days, at the hazard of instant destruction. Captain Biddle kept a journal of his voyage, which was afterward lost with him.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired, without delay, to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the Camden galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under Com. Hopkins, for an expedition against New-Providence, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the *Andrew Doria*, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones, who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by Captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.

Before he sailed from the Capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves, barricaded the door, and swore they would not be taken; that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man

who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters, whose name was Green, a stout, resolute fellow, ordered him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if he attempted to enter he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entered singly, with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "Now Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man." Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in secured them. They afterward declared to the officer who furnishes this account, that it was Captain Biddle's look and manner which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the Capes to his brother, the late Judge Biddle, he says, "I know not what may be our fate: be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cause a blush on the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small pox broke out and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New England seamen. The humanity of Capt. Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to all-viate the general distress, by all the means in his power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death.

In the meanwhile, he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers, to accept their births. On their arrival at New-Providence, it surrendered without opposition. The crew of the *Andrew Doria*, from their crowded situation, became sick, and before she left Providence, there were not men enough, capable of doing duty, to man the boats; Captain Biddle visited them every day, and ordered every necessary refreshment, but they continued sickly until they arrived at New-London.

After refitting at New-London, Capt. Biddle received orders to proceed off the banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and store ships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the Andrew Doria had not one hundred men. Lieut. Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterward, he was taken by the Cerberus frigate, and, on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used. Captain Biddle, hearing of the ill treatment of lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New-York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be a son of Lord Craston, who was then his prisoner, in the manner they treated lieutenant Josiah.

He also applied to his own government in behalf of this injured officer, and by the proceedings of Congress, on the 7th of August, 1776, it appears, "that a letter from Capt. Nicholas Biddle to the marine committee, was laid before congress and read: whereupon, *Resolved*, That Gen. Washington be directed to propose an exchange of lieutenant Josiah, for a lieutenant of the navy of Great Britain: that the general remonstrate to Lord Howe on the cruel treatment lieutenant Josiah has met with, of which the congress have received undoubted information." Lieutenant Josiah was exchanged, after an imprisonment of ten months. After the capture of the ships with the highlanders, such was Capt. Biddle's activity and success in taking prizes, that when he arrived in the Delaware, he had but five of the crew with which he sailed from New-London, the rest having been distributed among the captured vessels, and their places supplied by men who had entered from the prizes. He had a great number of prisoners, so that, for some days before he got in, he never left the deck.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private

advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and a friend, who, on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, Captain Biddle was appointed to the command of the *Randolph*, a frigate of 32 guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procuring American seamen at that time obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The *Randolph* sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew, formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of Capt. Biddle and his officers, the ringleaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without farther resistance. After refitting at Charleston as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruize, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels bound from Jamaica to London. One of them, called the *True Briton*, mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers his hopes of falling in with the *Randolph*, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove to, and kept up a constant fire, until the *Randolph* had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colors. By her superior sailing, the *Randolph* was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, Captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name, and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in

a short time, the ship *General Moultrie*, the brigs *Fair America* and *Polly*, and the *Notre Dame* were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the *Randolph*. Such was the attachment which the honorable and amiable deportment of Captain Biddle had impressed during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and valor, that a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honor of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to Captain Joor, and Lieutenants Grey and Simmons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the *Randolph* was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the *Carysfort* frigate, the *Perseus* 24 gun ship, the *Hinchinbrook* of 16 guns, and a privateer which had been cruising off the Bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after they were ready to sail, by contrary winds and want of water on the Bar for the *Randolph*. As soon as they got over the Bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruisers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New-England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruized to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New-York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the *Randolph* for a British frigate and was taken possession of before the mistake was discovered.

On the night of the 7th March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously, he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the

second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the General Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner, Captain Biddle said "We have been cruising here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprised if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her." About three P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the Randolph for a sail to windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and came before the wind, she had the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock, the Randolph being to windward, hove to, the Moultrie being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock, the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her; the answer was the Polly of New-York; upon which she immediately hauled her wind and hailed the Randolph. She was then for the first time discovered to be a two-decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up along side the Randolph, and had got on her weather-quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship, called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colors and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, Captain Biddle received a wound in the thigh, and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was at first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward, encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near Capt. Biddle,

that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining Capt. Biddle's wound on the quarter-deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British ship Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Vincent. So closely were they engaged, that Captain Morgan, of the Fair America, and all his crew, thought that it was the enemy's ship that had blown up. He stood for the Yarmouth, and had his trumpet in his hand to hail and inquire how Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake. Owing to the disabled condition of the Yarmouth, the other vessels escaped.

The cause of the explosion was never ascertained, but it is remarkable that just before he sailed, after the clerk had copied the signals and orders for the armed vessels that accompanied him, he wrote at the foot of them, "In case of coming to action in the night, be very careful of your magazines." The number of persons on board the Randolph was three hundred and fifteen, who all perished except four men, who were tossed about for four days on a piece of the wreck before they were discovered and taken up. From the information of two of these men, who were afterward in Philadelphia, and of some individuals in the other vessels of the squadron, we have been enabled to state some particulars of this unfortunate event in addition to the accounts given of it by Dr. Ramsay in his History of the American Revolution, and in his History of the Revolution of South Carolina. In the former work, the historian thus concludes his account of the action: "Capt. Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer."

Thus prematurely fell, at the age of twenty-seven, as gallant an officer as any country ever boasted of. In the short career which Providence allowed to him, he displayed all those quali-

ties which constitute a great soldier. Brave to excess, and consummately skilled in his profession, no danger nor unexpected event could shake his firmness, or disturb his presence of mind. An exact and rigid disciplinarian, he tempered his authority with so much humanity and affability, that his orders were always executed with cheerfulness and alacrity. Perhaps no officer ever understood better the art of commanding the affections as well as the respect of those who served under him; if that can be called an art, which was rather the natural effect of the benevolence and magnanimity of his character.”*

EDWARD PREBLE,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“JEDEDIAH PREBLE held the commission of brigadier-general under the colonial government of Massachusetts Bay. In the struggle for independence, he took a decided stand in opposition to the encroachments of the British crown, and during that contest, was for several years a member of the council and senate of that state.—He died in the year 1783, aged seventy-seven, having been gratified by the disposer of human events to live just long enough to see perfected the emancipation of this country from European thralldom, a blessing partly denied to Moses, who was only permitted to view the promised land at a distance, and then expired.

This gentleman in the year 1761, resided in a part of Falmouth, called then Casco Bay, now Portland, in the Province of Maine, where his son Edward, the subject of this memoir, was born on the 15th of August in that year. In his infantile years, he discovered a persevering and bold temper. His form was robust, his constitution strong and invigorated by athletic sports. His father placed him at Dummer academy, Newbury, where he received the rudiments of a Latin and English education, under a Mr. Samuel Moody, a gentleman in high respect for his integrity and literary qualifications.

* Rogers' American Biographical Dictionary.

In contrariety to the wishes and expectations of his father, he, at an early period, manifested a predilection for the sea, and as he persisted in his inclination, his father at last deemed it proper to gratify him. Hence he left school at the dawn of the revolution, and instead of entering a *freshman* at college, he entered a *freshman* on board a letter of marque, Capt. Frend, and made his voyage in a trip to Europe. At the age of eighteen, he was a midshipman on board the state ship Protector, of twenty-six guns, Capt. John Foster Williams, in 1779. On her first cruize he had to perform his part in a hard fought action with the English letter of marque, Duff, carrying thirty-six guns, off Newfoundland, when the enemy at last blew up. Scarcely forty of the crew were saved. During his second cruize, the Protector was captured, and her principal officers sent prisoners to England, with the exception of Preble, who was released at New-York, through the influence of Colonel William Tyng, his father's intimate friend. As soon as he had obtained his liberty, he returned home.

Mr. George Williams, the late first lieutenant of the Protector, having been appointed to command the sloop of war Winthrop, then fitting out at Boston, Mr. Preble entered as first lieutenant, and continued in her until the peace of 1783, rendering many essential services in the line of his duty. His daring courage and presence of mind in the midst of danger, will be best illustrated by the following anecdote:

Captain Little, having the tender of an English armed brig, which lay in the harbor of Penobscot, was advised of certain circumstances, which induced him to attempt her capture by surprise. To accomplish this object he run alongside the brig in the night, and had forty boarders dressed in white frocks, to distinguish them from the enemy. As he advanced, he was taken for the brig's tender, hailed, and directed to *run aboard*. Little's reply was, that he *was coming aboard*.

As Little came alongside the brig, lieutenant Preble and fourteen of the party appointed for the purpose, jumped on board; but the rapidity of the vessel's passage prevented the remainder from following. Capt. Little, finding the precarious-

ness of Preble's situation, hailed him, desiring to know, if he would not have more men. His reply, indicative of great presence of mind, was, "No, we have more than we want; we stand in each other's way." The brig being within pistol shot of the shore, the chief part of the enemy on deck leaped overboard, and swam to land; who were followed by some who made their escape through the cabin windows. The officers were just rising as Preble entered their cabin; he assured them that they were his prisoners, and that any resistance would be vain and fatal to them. The vessel of course was surrendered, as was supposed to a superior force. Notwithstanding a brisk cannonade and firing of musketry from a battery on shore, Preble beat his prize out of the harbor, and arrived at Boston, without injury. The knowledge of this gallant achievement greatly enhanced his reputation as a naval officer.

From the peace of 1783 to the year 1793, he pursued with unblemished reputation, his professional career in the mercantile employment, with the varied success generally attendant on commercial enterprise. About this period, when there was every appearance of immediate hostilities between the United States and France, congress determined to create a navy, and Mr. Preble was one of the five first lieutenants appointed for the naval establishment, which has since shed so much lustre on the American character for nautical skill, daring courage, and chivalrous achievement.

In the fall and winter of 1798—9, he was commander of the brig *Pickering*, in which he made two cruizes; and in 1799 he was promoted to be captain, and had the command of the *Essex* frigate, of thirty-six guns. With this frigate, in company with the frigate *Congress*, Captain Sever, he sailed for Batavia, in January, 1800, to convoy the American homeward bound vessels, trading in the Indian seas. The day after leaving port, the two frigates parted in a snow-storm from the shipping under convoy, outwardly bound. The *Congress* returned dismasted; the *Essex* proceeded, and after waiting for Captain Sever some time, at the Cape of Good Hope, he departed for Batavia. Before and after he arrived at that port, he made two cruizes of a fortnight duration each, in the Straits of Sunda.

In June, he sailed homeward bound, with fourteen merchantmen, valued at several millions of dollars. From these he separated off the banks off Lagullos, in a severe squall, but most of them rejoined him at St. Helena, from whence he convoyed them out of danger. Off the Isle of France or Mauritius, he gave chase to a French corvette, which escaped in a calm by means of her sweeps. Toward the close of this year, Captain Preble arrived at New-York. Ill health induced him afterward to resign to Capt. Campbell, the command of the frigate Adams, destined for the Mediterranean. Having somewhat recovered from his indisposition, he was in May, 1803, appointed to the command of the frigate Constitution, lying at Boston, with orders to prepare her for sea. In June a squadron destined to act against Tripoli, was entrusted to his direction. The naval force consisted of seven sail. The Constitution, forty-four guns; Philadelphia, forty-four; Argus, brig, eighteen; Syren, Nautilus, and Vixen, sixteen each; and Enterprise, fourteen. Every thing being ready, he set sail for the object of his destination, on the 13th of August. Having arrived at Gibraltar, where he was apprised of the unfavorable aspect of affairs between the United States and the Emperor of Morocco, Captain Bainbridge detained a Moorish cruizer of twenty-two guns and one hundred men, called the Mirboka, which had sailed from Tangier, on the 7th of the same month. On board of this vessel, he found among her papers, an unsigned order authorising her commander to cruize against the Americans. From that circumstance, as well as her having captured the American brig Celia, Captain Bowen, which was then in company, Captain Bainbridge deemed the Moorish vessel to be a good prize, and restored the Celia to her proper commander.

The last of May, Capt. Rodgers had detained the Mishouda, a Tripolitan vessel under Morocco colors. She had a passport from the American consul, with a reserve for blockaded ports. She was taken attempting to go into Tripoli, while Captain Rodgers, in the John Adams, was known to be blockading. On board her were guns and other contraband articles not in her when she received her passport at Gibraltar; also twenty Tri-

poline subjects taken in at Algiers. The appearance was that she had been taken under the imperial flag for the purpose of being restored to our enemy. The emperor denied authorizing the attempt of the Mishouda, and said if she was given up, the captain should be punished. The Governor Hashash, on learning the capture of the Mirboka, at which time the emperor was absent, declared she acted without authority, and that war was not intended. At the same time, her captain certified that this governor gave him his orders. Hashash was, and continued to be in the confidence of Muley Soliman.

The next day after his arrival, Commodore Preble wrote to the consul Simpson, at Tangier, desiring him to assure the Moorish court, that the United States wished peace with his majesty, if it could be had on proper terms—that he could not suppose the emperor's subjects would dare to make war without his permission; but as their authority was disavowed by the governor, he should punish as a pirate every Moorish cruizer, who should be found to have taken an American.

Commodore Rodgers, on whom the command of the former squadron under Morris devolved, and who was under orders to return to the United States with the frigates *New-York* and *John Adams*, agreed to remain a few days on the station, and to join Commodore Preble at Tangier Bay, to assist in effecting an adjustment.

On the 17th, taking into his ship the principal Moorish officers of the two prizes, he appeared with the *Constitution* and *John Adams* in Tangier Bay, hoisting the white flag in token of peace, but having the men at their quarters. Mr. Simpson, however, was not permitted to come on board, nor to write except on an open slip of paper: being confined to his house, with two sentinels at his door.

Another act of hostility had been done at Mogadore, by an order to detain all American vessels, and the actual seizure of the brig *Hannah*, of Salem, Joseph M. Williams, master.

The commodore determined to adopt a high tone and vigorous measures. He observes, in his communications to the government, "that all the Barbary powers, except Algiers,

appear to have a disposition to quarrel with us, unless we tamely submit to any propositions they may choose to make. Their demands will increase, and be such as our government ought not to comply with. They send out their cruisers—if they prove successful, it is war, and we must purchase peace, suffering them to keep all they have taken; and if they are unfortunate, and we capture their cruisers before they have taken any thing valuable, it is not war, although the orders for capturing are found on board; and we must restore all.” This he believed ought not to be suffered. Under these impressions he did not hesitate to use his discretion, although specific instructions on this subject were not given, and to follow his own ideas on what expediency and honor required, taking a firm attitude towards the aggressor. This he would have done and risked the consequences, if he had been backed by no other force than that of his peculiar squadron. The consent of Commodore Rodgers to co-operate with the two frigates under his controul, left no room for question. Our consul believed the emperor of Morocco had long meditated to make war, as soon as he could do it with a prospect of impunity. It was, therefore, essential to make him feel, that the system of concession was abandoned.

Accordingly, the commander gave orders to his squadron to bring in for examination, all vessels belonging to the Emperor and his subjects; despatched three vessels to cruize off Mogadore, Salle, and Zarachi, and one off Tetuan, and entered the Bay of Tangier at several times.

That the Tripolitans might not think they were forgotten, he despatched the *Philadelphia* and *Vixen* to lie before Tripoli.

The consul, Simpson, made representations to the Emperor, before and after the arrival of Com. Preble. The answers received were general, but showed that if he had authorized war, he was now prepared to disavow it.

On the 5th of October, when his majesty was expected, he anchored with the *Nautilus* in company, in Tangier Bay—the circular battery at the town, W. 1-2 S. 1 1-2 miles distant. Here he remained, only changing his ground once to be nearer the

town, until peace was concluded. He was joined in the afternoon of the 6th, by the frigates *New-York* and *John Adams*. The ship was kept constantly cleared for action, and the men at quarters night and day. On the 6th his majesty arrived with a great body of troops, horse and foot, estimated at five thousand, who encamped on the beach opposite the squadron.

The commodore was careful to order the ship dressed, and a salute of 21 guns, which was returned from the fort with an equal number, as was the salute of the other frigates in the morning following.

A present of bullocks, sheep, and fowls, was ordered for the squadron, as a token of the emperor's good will.

On the 8th, the emperor, with his court and a large body of troops, visited the batteries on the bay for the purpose of viewing the United States' squadron, when the *Constitution* saluted again with twenty-one guns—a compliment with which his majesty was very much gratified. The present arriving at the same time, it was acknowledged by three guns according to the Moorish custom. The following day the consul gave notice that the emperor had given orders to the governor of Mogadore, for the release of the American brig detained in that place, and that Monday was appointed for giving an audience to the commodore and consul.

On the day assigned, the 11th, the commodore, accompanied by Colonel Lear, Mr. Morris, as secretary, and two midshipmen, landed at Tangier for the proposed audience. He believed there was no danger in landing; but he expressed his desire, that if he should be forcibly detained, the commanding officer on board should not enter into treaty for his release, but open a fire upon the town. They were ushered into the presence of the sovereign through a double file of guards. The commodore, at the entrance, was requested, according to the Moorish custom, in such cases, to lay aside his side-arms. He said he must comply with the custom of his own country, and retain them, which was allowed. On coming into the imperial presence, the emperor expressed much sorrow that any difference had arisen, for he was at peace with the United States. He

disavowed having given any hostile orders; said he would restore all American vessels and property detained in consequence of any acts of his governors, and renew and confirm the treaty made with his father in 1786. The commodore and consul on the part of the United states, promised that the vessels and property of the emperor should be restored, and the orders of capture revoked. The commodore received a formal ratification of the treaty of 1786, and a letter of friendship and peace to the president, signed by the emperor. Thus by the happy union of prudence and energy, our affairs with this piratical despot were placed in a better condition than before the variance.

The commodore having nothing to fear from Morocco, was at liberty to direct his principal attention to Tripoli. The season, however, was too far advanced for active and permanent operations against the enemy. Yet this officer did not indulge himself in repose, or suffer his forces to be idle. In cruizing, where they necessarily, at this time of the year, encountered a rough sea and tempestuous weather, in supplying convoy, and in maintaining the blockade of Tripoli, when practicable, the squadron was fully and arduously employed. The Philadelphia and Vixen had been ordered to the coast of Tripoli. The commodore now formally declared the blockade of that place, and sent notice of the fact to the ministers and consuls of the United States, to be communicated to the respective neutral powers. He found it expedient to go to Cadiz, in order to make up his complement of men, and procure a few supplies not to be obtained at that time at Gibraltar. He returned from Cadiz on the 6th of November, and after making a suitable disposal of his force, proceeded to Algiers, where he was to leave Colonel Lear, the consul general. On the 22d he sailed from Algiers for Syracuse; and on his voyage was informed of the disastrous loss of the Philadelphia, Captain William Bainbridge. The following is a brief account of that melancholy event:

On the 31st of October, after pursuing a Tripoline corsair, till she came to seven fathoms water, in beating off she ran on a rock, not laid down in any chart, about four and a half miles

from the town. Every exertion to get her off proved ineffectual. Meanwhile she was attacked by numerous gun-boats, which she withstood for four hours, whilst the careening of the ship made the guns totally useless. A reinforcement coming off and no possible means of resisting them appearing, the captain submitted to the horrid necessity of striking to his barbarous enemy. In forty-eight hours, the wind blowing in shore, the Tripolitans were able to get off the frigate, and having raised her guns, towed her into the harbor. The commodore apprehended the worst from this diminution of his force; a war with Tunis, and perhaps with Algiers; at least a protraction of the present war. He was, however, induced to hope, that government would repair this loss by another frigate in the spring, and would also furnish him with more small vessels or gun-boats.

On the 14th of December, he sailed with the *Enterprise*, on a winter cruize, amidst boisterous weather; for many days it blew a gale. On the morning of the 23d, the *Enterprise* captured a ketch in sight of Tripoli. She was under Turkish colors, and navigated by Turks and Greeks; but had on board two Tripolitan officers of distinction, a son of one of the officers, a number of Tripoline soldiers, and forty or more blacks, men and women, slaves belonging to the Bashaw and his subjects. He at first determined to release the vessel and men claimed by the Turkish captain, and retain the Tripoline, about 60 in number, as prisoners; hoping they would afford an advantage in negotiation, and perhaps be exchanged for some of our countrymen. But before this determination was executed, he ascertained that the captain had been active in taking the *Philadelphia*. Having received on board this very vessel one hundred Tripolitans, armed with swords and muskets, and substituted the colors of the enemy for his own, he assaulted the frigate, and when she was boarded, plundered the officers. He had, therefore, no hesitation in retaining the vessel. As she was not in a condition to be sent to the United States, he transmitted her papers to government, and sometime after had her appraised, and took her into the service as the ketch *Intrepid*.

February the 3d, 1804, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, with seventy volunteers in the *Intrepid*, and accompanied by the *Syren*, sailed for Tripoli, with a view to destroy the frigate *Philadelphia*. On the 16th the service was accomplished in the most gallant manner. Lieutenant Decatur entered the harbor of Tripoli in the night; and laying his vessel along-side the frigate, boarded and carried her against all opposition. The assailants then set fire to her and left her. She was soon in a complete blaze, and was totally consumed.

From this time till the bombardment of Tripoli, the commodore was occupied in keeping up the blockade of the harbor, and in making preparations for an attack. He took the utmost pains to convey supplies and information to Captain Bainbridge and his officers and men; and after a time, by means of the good offices of Sir Alexander Ball, succeeded. He tried several times to negotiate for a ransom and treaty; but the demands of the regency were sometimes ridiculously extravagant, and when lowest, beyond what he thought himself permitted to accede to. The designs of warfare he had entertained were checked by a solicitude for the release of his countrymen; though he may by some persons, perhaps, be thought to have indulged too far his aversion to the payment of a considerable ransom. He found himself able to make their situation as comfortable as the nature of it would admit; and he believed that the infliction of suffering and terror, when the time should come, upon the enemy, would not produce any long continued aggravation of the evils of their condition, whilst it would essentially serve his country. Indeed, after the destruction of the *Philadelphia*, the Bashaw at first affected to avenge himself by a severer treatment of the captives; but this was not long persisted in.

When the first consul of France, in March, at the instance of Mr. Livingston, directed his commissary at this regency to mediate for their release, Mr. Beaussier undertook the office, and announced to the commodore, that one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with some usual gratuities, would probably effect the object, and that perhaps a cartel for the exchange of

prisoners might be negotiated, which would reduce the sum. The commodore did not think himself authorized to agree to these terms, and never would go beyond eighty thousand; not that the amount was important, except on principle, and as it might affect our relations with the other Barbary powers. From first to last, it was a point of honor with the Bashaw, not to give up the American captives for a less sum than had been usually received from most of the powers of Europe, in similar cases. But he was glad at last to accept of sixty thousand dollars, satisfied no doubt, that our naval armament would be coeval at least with his hostility, if not at all times equally active and formidable; but especially at that moment apprehensive that his brother's General Eaton, if not disarmed by negotiation would reinstate Hamet in the sovereignty of Tripoli.

On the 1st of April, the commodore went to display his force at Tunis; where he found a Tripoline polacre dismantled, having been blockaded for sixteen days by Captain Decatur. The Bey of Tunis had, for some time, been uneasy at his treaty with the United States, and insisted that the commodore should land and satisfy him for some property alleged to be unlawfully seized by the former squadron. The commodore made answer that it was not his business, and that he must put to sea. He found it necessary to watch Tunis during the whole of his command. In the spring he took another prize, a Tripoline; and upon the presumption of her being condemned, she was estimated, equipped, put in commission, and called the Scourge.

Finding that the expected force did not arrive from the United States, our officers resolved to endeavor to make some use of the friendship of Naples. Although he was without diplomatic authority, the minister, General Acton, from personal regard and good will to the service, favored his application to the king, and the commodore obtained as a friendly loan to the United States, six gun-boats and two bomb vessels, completely fitted for service, also liberty to ship twelve or fifteen Neapolitans to serve under our flag in each boat.

With this addition to his armament, on the 21st of July, he joined the detachment off Tripoli, where his force consisted of

the *Constitution*, 44 guns, the brigs *Argus* and *Syren*, 18 guns each, the *Scourge*—the schooners *Vixen* and *Nautilus*, 16 guns each, and the *Enterprise*, 14 guns.

The enemy had on his castle and several batteries, one hundred and fifteen guns; fifty-five of which were heavy battering brass cannon; the others long eighteen and twelve pounders; nineteen gun-boats, with each a long brass eighteen or twenty-four pounder in the bow, and two howitzers abaft. He had two schooners of eight guns each, a brig of ten, and two galleys, having each four guns. In addition to the ordinary Turkish garrison, stationed upon the fortifications, and the crews of the boats and armed vessels, computed at about three thousand, the Bashaw had called in to the defence of the city more than twenty thousand Arabs.

On the 3d of August, the squadron was, at noon, within two or three miles of their batteries. The commodore observing that several of the enemy's boats had taken a station without the reef of rocks, which covers the entrance of the harbor, about two miles from its bottom, resolved to take advantage of this circumstance, and made signal for the squadron to come within speaking distance, when he communicated to the several commanders his intention of attacking the shipping and batteries. The gun and mortar boats were immediately manned and prepared to cast off. At half past 1 o'clock, the squadron stood for the batteries—at 2, cast off the gun-boats; at half past 2, signal for the bombs and boats to advance and attack, and in 15 minutes after, signal was given for general action. It was commenced by the bombs throwing shells into the town. In an instant the enemy's line opened a tremendous fire from not less than 200 guns, which was promptly returned by the whole squadron, now within musket shot of the principal batteries.

At this moment, Captain Decatur, with three gun-boats, attacked the enemy's eastern division, consisting of nine. He was soon in the centre of them; and the fire of grape, langrage and musketry, was changed to a deadly personal combat with the bayonet, spear, sabre and tomahawk. It would be impossible, in our narrow limits, to enter into a detail of the gallant

exploits of our countrymen upon this trying occasion. The Turks fought with desperation; Decatur took two of their boats in which were thirty-three officers and men killed, and twenty-seven made prisoners, of whom nineteen were severely wounded.

Lieutenant Trippe boarded one of the large boats, with only a midshipman, Mr. Jonathan Henley, and nine men. His boat falling off before any more could join him, he was left to conquer or perish, with the fearful odds of eleven to thirty-six. In a few minutes, however, the enemy was subdued; fourteen of them lost their lives, and twenty-two submitted to be prisoners; Lieutenant Trippe received eleven sabre wounds, some of which were deep and dangerous. Mr. Henley at this rencontre displayed a valor, joined to a coolness, that would have honored a veteran. Lieutenant Bainbridge had his lateen yard shot away, which baffled his utmost exertions to get along-side the enemy's boats; but his active and well directed fire, within musket-shot was very effective.

Captain Somers was not able to fetch far enough to windward to co-operate with Decatur. But he bore down upon the leeward division of the enemy, and with his single boat, within pistol-shot, attacked five full manned boats, defeated and drove them, in a shattered condition, and with the loss of many lives, under shelter of the rocks.

The two bomb vessels kept their station, although often covered with the spray of the sea, occasioned by the enemy's shot. They kept up a constant fire, and threw a great number of shells into the town. Five of the enemy's gun-boats and two galleys, composing their centre division, stationed within the rocks, joined by the boats which had been driven in, and reinforced, twice attempted to row out and surround our gun-boats and prizes. They were as often foiled by the vigilance of the commodore, who gave signal to the brigs and schooners to cover them, which was promptly attended to by those vessels, all of which were gallantly conducted, and annoyed the enemy exceedingly. The fire of the Constitution had its ample share in this bombardment. It kept the flotilla in constant disorder, and produced no inconsiderable effect on shore.

At half past four, the wind inclining to the northward, and at the same time the enemy's flotilla having retreated behind coverts, which shielded them from our shot, while our people were necessarily much exhausted by two hours and a half severe exertion, signal was given for the gun-boats and bombs to retire from action; and immediately after for the brigs and schooners to take the gun-boats and their prizes in tow, which was handsomely executed, the whole covered by a heavy fire from the Constitution. In fifteen minutes the whole squadron was out of the reach of the enemy's shot, and the Commodore hauled off to give tow to the bomb-ketches.

On board the frigate not a man was killed. The other vessels and boats suffered in their rigging, and had sundry men wounded, but lost none except Lieutenant Decatur, the brother of the Captain Decatur, so conspicuous in this war. Several circumstances explain this impunity of our squadron. Where the engagement was close, as with the boats, the impetuosity of the attack, as well as our more dexterous use of the weapons of destruction, overpowered and appalled the enemy. The barbarians are unskilful gunners. The shower of grape-shot annoyed and discomposed them, in the application of what little skill they possessed.

Very different was the result of this conflict to the enemy. The American fire was not an empty peal, but a messenger of death in every direction. The three captured boats had one hundred and three men on board, forty-seven of whom were killed, twenty-six wounded, and thirty only remained fit for duty. Three other boats were sunk with their entire crews, and the decks of their vessels in the harbor were swept of numbers. Many guns of the fort were dismounted, and the town was considerably damaged.

This attack on Tripoli displayed in an eminent degree, the penetration and energy of the commodore, and his power of infusing his own spirit of heroism into his officers and men. This achievement, as might be expected, made a powerful impression on the mind of the enemy. The burning of the Philadelphia could not fail to make the Bashaw and his people

apprehend something serious from the present commander. When the squadron was seen standing in, however, he affected contempt, and surveying them from his palace, observed, "They will mark their distance for tacking; they are a sort of Jews, who have no notion of fighting." The palace and terraces of the houses were covered with spectators, to see the chastisement the Bashaw's boats would give the squadron, if they approached too near. This exultation was very transient; for the battle was scarcely joined, when no one was seen on shore, except on the batteries. An intelligent officer of the Philadelphia, then in captivity, observed that the Turks asked if those men that fought so were Americans, or infernals in Christian shape, sent to destroy the sons of the prophet.

On the 5th of August, the commodore prevailed on a French privateer, which had left Tripoli that morning, to return with fourteen wounded Tripolines, whose wounds had been carefully dressed, and whom the commodore sent with a letter to the Bashaw's minister. These prisoners, it is said, informed the Prince that the Americans in battle were fiercer than lions; but in the treatment of their captives were even more kind than Musselmén. On the 7th, the privateer returned with a letter from the French consul, signifying that the Bashaw had very much lowered his tone; and would probably treat on reasonable terms. But nothing satisfactory being proposed by the enemy, and the terms intimated being higher than the commander was authorized to make, he prepared for a second attack. At half past two the assault was made. Within two hours, six of the seven guns were silenced. Forty-eight shells and about five hundred round shot, twenty-four pounders, were thrown into the town and batteries, when, between five and six P. M. the squadron retired from action. During the engagement, the enemy's gun-boats and galleys manœuvred to gain a position to cut off the retreat of ours; but the larger vessels were so arranged as to defeat their design. The loss, this day, was twenty-two killed and six wounded, two of them mortally.

At eight in the evening, the John Adams, Captain Chauncy, joined the squadron. By him the Commodore had the first

official notice that four frigates were on their passage to reinforce his detachment. At the same time, also, he learned that by the appointment of a senior officer to one of the frigates, he would be superseded in the command. The government were highly satisfied with the commodore, but they had not a sufficient number of Captains, junior to Preble, to supply all the frigates sent out; and they did not think the saving of his feelings would justify the creation of any others. Had they, however, known or anticipated his brilliant success at this time, they would probably have ventured upon the promotion of one or two of the gallant lieutenants in the Mediterranean, in order to keep the commodore in the chief command.

As the frigates were to sail four days after the *John Adams*, further operations were suspended in expectation of their arrival. No assistance could be received from this frigate, as her guns had been stowed by the keelson, and their carriages put away into the other frigates, to make room for her cargo, she being sent out as a transport.

On the 9th, Commodore Preble, in the brig *Argus*, reconnoitred the harbor. The next day a flag of truce was seen flying on the castle. The commodore sent a boat on shore, which was not permitted to land, but returned with a letter from the French consul, advising the commodore that the Bashaw would accept five hundred dollars each for the ransom of the prisoners, and terminate the war without any consideration or annuity for peace.

The amount of the demand was about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which the commodore rejected; but for the sake of the captives, and to save the further effusion of blood, offered eighty thousand, and ten thousand for presents. After beginning to treat with the French commissary general, the Bashaw suspended the negotiation, saying he would wait the result of another attack. On the night of the 23d, the bomb-vessels, under protection of the gun-boats, were sent in to bombard the town. The bombardment commenced at two A. M. and continued till daylight; but, as it was subsequently ascertained, without much effect.

On the 27th, the weather proving favorable, the commodore stood in for Tripoli, and anchored his ship two miles N. by E. from Fort English; the light vessels keeping under way. A number of his officers, and many of the seamen being employed in the boats, Captain Chauncey, with several of his officers, and about seventy seamen, volunteered their services on board the Constitution.

The gun-boats, accompanied by the Syren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, Enterprise, and boats of the squadron, anchored at three in the morning, within pistol shot of the enemy's lines, with springs on their cables, and commenced a brisk fire on their shipping, town, batteries, and castle, which was warmly returned. The ship's boats remained with the gun-boats, to assist in boarding the flotilla, in case it should come out, and the brigs and schooners were kept under way to harass the enemy, or to assist the gun-boats. At daylight, apprehensive that the ammunition in the gun-boats must be nearly exhausted, the commodore weighed anchor, and made signal for the gun-boats to retire from action. When arrived within a sure distance, he opened his battery with round and grape shot, upon thirteen gun-boats and galleys, which were closely engaged with ours, sunk one of them, disabled two, and put the rest to flight. He continued running in, until within musket shot of the batteries, when he hove to, fired three hundred round shot, besides grape and cannister, into the Bashaw's castle, the town, and batteries. He silenced the castle, and two of the batteries, and a little after six, hauled off. The gun-boats fired four hundred round shot, besides grape and cannister with evident effect.

The French commissary now renewed the negotiation for peace: but it was broken off, in consequence, as he thought, of one of the squadron approaching the harbor as a cartel; which he said was interpreted by the ignorant and mistrustful Bashaw, as a proof of discouragement on the part of the invader.

On the 3d of September, the bomb-ketches being repaired, as well as the damages sustained by the other vessels in the action of the 27th, the squadron was again ready, and disposed for another attack on the town and batteries. Between three and

four o'clock, the action commenced, and soon became general. But the wind veering to the northward, and beginning to blow fresh, at half past four P. M. he gave the signal to retire from action under cover of the *Constitution*. In this engagement, although the frigate and vessels were much damaged, not a man was lost. The bomb vessel, commanded by Lieutenant Robinson, had all her shrouds shot away, and was so shattered in the hull as to be kept above water with difficulty. The *Argus* received a thirty-two pound shot in her hull, which cut away a bower cable, as it entered, and which so checked its velocity, that it fell upon deck without doing injury.

The Commodore had, for some time, contemplated sending a fire-ship into the harbor to destroy the flotilla; and, at the same time, throw a quantity of shells into the town. Capt. Somers volunteered in this service, and with the assistance of Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, fitted out the ketch *Intrepid* for this expedition. A hundred barrels of gunpowder, and one hundred and fifty fixed shells, were placed in the hold, with fuses and combustibles so applied as to fire them without endangering the retreat of the adventurers. On the evening of the 4th of September, Capt. Somers chose two fast rowing boats from the squadron to bring off the people, after having fired the vessel. His own boat was manned by four seamen from the *Nautilus*, with Lieut. Wadsworth, and six men from the *Constitution*. At eight they parted from the squadron and stood into the harbor, convoyed by the *Argus*, *Vixen*, and *Nautilus*, to within a short distance of the batteries. Having gained the inner harbor, and got near to the point of destination, she was boarded and carried by two galleys of one hundred men each. At this moment she exploded. The effect was awful. Every battery was silenced, and not a gun was fired afterward during the night. Captain Somers is said to have declared to a friend, that in case he should be boarded he would not be captured. There is every reason to believe that, on the enemy proving successful, the Captain seized a quick-match, and touched a train which communicated instant fire to the mine; by which he and his companions found, with the enemy, a common death.

Nothing occurred after this, till the two squadrons joined on the 9th of September. Here ended Mr. Preble's command, so honorable to himself, and in both its immediate and distant consequences, important to his country.

All joined in the suffrage to the distinguished merits of the Commodore. His Holiness the Pope is said to have remarked, that he had done more towards humbling the anti-Christian barbarians on that coast, than all the Christian states had ever done. Sir Alexander Ball, in a letter of September 20th, said, "I beg to repeat my congratulation on the service you have rendered your country, and the hair-breadth escapes you have had in setting a distinguished example. Their bravery and enterprise are worthy a great and rising nation. If I were to offer my opinion, it would be that you have done well not to purchase a peace with the enemy. A few brave men have, indeed, been sacrificed, but they could not have fallen in a better cause; and I even conceive it advisable to risk more lives, rather than submit to terms, which might encourage the Barbary states to add fresh demands and insults."

After the squadron joined, the Commodore obtained leave to return home, where he was received and treated every where with distinguished attention.

In the latter part of the year 1806, the health of Mr. Preble began to decline. Finding that the inveteracy of his malady bid defiance to medical skill, he resolved on a water excursion as a last experiment; but it resulted in no beneficial effect. He breathed his last on Tuesday, the 25th of August, 1807, in the 46th year of his age. On the day of his funeral, business was suspended, the colors were displayed at half-mast from the shipping in the harbor, and he was interred with military honors, and the ceremonies of religion and masonry."*

* Rogers' American Biography.

THOMAS TRUXTUN,

Commodore in the American Navy.

“THE father of Captain Truxtun was an eminent counsellor of the bar of the then colony of New-York, and resided on Long or Nassau Island, where the Commodore was born on the 17th of February, 1755. Having lost his father at an early age, he was placed under the care of John Troup, Esq. of Jamaica, Long-Island, a gentleman well known in the annals of the war between France and England, preceding the American revolution. The sea was his favorite element. At twelve years of age, he first embarked in his naval career, under a Capt. Joseph Holmes, in the ship *Pitt*, bound for Bristol, England. The next year, he sailed under a Captain Chambers, in the London trade. While yet in his novitiate he was impressed on board of an English ship of war of sixty-four guns, during the dispute with Spain about the Falkland Islands, from which ship he was afterward released, through the influence of some friends in power. The commander of his Britannic Majesty's ship *Prudent*, from which he was discharged, used every persuasion to induce him to remain in the service of the crown, with the strongest assurances, that every exertion should be used for his speedy promotion, but without effect, as he immediately returned to the ship and service from which he had been impressed.

In the beginning of the revolutionary struggle he forthwith embarked in the cause of the colonies, against the unjust oppression of Great Britain, and early in 1775 had the command of an armed vessel, with which he cruized against the enemy with great success. In these cruizes, the United States were much benefitted by the quantities of powder which were found on board his prizes, of which articles they were greatly in want. Toward the close of the same year, when on a voyage to St. Eustatia, a Dutch island in the West Indies, in a letter of marque, of which he was half owner, he was captured off the

Island of St. Christopher's, his vessel condemned, and himself released under the provisions of the general restraining act of the British Parliament. From St. Christopher's he went to St. Eustatia, and thence to Philadelphia. His next cruize was in the capacity of first-lieutenant of the private armed ship Congress, which was just equipping for sea. During the early part of the winter of 1776, this vessel, in company with another private armed vessel, called the Chance, fitted out at the same time, made several prizes off the Havana, which were very valuable home-bound Jamaica ships, going through the Gulf of Florida. He, as a prize-master, brought one of them safe into the port of Bedford, Massachusetts. In June of the same year, while the harbor of New-York was blockaded by the British fleet, previous to its evacuation by the Americans, he made his way to sea, through the Long-Island Sound, in a vessel called the Independence, fitted out by himself and Isaac Sears, Esq. and placed under his command. Off the Azores or Western Isles, he made several prizes of which three were large and valuable ships, forming a part of the Windward Island fleet, under convoy. One of these prizes, carried more guns and men than his vessel. The proud Englishmen, notwithstanding their vaunted natural prowess, were obliged to strike their colors to an inferior force. Truxtun next directed his course to the British Channel, in the ship Mars, of twenty guns where he made a number of prizes, several of which he sent into Quiberon Bay. The French court, from a desire to lessen the strength of a rival power, had for some time lent a secret aid to the revolting colonies, yet it had not manifested their hostile intentions so openly as to induce the recall of the British Minister from Versailles. Hence, upon the reception of these prizes into a French port, the British ambassador, Lord Stormont, made a strong remonstrance to the cabinet, protesting against the admission of American armed vessels and prizes into the ports of France, but without effect. Truxtun, after this cruize, domiciliated himself in Philadelphia, from which port he sailed during the remainder of the war, commanding vessels, of which he was in general part owner. His cruizes were generally successful.

When commanding the *St. James*, of twenty guns, and one hundred men, on a voyage to France with Thomas Barclay, Esq. the Consul General from the revolted colonies to that country, a passenger on board, he fell in with a British private ship of war mounting 32 guns, and a proportionate number of men. consequently nearly double his force. After a severe and close engagement, the enemy was obliged to sheer off, and was afterward towed into New-York in a very crippled state. The late Secretary of the Navy, William Jones, Esq. acted as Captain Truxtun's third lieutenant, and conducted himself during the whole engagement with such distinguished bravery that he was shortly after promoted to a first lieutenantcy. In this vessel, Truxton returned safe to Philadelphia with a most valuable cargo. He used every means in his power to harass the enemy on the ocean, during every period of the war, and constantly evinced the most consummate skill and undaunted courage; and his exertions were almost universally crowned with complete success. He likewise, in two instances, distinguished himself on land.

On the return of peace, he continued his professional pursuits between this country, Europe and Asia, until 1794, when the lowering appearances of our affairs with Great Britain, in consequence of the conduct of her naval commanders, under the celebrated Corn order of Council in 1793, induced the establishment of a navy, which they could then do, without infracting the treaty of peace, which prohibited them from such an attempt for twelve years. The term of prohibition had just expired. General Washington, then President, by advice and consent of the Senate, appointed him captain of one of the six ships of war which had been ordered to be built. But the building of these vessels was suspended, in consequence of the treaty of 1795. On the abrogation of the consular convention with France, in the year 1798, during the administration of Mr. John Adams, Captain Truxtun was directed to superintend the building of the frigate *Constellation* at Baltimore, of which he was appointed commander. This vessel was one of the first which put to sea in consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by the United States towards the French Republic. His orders

were to cruize in the West India seas for the protection of American property. The 9th of February, 1799, he fell in with the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, Captain Barreau, off the Island of St. Nevis. With this vessel he commenced a severe engagement, which lasted for an hour and a quarter, when the Frenchman struck; but not until his ship had become a mere wreck. The *Constellation*, mounting thirty-six guns, and a proportionate crew, lost, in this engagement, only one man killed and two wounded, while the loss on board the *Insurgente*, mounting forty-four guns, with four hundred and seventeen men, was twenty killed and forty-four wounded. With his prize, he put into Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, where he refitted and returned to America. This was the first action which had taken place since the commencement of the disturbance between the United States and France. The fame of the achievement was blazoned abroad, both in Europe and America, and produced the Commodore the most flattering marks of distinction. The merchants at Lloyd's Coffee house, London, sent him a present of a service of silver plate, with a suitable device, valued at upwards of 600 guineas. The captive commander, in a letter to the commodore while he lamented the unhappy posture of affairs between the two countries, expressed himself as being well pleased, that the chance of war had thrown him into such gallant and brave hands, and thanked the Commodore for his generous conduct towards himself and his crew.

During his cruize he captured many private armed and other vessels, and completely cleared those seas of the French cruizers, by which so many depredations had been committed on the American and English commerce in that quarter.

While our other vessels of war were busily engaged in conveying the American commerce, the commodore, (a title acquired by courtesy, as the laws of the United States know of no such officer) heard in January, 1800, that the French ship of war *La Vengeance*, mounting 54 guns, with a complement of 500 men, was lying at Gaudaloupe with troops and several general officers on board, intending to put to sea. He immediately changed his cruising ground, and endeavored to fall in with her, and, if possible, to bring her to action. The su-

periority of her force was, in a great measure, counterbalanced by a complement of too many men and a number of troops.

On the first of February, his wishes were gratified, as he descried her on the morning of that day, and after twelve hours chase, brought her to action. In consequence of having too many troops, and a great number of officers on board, the French commander was unwilling to risk a combat, but the intentions of his gallant antagonist were very different. An engagement took place, and after a close action of nearly five hours, the Frenchman was silenced. During a squall, while the Americans were busily engaged in clearing their ship, the French captain effected his escape.

This he was enabled to do by the darkness of the night, although prior to this circumstance he had struck his colours, as he afterward acknowledged, but was induced to renew the contest, believing it to be the intention of his antagonist to sink. The Vengeance now arrived at Curacoa in a very shattered condition, having lost in the engagement, one hundred killed and wounded, and all her masts and rigging being nearly shot away. Congress, on this occasion voted Truxton an emblematic medal, for his gallantry and good conduct.

After Mr. Jefferson entered on the duties of the presidential office, the commodore was ordered to the Mediterranean. From some cause or other, he declined the service, and his resignation was accepted, and another officer succeeded him. Considering his resignation as temporary, he some time afterward wished to resume his naval command, but was informed that, as his resignation had been final, his wishes could not be gratified. He retired to Philadelphia, to enjoy the pleasing scenes of domestic life, until 1816, when the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia evinced their respect for his various services rendered them in the most perilous times, by electing him to fill the important office of sheriff, the duties of which he has discharged so far with general satisfaction, notwithstanding that his elevation was opposed by party clamour and prejudice.*

* American Biographical Dictionary.



BIOGRAPHY

OF

GILBERT MOTIER LA FAYETTE,

Major-General in the American Continental Army.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—La Fayette's birth and education—his prospects at the commencement of the revolutionary struggle—he embarks in it, and arrives in the United States.

THE illustrious individual, whose life and character form the subject of the following pages, has claims on America which have always been felt and acknowledged; but his presence among us has produced sentiments of gratitude and veneration that are universal; which animate every breast and warm every heart. Whilst this spontaneous development of feeling, the free-will offering of a great and powerful people, cannot fail of being gratifying to him on whom it is bestowed, it is highly honorable to our national character. But there are other considerations, connected with this subject, which deserve more attention: we allude to its moral and political influence.

Will it hereafter be claimed "that republics are ungrateful?" that a free people are capricious and unjust? Let the spontaneous homage of ten millions of free-born Americans offered to LA FAYETTE, the early and steadfast friend of their country, for ever put at rest so base a calumny. Where can be found so sublime and impressive a scene as that which the United States now presents? It is in vain that we look to history for an example; the annals of the world afford none; it is an event that stands alone. The triumphs of the greatest and best generals of Rome, were decreed by the senate; and, if they were to be regarded as the voluntary act of the people, they could only be considered as splendid national pageants, wherein gratitude to the individual to whom they were granted, for services

rendered, or honor conferred on his country, had little or no part; and, although professedly designed in honor of an individual, the feelings manifested were national pride and exultation at the success and conquests of the arms of the republic. If the Roman triumph had been a tribunal of gratitude, it could not have been bestowed on such men as Sylla and Marius, who distracted their country with civil wars, and drenched the streets with the noblest blood of Rome.

In modern times, and in that country which gave birth to the man who is the subject of this work, the world has witnessed a display of national feeling equally unexampled and sublime; it will be perceived that we allude to the return of the exile of Elba, and the re-establishment of the imperial throne. But the return of Bonaparte to France, and the visit of La Fayette to the United States, are entirely dissimilar, and equally unparalleled. Like the Israelites in Egypt, the French people were groaning under oppression, which was in some measure considered of foreign origin, as it had been established by foreign bayonets. Napoleon therefore was regarded as a *deliverer*, and it is to this fact that the enthusiasm of the people is to be attributed. Feeling humbled at the degradation of the nation and exasperated at the insolence of power and the arrogance and rapacity of the old nobility, who had returned, the people flew to their late emperor as a deliverer, and received him with open arms and the warmest enthusiasm.

The reception of La Fayette, in the United States, was entirely different; the manifestation of feeling was of a different character, and proceeded from different sources. He was not received as a conquerer, nor hailed as a deliverer; neither is this demonstration of feeling, a sudden impulse of joy or passion, for any recent service or achievement conferring benefit or honor on our country, but it is a sentiment of gratitude, deeply implanted in the breast, and revived by his presence, for the most distinguished philanthropy and disinterested services, performed nearly half a century ago, and which contributed to establish the independence and liberties of our country. Ye monarchs and lordlings of the earth, who regard

mankind in the light you do the servants of your household, as the mere instruments of your ambition and gratifications, abandon, for a moment, your schemes of ameliorating the condition of your people, by restricting their rights and privileges, and checking the exuberance of liberty, and turning your attention to America, witness the reward of a man who is the enemy of tyrants and oppression, and whose life and blood have been devoted to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. Behold, though it "blast your eye-balls," the unbought and unbribed homage of a free and great people offered to their benefactor, the friend of America, the friend of liberty. What a sublime spectacle, to witness an entire nation, after the lapse of half a century, opening their hearts in gratitude and honor of a hero and patriot, who had assisted to break the chains which enslaved their country, and to establish its freedom! How unlike the empty pageant of coronations and royal festivals, where a constrained homage is offered by slaves to their masters; who, whilst receiving honor from the lips, must be sensible that the heart is often ready to break forth in curses. Can the moral and political effect of this event be lost? Will it not have an influence in Europe on all enlightened and noble minds, with whom the respect of mankind and the veneration of posterity, are the richest reward and the only honorable object of human ambition?

As America has been the theatre of the earliest and most successful exertions of La Fayette in the cause of liberty; and as it is here that the fruits of his toils, sacrifices and blood, have ripened to maturity, and promise to be as lasting as his renown; as it is here that his memory will be cherished and revered to the latest posterity, it seems to belong to America to perpetuate his fame, and to preserve a record of his deeds and virtues. This is a part of the debt of gratitude we owe him. His life, like that of our own Washington, should be put into the hands of our youth universally, that the name of the adopted son of the "Father of his Country," the friend of America and humanity, the hero, patriot and philanthropist, should be as familiar, in this, his adopted country, with all succeeding generations, as it

is with the present; so that the respect and veneration felt for it may be as lasting as his fame, as extensive as his renown.

The ancient province of Auvergne, now the department de la Haute Loire, gave birth to GILBERT MOTIER, Marquis DE LA FAYETTE. He was born on the 6th of September, 1757, at the Chateau de Chavagnac, situated about two leagues distance from Brioude, in the aforesaid department. Marshal De La Fayette, one of the ancestors of the general, sustained a great military reputation, and Madame De La Fayette, a relation of his, is advantageously known in the literature of France. His father fell in the battle of Rossbach, on the 5th of November, 1757, surviving the birth of his son but two months.

At the tender age of seven years, young Motier was sent to the College of Louis Le Grand, at Paris, where he received the rudiments of his education. How long he remained here is uncertain; but at the early period of fifteen he was enrolled among the Mousquetaires du Roi, and before this time he had been made one of the pages of the Queen of France. From the patronage of the Queen, he soon rose to the rank of a commissioned officer, a favor seldom conferred, except on the sons of the most distinguished of the nobility. Young Fayette was in every respect a precocious youth, and in 1774, when but 17 years of age, he was married to the Countess Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the duke of that name: considerations of family interest, as well as mutual affection, concurred in producing this union; which, whilst it made him happy in the possession of an amiable and accomplished lady, less ennobled from her birth than the goodness of her heart and the endowments of her mind, largely augmented his fortune, which before was sufficiently ample. He was now in the possession of an estate affording an annual income of more than 150,000 francs, a princely fortune at that time, when money was worth much more than it is at present.

Such was the situation of La Fayette when the contest between Great Britain and her American colonies began to attract the attention of the world; whilst yet in a state of minority, possessing rank, wealth, the favor of the queen, surrounded by

all the pleasures of a luxurious capital and voluptuous court, so seducing to youth, and happy in the enjoyment of domestic felicity. The fairest prospects, also, of preferment and fame were open to him; so that whether ambition or pleasure was the governing motive, he was equally surrounded by the strongest attractions conducing to confine him to his home and his country.

A distant people are struggling for their rights; the hand of oppression bears heavily on them; their voice has crossed the Atlantic, and reached the shores of France; the philanthropists and friends of liberty feel a deep interest in the cause of the sufferers, and their most lively sympathies are excited. Young La Fayette, whilst surrounded with all the allurements and fascinations of pleasure, was most strongly affected with this noble sympathy; his benevolent heart and ardent mind would not permit him to remain merely a well-wisher to the cause of independence and liberty in America, but prompted him to offer his services and his fortune to this glorious cause. He felt that the cause of the Americans was just, that it was the cause of liberty and humanity. He did not, however, act from the impulse of the heart; but examined the subject, and made himself master of the controversy between the colonies and their parent country, which satisfied him of the justice of the cause of the colonies, and confirmed him in the determination to embark in it as a volunteer. Accordingly he presented himself before the American Commissioners, at Paris, and acquainted them with his intention of taking a part in the contest, if his services should be deemed of any importance. The sagacity of Dr. Franklin seldom erred, and discovering the indications of valor and greatness in this youthful patriot, his offer was readily accepted. This was in 1776, and not long after, the disastrous intelligence reached Europe of the defeat of the Americans on Long Island, their evacuation of New-York, the dispersion of the American troops, and the flight of the small remains of the continental army through New-Jersey, pursued by a large British force, which completely annihilated the little credit the Americans had acquired in Europe. It was supposed, even by their friends, that the cause of the colonists was destroyed in the bud; the

flame of liberty, which had burst forth with such splendor, was believed to be extinguished by the first blast of power, like the taper's blaze. Opinions which are suddenly formed, and upon superficial knowledge, are as suddenly changed or given up, and from very slight circumstances. At this period a dark cloud hung over the destinies of America, and perhaps of the human race, as it is uncertain to what extent the latter are identified with the former, so far as they depend on civil liberty. As the efforts and power of the Americans were apparently crushed, many of the most enlightened and patriotic friends of liberty in Europe, began to think that they had attached more importance to the contest than it deserved; that the movements which had taken place were rather to be attributed to the zeal of the leaders, and the sudden exasperated feelings of the people, than to a deep sense of injustice, or any definite ideas of their political rights, or settled determination to maintain them.

So unfavorable and extensive was the influence of this disastrous intelligence, that the American Commissioners at Paris, had not sufficient credit to procure a vessel to facilitate the enterprize of La Fayette, and under such circumstances, they believed that justice and honor required them to dissuade him from his undertaking for the present. But their efforts were unavailing; so ardently had the feelings of the youthful patriot become enlisted in the cause of America, that they were not to be stifled by the reverses which it had experienced. "I have done nothing," said he to the American Commissioners, "hitherto, but admire your cause; but now I mean to serve it; the more hopeless it is in the public estimation, the more honor I shall gain by espousing its interests. Since it is out of your power to procure a vessel, I will purchase and equip one myself; and I take upon myself to be the bearer of your despatches to congress."

It is impossible sufficiently to admire the conduct, and duly to appreciate the motives of La Fayette; this was not the bold enterprize of an adventurer, who had nothing to lose, and little to expect at home; neither was he influenced by motives of ambition, as it was not necessary for him to visit a foreign country

for distinction or preferment; but it was his love of liberty, his devotion to the cause of humanity, with the desire of honorable fame, that led him to become the youthful champion of the cause of America: and foregoing all the pleasures of the capital and the court, and the more substantial enjoyments of domestic felicity, to devote his life and his fortune to its service. To leave such enjoyments and prospects at home, and engage in the cause of a distant and foreign people, at a time too, when that cause was regarded as nearly hopeless, without any motive or expectation of personal advantage, evinced such ardor and devotion to liberty, as cannot fail of exciting the admiration of the enlightened and patriotic, of all succeeding ages.

The intended enterprize of La Fayette having become known, active exertions were made to discourage him, and defeat it. Some were actuated from real friendship to him, and others from a secret hostility to the cause in which he was about to engage. Among other reasons urged to dissuade him, he was told that the king would be seriously displeased, should he interfere in a matter of such moment, and that if he persisted, he would expose himself to serious consequences.

But the most difficult and delicate point, came nearer to his heart. How could he separate himself from a young and affectionate wife, to whom he had been but recently united? This was the most trying difficulty, it required all his resolution and philosophy. It was impossible to believe that she could be induced to consent to a measure which was to separate her from the partner of her bosom, whom she so tenderly loved, and expose him to the perils of a voyage, and the more certain dangers of war. The excitement, and almost distraction of her feelings, would view such a parting in the light of a final separation. To avoid her opposition, and perhaps even fearing that the remonstrances, the tears and entreaties of a beloved wife, might even shake the firmness of his purpose, he concealed his object from her as much as possible; but as she could not be kept wholly ignorant of his movements, he caused it to be represented to her, that he was going to America on a private mission, and that he would soon return. To avoid a scene which would be

equally distressing to both, she was not informed of his departure, until after he had sailed. He purchased and equipped the vessel himself, and brought out a quantity of military stores, all of which were paid for from his private funds.

After it was publicly known that the young Marquis intended to embark for America, the government made a show of opposition to it; and orders were actually issued to prevent his sailing. This, however, was only an instance of the Machiavelian policy of courts, intended to deceive the British minister, and to preserve the appearance of neutrality. It is not, however, to be supposed, that the British cabinet was deceived by this duplicity; they were aware of the secret views and designs of the French government, with respect to America. But the professions and appearances of neutrality, as long as they could be kept up, were necessary to prevent, or at least postpone, a rupture with Britain. And although the cabinet of Great Britain was fully sensible of the secret designs of France, and aware that her government connived at the enterprizes of its citizens, they wished to avoid a rupture with her if possible.

France and Great Britain, if not ancient and natural enemies, as is often considered, had long been rivals, and jealous of each other's power. After a long and obstinate contest, a peace had a few years previous, been concluded between them, less for the purpose of maintaining tranquility than that of recovering strength, and preparing to renew hostilities, when it could be more advantageously done. It would be natural to believe, therefore, that France, standing in this situation towards Great Britain, being jealous of her growing power in America, would view with secret satisfaction, the difficulties between this powerful rival and her American colonies, which had been increasing since 1764, and had finally terminated in an open rupture. In the late war, which had been principally carried on in America, France became too well acquainted with the immense importance to Britain, of her colonies, and how largely they contributed to carrying on hostilities, not to be sensible that their separation from Britain, would be the loss of the right arm of her power. As the rival and enemy of Britain, she felt a strong

interest in favor of the Americans; but was unwilling to compromise her peace with that power, until the progress of events might afford stronger assurance of the stability and ultimate success of the American cause. It being the policy of the French government, therefore, to assist the Americans, yet at the same time to keep up the appearances of neutrality, until matters should arrive at such maturity, as to dictate a different line of conduct, the ministry could not openly approve of the enterprize of the Marquis, who held a place in the royal household, although they secretly encouraged it, whilst they adopted public measures, with the ostensible view of preventing it. The slightest knowledge of the strict police of the old government of France, under Louis XV. and his successor, would prevent the belief for a moment, that the Marquis could have embarked in a foreign enterprize, of a military nature, if the government had been disposed to prevent it.

On the 19th of April, 1777, La Fayette arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, and proceeded immediately to lay before Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, the despatches and letters which had been entrusted to him, by the American Commissioners at Paris. His language, on presenting himself to Congress, was worthy of the object of his mission, and the character which he has since acquired:—"I am come," said he, "to request two favors of this house; the one, to serve in your army in the capacity of a volunteer; the other, to receive no pay." That enlightened body duly appreciated the noble and disinterested conduct of this youthful patriot, and were fully sensible of the influence it might have on the cause confided to their wisdom. Considering his rank and family, his connexion with the French government, the strong recommendations of the American Commissioners, and above all, his distinguished patriotism, Congress, in July following, adopted the following resolution:—"Whereas, the Marquis La Fayette, in consequence of his ardent zeal for the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and friends, and crossed the ocean at his own expense, to offer his services to the United States, without wishing to accept of any pension or

pay whatsoever; and as he earnestly desires to engage in our cause, Congress have resolved that his services be accepted, and that in consideration of his patriotism, his family and illustrious relations, he shall hold the rank and commission of Major-General, in the army of the United States."

Thus were the fortunes of a young nobleman, whilst yet in a state of minority, possessing wealth, rank, powerful friends, and in a word, every thing to endear him to home and to his country, connected with those of America, in the doubtful contest in which she was engaged, for her independence and liberty. It might be too much to say, that this event had a decisive influence on the destiny of both; but that it had an important one, cannot now be doubted. The fate of nations has often depended on events less important than this. The example of La Fayette, and the distinguished honor he acquired, had a powerful influence on his countrymen; the cause of America became popular in France; a patriotic ardor was excited, and so many were emulous to engage in the American service, that the Commissioners at Paris were in no small degree embarrassed from the number of applications. The exertions and influence of the Marquis, and his numerous friends at home, must in some degree, have contributed to the assistance afforded by France to the States; and his patriotic conduct, and unbounded liberality, devoting both his services and his fortune to the cause, had a happy influence in America. But whatever effect this event may have had on the glorious revolution with which it is connected, there can be little doubt of its happy influence on the life and character of the Marquis; it fixed his character, confirmed his principles, and made him one of the most distinguished patriots of his own, or any other age. Had he never served in the United States, he would undoubtedly have been a patriot in his feelings and opinions, and a friend of popular rights; but it is by no means certain that he would have been a republican in his principles, or so ardently devoted to civil liberty. A man's principles do not operate with full force, when they depend on speculative ideas; it is only by devoting our talents, our services, our blood or fortunes, to the defence of

principles, that causes them to be revered, or their truth and importance justly appreciated. The American Revolution was a school of liberty; and its instructions made a lasting impression on the minds of all engaged in it; and on none more than the adopted son of Washington.

CHAPTER II.

Congress gives a commission to La Fayette, and he joins the army—Sketch of the events of the war—Battle of Brandywine, in which La Fayette was wounded—He defeats a party of Hessians and Grenadiers in New Jersey—has the command of a division assigned him—are disciplined, armed and equipped by himself—Sketches of the events of the war—Situation of the American Army at Valley Forge—Exertions and influence of La Fayette, to allay jealousies towards the commander-in-chief.

WASHINGTON had a wonderful sagacity and discrimination, as to the character and qualities of men; and he at once received the most favorable impressions from the young volunteer: his unobtrusive deportment, his modest assurance, and his sincerity, afforded a presage of his future character. He possessed in an unusual degree the rare qualities of securing the affections of all who knew him. Washington immediately became ardently attached to him; and admitted him into his own family as his adopted son. He declined for some time to assume the commission and rank assigned him by Congress; and when urged by Washington to do it, he replied, “that he was not as yet capable of discharging the duties of so important a post; that he must begin by being instructed himself, and by learning to obey, before he took upon himself to command.” This reasonable diffidence in himself, considering his youth and want of experience, whilst it increased the confidence of Washington in his abilities, was calculated to allay the jealousy, and secure the esteem of all his associates in arms.

The young Marquis repaired to the American camp in New-Jersey, to take a part in the strife of arms; he immediately showed a promptitude and readiness in attention to duty; he examined whatever was within his observation, and applied

himself with great diligence, to obtain information of every thing concerning the service, and the condition and resources of the country. By accepting the numerous invitations given him, he soon became acquainted with the officers, and from his frank and unassuming deportment, and easy and agreeable manners, he acquired many friends. His characteristic generosity, soon began to display itself; on learning the wants of Gen. Moultrie, he sent him complete uniforms and equipments for one hundred and fifty soldiers under his command.

As it was in the American revolutionary war, that the character of La Fayette was formed, and his principles established; as that was the theatre of his first and most successful exertions in the cause of liberty, and as this portion of his life is most interesting to Americans, and at this time secures to him the united homage of the entire population of our country, it becomes necessary to detail such of the events of that memorable contest, as will do justice to the exertions and merit of our youthful hero.

The rising sun of the American revolution, which beamed with so much effulgence at Bunker's Hill, was soon overcast with impervious clouds. The blood which drenched the soil of Lexington, electrified the country, and the people were ready to rush to arms, to avenge their injured countrymen, and to punish so daring an outrage on the rights of freemen. The militia of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Hampshire, collected at Boston, and the heights of Bunker's Hill first signalized their valor to the astonishment of the mercenaries of Britain. The seat of war being transferred to New-York, the militia concentrated at that place, and Washington, near the close of the year 1776, found himself at the head of a numerous body of men, hastily levied, without experience or discipline, and in a considerable degree without equipments or arms. Little reliance could be placed on such a force, and if possible its efficiency was less than the moderate expectation of the commander-in-chief. The unfortunate attempt to defend New-York, soon dispersed this large nominal force.

The fatigues and hardships of the camp, even in a few weeks cooled the ardor that had been raised, and as their term of service was short, the militia returned home as hastily as they had collected, and Washington was left with the small wreck of an undisciplined force, with which he was compelled to fly from place to place, through New-Jersey. Rapidly pursued by Cornwallis, Washington's escape at Newark, Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton must be regarded as almost miraculous. Nothing but the dilatory measures and blunders of General Howe, saved the small remnant of the continental army; which after crossing the Delaware, amounted to no more than seventeen hundred men; the Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania militia having abandoned him the moment their term of service expired, and although it was apparent that the country was in the most critical situation, yet no considerations would induce them to stay a single day. Availing themselves of their successes, and the despondency and alarm which had been spread through the colonies, the two Houses issued a proclamation in the name of his Britannic Majesty, commanding all persons to desist from acts of treason and rebellion, and promising a free pardon to all who should return to their business and their homes. This proclamation had an astonishing effect on men of weak nerves, easy principles, and large fortunes; thousands who had been ardent in the cause, abandoned it in this hour of despondency; and thinking only of the security of their persons and property, they began to view the subject of dispute in a new light, and thought that the conduct of mother Britain was not so bad as to justify involving the country in the dreadful evils of a civil war. This was the darkest day in the American revolution; the hearts of all real patriots sunk within them, yet they did not despair; but with a large portion of the people, the contest was considered as decided, and it certainly was by the British. Congress was without an army; without a cent in the treasury, and apparently no prospect of recruiting either; but what was more alarming, the confidence of the nation was destroyed, and the spirit that had animated the people was gone, which paralysed all exertion. What remained but hope and the protection of Providence?

It was at this gloomy period that the young French patriot, fully aware of these alarming circumstances, and against the dissuasions of the American commissioners, engaged in the cause of American independence and liberty, at the very time when it was forsaken at home by thousands who had embraced it. This honorable conduct in a foreigner, contrasted with that of those Americans, who in the day of adversity were ready to abandon the cause of freedom and their country, served to exhibit the disgracefulness and criminality of the latter in a more glaring light.

But Washington did not believe, as he informed Col. Reed, "that his neck was made for a halter;" he did not despair of the republic; and having increased his force to about five thousand, principally however raw militia, he recrossed the Delaware, and surprised and captured near one thousand Hessians. This event, which revived the despondent spirit of the Americans, was soon followed by his almost miraculous escape at Trenton, which turned to his own advantage, and terminated in the defeat of the enemy at Princeton. These events revived the hopes if not the confidence of the most despondent, and threw a shade of light over the dark prospect which prevailed.

So small and inefficient however were the American forces, that Washington was unable to undertake any other enterprize; he retired to Morristown, where he remained during the winter, depending for his security, less on his numbers and strength, than the ignorance of General Howe of his weakness; which was so great, that at some periods, he could not have mustered five hundred men fit for duty.

Notwithstanding the successful affairs at Trenton and at Princeton, the cause was considered still as nearly hopeless.—Nothing but a desperate cause could have occasioned, or afforded even the semblance of justification, for the extraordinary measures of Congress: it is only a desperate cause that requires desperate remedies. Congress conferred on Washington, supreme authority in every thing which related to the conduct and management of the war; and not only so, but to "arrest and confine persons who refused to take the continental currency

or were otherwise disaffected to the American cause." To create a dictator, and to authorise him to arrest and imprison persons who refused to take a fictitious currency, that they might conscientiously believe to be without value, and likewise to arrest those whom he might *suspect* of disaffection, were truly desperate measures, and not very consistent with the object in view; they afford the strongest evidence that congress regarded the cause as a forlorn one. Such was the condition of the country, and the progress that had been made in the war, in the spring of 1777, when the Marquis De La Fayette arrived in America. His zeal in the cause of liberty must have been fervent indeed, to induce him to forego so many flattering prospects at home, to engage in a contest so doubtful and discouraging, not to say desperate, and that contest not his own, or of his own country.

At the opening of the spring campaign, Washington had but between four and five thousand men, whilst Gen. Howe had nearly thirty thousand: a fearful odds in a struggle for the independence and liberty of a country. The American troops were in want of every thing, and Washington had no money to provide the necessary supplies: in this emergency Fayette presented him with sixty thousand francs. Washington was greatly affected at such generosity. Howe, on retiring from the Jerseys, took a station on Staten Island, and after various manœuvres intended to deceive Washington as to his destination, sailed for the Chesapeake with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, and disembarked his troops, amounting to sixteen thousand, at the head of Elk River; from whence they marched toward the Brandywine on the route to Philadelphia. Washington, after various marches and countermarches, in consequence of his perplexity as to the destination of Howe, as soon as he learnt of his arrival in the Chesapeake, marched his troops, amounting to about seven thousand to oppose his progress. Supposing that the enemy would attempt to cross the Brandywine, at Chad's ford, he posted the main strength of his army at that place; whilst one thousand men occupied the opposite hill, on which a slight breastwork had been thrown up on the night of

the 10th of September. On the morning of the 11th, by dawn of light, the British army advanced in two columns, the left under Cornwallis, and the right under Knyphausen. The latter perceiving that he could not cross without dislodging the Americans posted on the hill under General Maxwell, ordered a detachment to attack them, which Maxwell repulsed; but the detachment being reinforced, and another party proceeding to attack his flank, the American general retreated and crossed the river with little loss, not being pursued by the enemy. The judicious dispositions made by Washington to prevent Cornwallis from crossing the ford, were countermanded in consequence of erroneous information that the enemy was not marching in that direction; by which means Cornwallis' division crossed without opposition, and the Americans were first informed of it, by the movements of the enemy, to turn their right flank under Gen. Sullivan. A short engagement ensued which resulted in the route of the Americans, who retreated in great confusion. Gen. Greene was despatched to the aid of Sullivan, and although he marched four miles in forty minutes, he arrived only in season to cover the retreat of the routed and flying troops. Taking advantage of the engagement of Cornwallis, Knyphausen crossed Chad's ford, and attacked Wayne and Maxwell on the opposite side of the stream, who were compelled to retire and abandon their batteries and cannon.

Greene, who was pursued by Cornwallis, made a stand at a defile about one mile from the scene of action; the troops under his command consisted of Weedon's Virginia brigade, and Col. Stewart's Pennsylvania regiment. This narrow pass Greene was determined to defend; Cornwallis came up about an hour by sun, when a contest commenced which was terminated only by the darkness of the night. The action was fought with the most determined bravery on both sides: no troops ever behaved better, or displayed more cool intrepidity than the Americans under Greene who sustained the heat of the action. This action has become memorable from its being the first in which La Fayette was engaged, and the first in which he shed his blood in the cause of liberty. He behaved with the coolness of an old

veteran; animated by his example, his brigade made a vigorous charge on the enemy, but was repulsed; he exerted himself to rally them, and lead them again to the charge, but without success. He was in the hottest of the fight, and was wounded by a musket ball in the leg, but would not retire or dismount from his horse to have his wound dressed, but continued at his post during the whole engagement, and displayed the coolness, valor, and presence of mind of a veteran soldier. Several other celebrated foreigners were engaged in this battle; among the number was the Polish Count, Pulaski, who carried off King Stanislaus from his capital: he so highly distinguished himself, that he was promoted by congress to be commander of the cavalry, and brigadier-general. About this period his still more distinguished countrymen, the Polish patriot and hero, Kosciusko, arrived in this country, also a volunteer in the cause of Liberty. At this time too, M. de Coudray, a French officer of eminent rank and talents, an enthusiast in the cause of Liberty, arrived in America; and who soon afterward was unfortunately drowned in attempting to ford the Schuylkill. La Fayette after the battle, was conveyed to Philadelphia, but on the advance of the enemy, he was obliged to retire to the mountains for security. The Baron de St. Ouary, a distinguished French officer was taken prisoner.

The result of this battle, considering the number and description of troops engaged on both sides, the Americans being greatly inferior in both respects, could not furnish any just cause of exultation on the part of the British. Our loss in killed, wounded and prisoners exceeded twelve hundred; and theirs amounted to about eight. The British, however, contrived to magnify its importance, and thus to multiply the number of its partizans throughout Pennsylvania, which increased the embarrassments of the continental army, whilst it facilitated the plans of Howe.

Washington retired to Chester, towards Philadelphia, where he rallied his forces, and intended still to dispute the entrance of the British into Philadelphia. Had the British general followed up his advantages, instead of remaining three days,

the situation of the Americans would have been very critical, and perhaps the contest have been decided; he might easily have overtaken our army at Chester, before Washington had had time to rally his troops, or reinforce; or he might have pushed on and reached Philadelphia before him. But the evil genius of Howe concurred with the exertion and skill of Washington, for the salvation of America. The two armies again met on the 17th, near Warren Tavern, on the Lancaster road, and were again about to contest the possession of Philadelphia, with fearful odds, on the part of the British, who were flushed with recent victory. But that power who rides on the wind and directs the storm, had ordered otherwise; a tremendous storm accompanied with torrents of rain, compelled the hostile parties to separate, a few minutes after the commencement of the engagement. On the following day, Washington moved off towards Reading, ordering Wayne to remain in the rear of the enemy, who, on the night of the 20th, was surprised by a detachment of the enemy, and sustained a serious loss.

Sir William Howe, having succeeded by his manœuvres and movements in drawing Washington to a distance from the city, suddenly crossed the Schuylkill, and entered Philadelphia in triumph on the 26th, without opposition. The congress had adjourned on the 18th, to Lancaster, and from thence they soon repaired to Yorktown.

Washington moved with his army to Skippack Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown; where, being reinforced by 2,500 men, on the 3d October, he advanced to attack the enemy's encampment at Germantown. Early on the morning of the 4th, the Americans commenced the attack: it was unexpected by the enemy, and our troops would probably have gained a decisive victory, had it not been for the unfortunate detention of the main army, to attack Chew's stone house, into which a party of the enemy had retreated for refuge. While the main division of the army was thus detained, about what was of little or no consequence, as to the principal object, the enemy had time to make their dispositions; and the column under General Greene, came up and engaged the right wing of the enemy: a

spirited contest ensued, in which the Americans for some time had the advantage. The contest was very hotly kept up for a considerable time; but at length, the Americans were compelled to give way in every direction; and as they were retreating, Cornwallis came up with a squadron of horse, which routed and threw them into great confusion. Our loss was severe, amounting in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about eleven hundred; among the killed was General Nash of North Carolina. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was eight hundred.

La Fayette, impatient of confinement, and anxious again to be in the field, before his wound was healed, proceeded to join General Greene in New-Jersey. Having obtained the command of a small body of militia, in conjunction with Colonel Butler, who had a rifle corps of about the same number, on the 25th of November, whilst attempting to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, he fell in with a detachment of about three hundred men, consisting of Hessian and British grenadiers. A spirited engagement immediately followed; the enemy were soon routed and fled, with the loss of twenty or thirty killed, and a number wounded, and were pursued to their camp.

General Greene, in noticing this encounter, spoke in very flattering terms of La Fayette;—"The Marquis, he observed, seemed to search for danger, and was charmed with the behaviour of his men." In his letter to Washington, La Fayette remarked: "I found the rifleman superior, even to their own high reputation; and the militia surpassed all the expectations I could have formed of them." An account of this victory was transmitted to the congress, by Washington, who were so sensible of the merit of La Fayette, that they immediately promoted him to the command of a division. This consisted at first of twelve hundred young men, which was afterwards increased to two thousand. They were disciplined and instructed by their young general, who was so delighted with, and so diligent in attending to the duties of his new situation, that he scarcely allowed himself time for sleep or refreshment.

The troops under his immediate charge, formed a distinct corps, and were peculiarly his. They were not only formed and

disciplined by him, but the soldiers were armed and equipped at his own expense; he also presented each officer with an elegant sword and belt. These, and other acts of munificence in promoting the objects of the war, had reduced his funds so low that he was under the necessity of sending to France for additional supplies. His assiduity in the discharge of his duties, his attention to the wants of every soldier, his unbounded liberality, and his engaging manners, rendered him beloved and respected by almost every man under his immediate command. Although but a youth himself, he was literally the father of the troops he commanded, he was truly the soldier's friend. He has since declared that he never was so truly happy as when engaged in these delightful employments, and surrounded by his *friends*, a term of endearment which he applied to those under his immediate charge.

Apparently trifling incidents often open the heart of a man, and unfold his dispositions more than great events. About this period a circumstance occurred too honorable to the heart of La Fayette, to be omitted. While inspecting the camp, he beheld a man wretched in his dress, and miserable and dejected in his appearance, seated at the foot of a tree, his face, covered with his hands, and his elbows resting on his knees; he seemed an object of such deep melancholy and distress as attracted the attention of the general; who, after listening for some moments to his sighs, inquired in that feeling and interesting manner so peculiar to him, the cause of his grief. The unhappy man replied that he had lately joined the army, leaving a young wife and two small children at home, who were entirely dependent on him for sustenance, and that the fears of their suffering during his absence, filled his heart with sorrow. La Fayette, after hearing his story, inquired his name and place of residence, and told him not to grieve, as his family should be provided for, which promise he neither forgot nor disregarded.

The Americans had attempted to obstruct the navigation of the Delaware, by chevaux-de-frise, fire ships and forts, and to cut off the communication between the fleet and army of the enemy, which would have rendered their situation at Philadelphia very critical. The two Howes being sensible of this, made

exertions corresponding to the importance of the object, to open the navigation of the river. The most important of the forts, was that at Red Bank, which being attacked by fifteen hundred Hessians, it was gallantly defended by Colonel Greene, who repulsed the assailants with immense loss, Colonel Donop, their commander, being himself mortally wounded and made prisoner, with many other officers. But for the darkness of the night, which covered their flight, the whole party would have fallen into the hands of the Americans. This distinguished conduct, was duly honored by Congress, and an elegant sword presented to Colonel Greene.

But notwithstanding the failure of this attempt, Sir William Howe did not abandon the object of opening the navigation of the river; but ordered an attack to be made on Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, which was most gallantly and obstinately defended; but after having sustained the fort for nearly two months against the daily attacks of the enemy, it was abandoned on the 15th of November, the works being entirely destroyed, which left the garrison exposed to the fire of the enemy. Colonel Samuel Smith of Maryland, who commanded the garrison, received a sword from Congress, for his gallant conduct in the various assaults on Fort Mifflin; two hundred and fifty of the garrison were killed and wounded. Of all the works on the river, Fort Mercer alone remained; it was intrusted to General Greene, who did every thing that could be done, to defend it; but not receiving the expected reinforcements, it was abandoned in pursuance of the advice of a council of officers. After the fall of the forts, the vessels and galleys were obliged to be abandoned. In these various conflicts, the Americans sustained severe losses; the enemy also lost two ships of the line; but they succeeded in obtaining the command of the river.

Early in December, the British General marched from Philadelphia to White Marsh, and manœvred to draw Washington into an engagement, but did not dare to attack him in his position, although the American troops were in the most deplorable condition; in want of shoes, stockings, breeches and blankets. After some skirmishing, the enemy returned to the city, where

he found very snug winter quarters. His adversary having retired, Washington moved with his army to Valley Forge, a place uniting almost every advantage, where he took up his winter quarters, about sixteen miles from Philadelphia.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1777, which commenced under such favorable auspices on the part of the British, with such ample means, and from which the enemies of America, both at home and in England, had expected so much. The possession of a city abandoned by a considerable part of its inhabitants, and the submission of the surrounding country for fifteen miles in extent, were the only results of a campaign, which, after great expectation and immense expense, was to prostrate the power and hopes of America, and teach the rebels better manners, and convince them by the *argumentum baculinum*—conviction per force, of the omnipotence of parliament, and its authority to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever.

The British had not been defeated; they had not been disappointed by not receiving expected reinforcements, or by the failure of the co-operation of their fleet; their exertions had not been paralyzed, and their plans frustrated by any adverse occurrence, that was out of the contingencies which fairly belong to the operations and events of war. Neither had they been opposed by a numerous force, or one well disciplined and supplied with every thing calculated to render it efficient. Why then did they accomplish so little, and what were the difficulties with which they had to contend? The want of energy in the British commander, may have been one reason of this failure; but the principal causes existed in the nature of the contest; and the many obstacles which attend the conquest of a people contending for their liberty, and animated by a spirit which such a cause is calculated to inspire. Had the people been united, the British would have found much more formidable obstacles to contend with; but instead of this, the country was distracted with dissensions, two great parties dividing public opinion; the tories were not only opposed to the revolution, but formed a local and active auxiliary force, to co-operate with the enemy; this party in the middle states, comprised no

small portion of the men of property; jealousies and coldness also prevailed among the whigs; and a spirit of monopoly and cupidity having sprung up, motives of gain prevailed over sentiments of patriotism, and men of wealth engaged in ruinous speculations: all these causes tended to embarrass and paralyze the endeavors of congress and their commander. Congress had not the power to command the little resources the country possessed; was without money and without credit, and the army in want of every thing. If, with all these embarrassments and obstacles, the enemy was able to effect no more, what would he have accomplished if the people had been united and under an efficient government?

The American army remained undisturbed in their quarters at Valley Forge, but sixteen miles from Philadelphia, the more comfortable quarters of the enemy, although barefoot, and almost literally naked, and greatly inferior in numbers to the British. In this destitute condition of the American troops, La Fayette, at his own expense, procured many articles to supply the most distressing wants of the soldiers. He was too much the soldier's friend to be satisfied to be himself possessing every enjoyment, whilst the troops were suffering the severest privations. To relieve the distresses of the army, and assume the appearance of confidence and cheerfulness, Washington and the officers encouraged pastimes and amusements, and took a part in them themselves. From the conciliatory deportment, the pleasing manners; from his regard for the rights of the soldiers, and his unbounded liberality, the example and exertions of no one, except the commander-in-chief, had more influence than those of La Fayette. Washington, and the other officers, invited their ladies to their quarters, to partake in their festivities, and by their presence, to enliven the dullness of the scene; by their vivacity and sprightliness, to spread a charm of gaiety and pleasure over the haggard features of war, and the sufferings and gloom of the camp—that in these transient enjoyments, past distresses might be forgotten, present sufferings alleviated, and future prospects brightened. These patriotic women, whilst they felt a deep anxiety for the safety of their husbands

and friends, engaged in a contest for life and liberty with such unequal means, suppressed their uneasiness, and assuming the appearance of cheerfulness and joy themselves, did every thing in their power to impart these feelings to others, and give an appearance, at least, of pleasure and gaiety to the scene. Their patriotic motives and example were worthy the highest praise, and will compare with the most distinguished matrons of the ancient republics of Greece or Rome. During the winter, Washington caused the whole army to be inoculated with the smallpox, which was conducted with such secrecy that the British were not informed of it until the whole operation was ended. The sufferings of the army were inconceivably severe, during the rigors of the winter; being not only destitute of clothing, but often of provisions. At one period the commissary delivered the last ration in his possession; and from want of materials to raise their barracks from the ground, the damp struck through their straw beds, which produced a contagious and mortal disease, to which the soldiers were the miserable victims. But the army bore all these sufferings with fortitude and patience, if not without complaint. The commissioners appointed by congress to examine the condition of the army, reported that nothing could exceed their sufferings, except the patience with which they supported them.

To add to these difficulties, jealousy and envy had produced secret enemies to the commander-in-chief, who, by plots and intrigues, attempted to deprive him of the confidence of the army and of the people, and thus, if not to strip him of his power, at least to cast a shade over the lustre of his well-earned fame. There were others, whom charity requires us to believe, honestly entertained fears that Washington, after establishing the independence of the country, like Cæsar or Cromwell, would assume sovereign power himself. The jealous spirit of the times, and the unlimited authority conferred on him by Congress, favored these unworthy suspicions, which, had they not been allayed, might have proved so fatal in their consequences. No one was more active or successful in his exertions to allay them, and satisfy the public mind, than General La Fayette.

Being a foreign nobleman of a princely fortune, no one could suspect him of harboring designs hostile to the liberties of America, and from the sacrifices he had made in her cause, general confidence was reposed in his integrity. From his situation with relation to Washington, being his confidential friend and adopted son, to whom he unbosomed his most secret thoughts, he possessed great personal influence, which was exerted in a judicious and efficacious manner. So disinterested a patriot, who had poured out his blood and his treasure in the cause of American liberty, was listened to, when he spoke in vindication of the character of Washington, whose inmost thoughts he knew; whose heart was opened to him. His exertions contributed greatly to soothe the feelings and allay the jealousies which had disclosed themselves and threatened to produce the most alarming consequences.

Those who suppose that it was with his sword only that Fayette served America, are greatly mistaken. It is not only for his exertions in the field, and the blood spilt in our service, that we are indebted to this distinguished patriot; but still more for his wisdom, his counsels, his treasure and unexampled munificence, and most of all, for his extensive personal influence, both in France and America, which was exerted to the utmost, to advance the interest of that cause in which he had so heroically and patriotically engaged.

The energy of mind, the unshaken firmness, and unwearied exertions of Washington, enabled him to sustain himself under all the difficulties which surrounded him. Reduced as his army was, and a large portion of what remained, from sickness and privations, unfit for duty, nothing but the commanding position he had chosen, and the vigilance with which his camp was guarded, could have secured him against attack, situated in the vicinity of an opposing army of nearly twenty thousand strong, well armed and equipped, and possessing all the means of war.

CHAPTER III.

Consequences of the fortunate termination of the campaign in the north—Treaty with France—La Fayette appointed to command an expedition against Canada—it is given up—His successful retreat from Beacon Hill, near Philadelphia—He challenges Lord Carlisle—Enterprize against Rhode-Island, and conduct of La Fayette—He returns to France—is received with great joy and respect—exerts his influence with the government to induce it to afford more ample assistance to America, sails again for the United States.

If little glory or advantage had been acquired in the campaign in the middle states, that in the north had been still more unfortunate. Commenced with high hopes, which were still more inflated by flattering circumstances of success that attended its early operations, it terminated on the plains of Saratoga most gloriously to the American arms, and most advantageously to the cause in which she was engaged, but to the inexpressible disappointment and mortification of Britain. An army of ten thousand men, veteran and experienced troops, under an able and enterprising commander, well equipped and provided, opposed only by a greatly inferior force of regulars and the militia of the country, inspired the highest expectation. Such an army, with such a leader, it was believed would march through a country destitute of fortresses, and so feebly defended, without difficulty and without danger. It was expected to compel the submission of all the northern part of the state of New-York, and, by forming a junction with the forces of Sir Henry Clinton, on the Hudson, establish the authority of Britain over the entire state of New-York, so important from its position, and in every other respect.

But this formidable army and array of power, and all the hopes depending on them, were annihilated in a few months. The sun of Burgoyne's glory, which rose with such brightness, was soon overcast with clouds, and set in darkness and in blood. It is thus the hopes of man perish! On the seventeenth of October, '77, the remains of General Burgoyne's army, amounting then

to nearly six thousand men, was surrendered to the Americans, under the command of General Gates.

This was the most important event since the commencement of the war, and gave the first serious shock to British power in America. It was not the capture of six thousand men, and the withdrawal of that force from the troops employed by the enemy, that gave importance to this victory; this loss to the British army might easily be supplied; but it was the moral influence of this victory, not only in America, but in Europe, which gave it its importance. It revived the hopes of the Americans, and inspired fresh confidence; it increased the respect and authority of Congress, animated the continental armies, and gave activity to the recruiting service. But its influence abroad was scarcely less important than at home; it decided the policy of France, and enabled the American Commissioners to conclude a treaty of amity and alliance with her, which they had been endeavoring to effect since 1776. This treaty, which had so important a bearing on the American revolution, was concluded on the 6th of February, 1778, by Count de Vergennes, on the part of France, and Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, on the part of the United States.

Until the capture of Burgoyne's army, France had not sufficient confidence in the ultimate success of the Americans, to be induced by all the exertions of Franklin and his associates, assisted by the influence of La Fayette and his friends in France, to openly acknowledge the independence of the United States; but the destruction of an army of ten thousand men inspired such reliance on the firmness and ability of America, to maintain the character she had assumed, that France not only acknowledged her independence, but agreed to become herself a party in the war. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the American Commissioners were presented to the king, and Dr. Franklin accredited as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Court of France.

The news of the treaty with France, filled America with joy; it animated the heart of the patriot, and nerved the arm of the warrior. From the zeal of La Fayette in the cause of American

liberty, and from his long continued exertions and anxiety, to induce his native France to afford her assistance, no one rejoiced more sincerely at this heart cheering intelligence, than this disinterested patriot. Being one of the first who received the news, he could not forego the pleasure of being the bearer himself of so agreeable intelligence to the commander-in-chief; who immediately ordered the troops to be assembled in brigades, the treaty to be read, prayers and thanksgivings to be publicly offered up to that being who "turneth the hearts of the Kings as the rivers are turned." This was followed by a general discharge of cannon, which resounded through the camp, accompanied with every other demonstration of joy. At a given signal, the whole army cried out at once, Long live the King of France! In the admiration and gratitude manifested toward France, La Fayette came in for a share; crowds gathered around him, and vied with each other in expressing their congratulations on the occasion, and their sense of the importance of his exertions and influence in producing this long desired connexion between the two countries.

A plan had been formed in conjunction with La Fayette and Mr. Gerard, the French minister, for the conquest of Canada, Dr. Franklin was instructed to lay this plan before the court of France, a co-operation on her part being expected. This project originated with the French minister, and has been supposed to have had other objects in view, than to aid the cause of the United States. That the recovery of her lost possessions, in America, was an object that France looked upon, as a possible result from the struggle for the establishment of the independence of the United States, is neither unreasonable or improbable. But that this enterprize was proposed to deceive the United States, and divert their forces to an object no way interesting to them, or that it was conceived without regard to their interests, is a position that is unsupported. But, however this may be, the character of the Marquis de La Fayette, his high sense of honor, the zeal which he had manifested in the cause of America, his chivalrous spirit and ardent love of glory, forbid any suspicion that he was acquainted with any such ultimate designs

on the part of France, as have been suggested, if any such were entertained; he acted from more noble and exalted feelings; the hope of acquiring military fame, and advancing the cause of independence and liberty.

Early in the year '78, the Marquis proceeded, by the direction of Washington, to Albany, where a force was collecting for carrying into execution the enterprise against Canada. The plan of operations was to proceed from that place with a suitable force, pass the lakes on the ice and seize on Montreal and St. John's. Various expedients had been devised to overcome the obstacles of the enterprise; but on Fayette's arrival at Albany, he found neither men, ammunition or provisions adequate to the undertaking. From the dilatory movements in making the preparations for the expedition, it was so much delayed that a thaw supervened, which with other obstacles occasioned its abandonment. The ardor of youth, and love of glory, with the temptation of an independent command, so flattering to a young officer, did not warp the judgment of La Fayette, and lead him to pursue an enterprise, under such circumstances as that it could scarcely have avoided a disastrous termination. With the foresight of age, and the wisdom of experience, the youthful hero abandoned the expedition; and congress was so satisfied with the prudence and propriety of this measure, that they expressed their approbation of his conduct by a vote of thanks.

To improve the occasion to the best advantage, which the news of the treaty with France presented, congress prepared "An address to the inhabitants of the United States of America," which, in addition to being published in all the Gazettes, was ordered to be read from the pulpit by every minister of the gospel in the country. This state paper contained an eloquent appeal to the patriotism of the people, which was invoked by every principle of honor, justice and interest. And in the warmth and liberality of feeling which the occasion had excited, congress adopted a resolution, granting half-pay for life, to all officers who should serve during the war. This resolution became a fruitful source of uneasiness and difficulty as it respected the army and the people; the grant was afterward commuted to full for pay five years.

The favorable impulse, which had been given to public opinion in the United States, by the capture of Burgoyne, was greatly increased by the treaty of amity and alliance with France, and the expected co-operation of that power in the war. Confidence was restored, and a spirit of patriotism revived; activity was exhibited in the recruiting service, and the zeal and patriotism of individuals led to the most honorable exertions to provide ways and means for provisioning the army. A large fund was raised by subscription in Philadelphia, to encourage the recruiting service and to reward such as might distinguish themselves by their exertions to fill up the ranks of the army. A society was formed and a subscription set on foot, which produced nearly two hundred thousand pounds sterling, that constituted a fund or stock for provisioning the army. The ladies of Philadelphia on this occasion were not behind the men in patriotism and zeal in the cause of their country. They formed contribution societies, and the example of the metropolis being followed by the rest of the state, more than 150,000 dollars were collected and forwarded to the army. To their great honor, many contributed their jewels, and other valuable superfluities, to supply the wants and add to the comforts of the soldiers who were fighting for their protection and the liberties of the country.

In May '78, Sir William Howe, having requested permission to return to England, was succeeded in the command of the British army, by Sir Henry Clinton; who, on the 18th of the month, gave a brilliant entertainment, which lasted 12 hours. General Washington, whose army had been considerably reinforced, on learning this fact, ordered General La Fayette to proceed from the head quarters of the army at Valley Forge, and attack the enemy, should an opportunity offer. Accordingly, with a detachment of 2,500 men, he crossed the Schuylkill and took a position on Beacon Hill, about twelve miles in advance of the American camp. Here he intended to pass the night and watch the enemy's movements, and take advantage of any circumstance which might favor his designs. But Sir Henry Clinton being informed of this movement, ordered General Grant with three thousand troops to surprise La Fayette, and

cut off his retreat: and the Marquis being ignorant of this movement, General Grant by a circuitous route, succeeded in taking a position about two miles in the rear of La Fayette. At the same time, a large force marched from Philadelphia, to attack him in front. His situation was critical, and General Grant considered his destruction as certain; and had he had the precaution to have secured Matron Fort, a post on the Schuylkill, he would probably have been correct. But the Marquis perceiving the enemy marching to attack him, both in front and in rear, aware of their design, filed off his troops in good order, and moved with such rapidity as to reach Matron Fort, a distance of about one mile, and to pass the river before the enemy came up. Although the success of this retreat is in some measure attributable to the oversight of the enemy; yet the conduct of the Marquis was such as would have done honor to the most experienced general. It is one of the highest attributes of a skilful general, to be able promptly to take advantage of every circumstance which may favor his plans, especially in extricating himself from unexpected difficulties. The loss of so considerable a portion of the American army, at the time when the campaign was about to open, would have been a very serious embarrassment to the intended operations. The salvation of the American troops therefore, by the address and skill of La Fayette, excited great joy, and his own conduct much admiration and applause; and with no one more than Washington, who received the young hero with every mark of satisfaction. Early in June, the British commissioners, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone arrived at Philadelphia, with authority to negotiate a peace between Britain and the United States. Sir Henry Clinton was also joined in the commission, and the celebrated Dr. Ferguson was its secretary. An attempt was immediately made to open a negotiation; but Washington refused a passport to the secretary, which compelled the commissioners to have recourse to correspondence. Their first letter was very complimentary to Congress, and expressed a willingness to make every concession, short of acknowledging the independence of the United States. Congress replied with

great firmness and dignity through their President, that they could not negotiate as the *subjects* of his Britannic Majesty, and that, however desirous they were for peace, the recognition of the independence of the United States, must be a preliminary step to any negotiation. The commissioners, in their answer, said that they had already admitted *a degree of independence*, and that they were disposed to go farther, if Congress would communicate to them the powers with which they were authorized to treat with foreign nations. To this artful communication, Congress believed that they consulted their dignity best by their silence: and thus the negotiation ended.

Having failed in their attempt at outwitting Congress by their diplomatic arts, the commissioners had recourse to the most shameful attempts at corruption. A direct *bribe* of ten thousand pounds sterling, was offered to Mr. Reed if he would further the views of the commissioners. Mr. Reed's reply was worthy a true patriot and of the times that tried men's integrity: "although I hardly consider myself, (said he) worth purchasing, yet the King of Britain is not *rich enough*, to do it." The next attempt was made on Robert Morris and Francis Dana, with the same success. The commissioners soon found that 'British gold' was as little efficacious as British arms in reducing America. The commissioners in their communications made several offensive insinuations respecting the intentions and policy of France.—This met the decided disapprobation of Congress, offended the people, and so exasperated La Fayette, that he conceived himself bound to challenge Lord Carlisle, president of the board of commissioners; which he accordingly did, leaving to him the choice of arms. This step, which, under other circumstances might have been regarded as the bravado of a rash and presumptuous young man, was well approved of, and was not entirely useless. As commissioner, Lord Carlisle could not accept the challenge, and it was properly declined. The commissioners having rendered themselves odious, and from the general feeling toward them, this procedure of La Fayette, was gratifying to the public mind, and contributed in some measure, to lessen the importance of the commissioners, in

the eyes of the common people. The spirited manner, in which the Marquis had resented the intimation that France was actuated by selfish and dishonorable views, in her conduct towards the United States, seemed to confirm the confidence of the people in their allies; and the readiness with which he offered to expose his life in every way, to serve the American cause, tended to raise his reputation for courage, and increase his popularity and influence. Apprehending a fleet and an auxiliary force from France, secret orders had been sent out by one of the commissioners to Sir Henry Clinton, for him to evacuate Philadelphia, and return to New-York with his army, with as little delay as possible. He accordingly prepared to obey the order, and soon was ready to move.

“Washington, as soon as he became sensible of the enemy’s intention of abandoning Philadelphia, called a council of the officers, to consider the expediency of inviting a general engagement, which, as he could bring near eleven thousand men into the field, he thought advisable. But his officers determined otherwise, and Washington for a few days yielded to their advice. He however, in the mean time, sent Morgan, with 600 men, to reinforce General Maxwell’s brigade, with orders to obstruct the progress of the enemy as much as possible through the Jersey’s; while he himself with the main army moved towards Corryell’s Ferry, that he might be ready to seize any advantageous opportunity that might offer for a general attack. The progress of Clinton, encumbered as he was with an enormous quantity of heavy baggage, was necessarily slow—for in addition to the usual baggage, and provision for such an army, he had provided against the possibility of suffering in case of unexpected delays in his march, by a store of provisions sufficient to have lasted him for a month; so that his baggage wagons, horses, and carts, resembled the suite of an army of a hundred thousand men, and covered almost as great an extent of ground. Upon reaching Mount Holly, Clinton, contrary to the expectation of Washington, took the road towards Sandy-Hook, instead of keeping to the left towards the Raritan, and thus induced Washington to suppose that his object was to draw

him into an engagement in the flat country, and then by a rapid change of motion to pursue the route to Brunswick. But Clinton was neither anxious to seek nor to avoid an engagement; he had chosen that route, most probably because he thought it possible that General Gates might form a junction with Washington at Raritan, and thus cut off his retreat. Whatever might have been his object, Washington was for a time deceived by it; but the moment he discovered that Clinton meant to pursue his course to the sea coast, he determined not to let him escape without battle.

With this view, he despatched a body of troops under the Marquis de La Fayette, with orders to approach and harass the enemy's rear, while he moved on with the main army to his support. Clinton, supposing from this measure that Washington's object was simply to cut off his baggage, placed his whole train of incumbrances in the front, under the orders and protection of General Knyphausen, and remained himself with the main body of his army, to check the attempts of the Marquis de La Fayette. This made it necessary for Washington to send a larger force to the aid of the Marquis, and two brigades being ordered to join him, the whole force was placed under the command of Major-General Lee. Clinton, with his whole army lay at Monmouth, a few miles from the heights of Middletown; it was important therefore that the attack should be made before he could reach so advantageous a position. At day-light on the morning of the 28th, Gen. Knyphausen moved on from Monmouth with the baggage, while Sir Henry with the *elite* of the army, maintained his position until eight o'clock. Upon receiving intelligence of this movement, Washington sent orders to Lee at Englishtown, seven miles from Monmouth, to march on to the attack of the British rear; unless there should appear "*very powerful reasons*" to deter him—giving him information at the same time that he was approaching to his support.

Lee lost no time in putting his troops in motion, and by the time he had advanced within a few miles of Monmouth, he discovered that Clinton was also in motion, and advancing to meet him. Gen. Grayson, with the two brigades of Scott and Varnum

led the van of Lee's division, and were soon joined by the Marquis de La Fayette. The whole party seemed to be at a loss to understand the movements of the enemy, and continued to pass and repass the ravines which every where intersect this part of the country. In this state of indecision, Cornwallis, who led the van of the enemy, made a furious charge with his dragoons upon the Marquis de La Fayette, and drove him back in some confusion.—Lee, in the mean time under supposition that Cornwallis was detached from the main army, made a feint of retreating, that he might draw the general after him; but one of his officers, General Scott, who had under him the greater part of Lee's forces, misunderstood the orders, and actually retreated. This obliged Lee to follow until he could overtake him, the army hanging upon his rear. In this situation he was met by Washington, who, vexed at a supposed disobedience of his orders, accosted him with rather more vehemence than the hot temper of Lee could brook; he refused to explain his conduct, and a warm altercation ensued.

Washington, now himself at the head of the army, moved on to battle, and a general action was soon brought on which lasted through the whole of one of the hottest days in summer.

Lee, who had been ordered again to lead the van, met the whole shock of the British advance, which he sustained with his usual gallantry until so closely pursued by the British horse, that his troops gave way, and he was again compelled to retreat; which he did with the most perfect order and coolness. Before the retreat of Lee, General Greene moved up with his division, and in conjunction with General Wayne, took such a position that the British gave way, and retired behind a defile; where before any disposition could be made to attack them, night came on and both armies drew off from the contest.

No advantage was gained to either party by this hard fought battle; nor was the loss very great on either side. The British left on the field *two hundred and forty-nine*, who were afterward buried by our men, besides those that were buried by their own men during the night—and *forty-four* wounded. Among their killed was Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, an officer of considerable distinction.

The Americans lost 69 killed, and 160 wounded. Among the killed, were Lieutenant Colonel Bonnor, and Major Dickman. Many of the soldiers of both armies fell dead upon the field, from excess of fatigue and heat.

Washington lay upon his arms all night, expecting to renew the attack in the morning; but Sir Henry Clinton disappointed him by moving off at midnight with his whole army; and as Washington, though he might very justly claim the victory, was not in a situation to pursue him over the deep sands of Jersey, he continued his route without further molestation to New-York. Washington, after refreshing his wearied troops, and providing as far as possible for the comfort of the wounded, moved on at his leisure towards the Hudson.*

Lord Howe had scarcely left the Delaware, with the British fleet, before Count D'Estaing, with a much superior force, appeared on the coast of Virginia, and in a few days came into the mouth of the Delaware. His object was to have surprised the British fleet at Philadelphia; and had not his voyage been prolonged by bad weather, he could hardly have failed of doing it: had he arrived ten days earlier, the enemy's fleet, and probably their army, must have fallen. The Count D'Estaing, having set on shore M. Gerard, the French minister, sailed for New-York, and on the 11th day of July commenced the blockade of the British fleet in that harbor. He made several attempts to enter the harbor, but could not get his large ships over the bar; a great number of English vessels, loaded with provisions and other stores for the army, which daily arrived, fell into his hands. On the 22d he sailed for Newport, to co-operate with the American troops for the reduction of the British force on Rhode-Island. The enemy had 6,000 men on Rhode-Island, under Gen. Pigot, which had remained there since December, '76. Washington had formed a plan of fitting out an expedition to Rhode-Island, to destroy the enemy's forces there, which was entrusted to General Sullivan: La Fayette with two thousand men was ordered on this expedition to reinforce General

* Allen's Revolution.

Sullivan. On the 8th of August the French fleet entered the harbor of Newport, the British having previously, and to prevent their falling into the hands of the French, burned and sunk six vessels that lay in the harbor. On the following day, Lord Howe made his appearance not far from Point Judith, with his squadron, considerably increased. Count D'Estaing being informed of this, immediately sailed in pursuit, with a view to bring him to action; but the tempestuous state of the weather frustrated the efforts of both fleets, and after three days, during which the storm lasted, each party seemed satisfied to leave the great question of superiority undecided. The moment that Count D'Estaing left the harbor, General Sullivan embarked with his troops, at Tiverton, for Rhode-Island, but from the unfavorableness of the weather, it was eight days before he could bring himself before the enemy. He was sensible that all his hopes of success depended on the co-operation of Count D'Estaing, and as he manifested no intention of returning into the harbor, General Sullivan deputed General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, to visit the count, and request his immediate return into the harbor. He seemed willing himself to do this, but his officers unanimously opposed it, and urged his proceeding immediately to Boston to refit, agreeably to his instructions; and not having firmness enough to resist their united opinion, he accordingly sailed for Boston. General Greene and La Fayette returned, much dissatisfied with the result of their mission. The conduct of the French officers excited loud and general disapprobation with the Americans; and a formal protest, signed by all the American officers, except La Fayette, was drawn up, against the conduct of the French admiral, in abandoning the expedition, at a time, when, with his co-operation, they had every reason to expect success; which was represented as derogatory to the honor of France. This produced no other effect than a spirited reply from the Count.

It was no sooner known that Count D'Estaing had sailed to Boston, than the militia and volunteers began to move off, and in a few days General Sullivan found his force so reduced, that it became necessary to abandon his original design, and prepare

for evacuating the island. On the 23th a council of war was held, at which it was determined to retire to the northern extremity of the island, and to remain there long enough to make a further effort to induce the French admiral to return with his squadron. In effecting this movement, a severe action was brought on, between a part of the American army under Gen. Greene, consisting of about 1200 men, and four British regiments and a party of Hessians. The engagement lasted all the afternoon of the 29th, and terminated without any great advantage to either party. General Sullivan closely pursued by two large detachments of the enemy's troops, conducted the retreat with great ability and success. The rear guard, that covered the retreat, receiving a reinforcement, turned the attack on the enemy, and repulsed them with a loss of between two and three hundred men.

In the mean time the Marquis de La Fayette had been despatched to Boston, to make another effort to induce the French admiral to return with the fleet. Such was his ardor and expedition, that he arrived in Boston, a distance of seventy miles, in seven hours. He had a long interview with the admiral and his officers, in which he left no means untried to induce him to return with his fleet, but without effect. The officers of the squadron refused to depart from their first determination, and the Marquis was again mortified by the failure of a second attempt to persuade his countrymen to afford that assistance to the Americans, which the latter considered they had a right to expect. The Count, however, was so far influenced by his representations, that he offered him what land forces he could spare, to co-operate with the American troops on Rhode Island.

La Fayette returned from Boston in about six hours and a half, and arrived near midnight on the 30th of August, at the very time the American army was retreating. He was disappointed and mortified on learning that an action had taken place the day before, as he expected to have got back in season to take a part in it. He, however, had an opportunity to assist in conducting the retreat, and was assigned to command the troops that were to cover the retreating army. This difficult service

he performed with such coolness, intrepidity and address, that he did not sustain the loss of a single man. The details of this skilful and masterly retreat, were recorded at length in the public registers.

The zeal the Marquis had shown for the interests of the United States, the sacrifice of feeling he made by repairing to Boston, at the time when an action was momentarily expected, and the courage and ability with which he conducted the retreat after his return, gave great satisfaction to congress, who testified the same by the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Marquis de La Fayette, that Congress have a proper sense of the sacrifice he made of his personal feelings, in repairing to Boston to promote the interest of the States, at a time when he momentarily expected an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the field; and that the bravery which he displayed on his return to Rhode-Island, when the greater part of the army had already effected its retreat, together with the ability with which he withdrew the picquets and advanced posts, merits the unqualified approbation of this Assembly.”

This resolution was accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, to the Marquis de La Fayette, Major-General in the United States army.

Philadelphia, 13th Oct. 1778.

SIR—I feel a peculiar pleasure in fulfilling the instructions implied by a resolution of Congress, passed on the 9th instant, and herewith enclosed, expressing the sentiments of the Representatives of the United States with regard to your conduct during the recent expedition, undertaken against Rhode-Island.

“You will but render, sir, an act of justice to congress, by regarding this testimonial as a tribute of respect and gratitude. offered by a free people to one who has rendered them essential services. I have the honor,” &c.

The following is the Marquis’s reply:

Head-Quarters, 23d Oct. 1778.

“SIR—I have this instant received the letter which you did

me the favor to write, under date of the 13th instant, in which you inform me of the honor which congress has deemed fit to confer on me, by its very flattering resolution. Proud as I am of such distinguishing approbation, I am not the less grateful to find that my efforts have been, in a measure, regarded as useful to a cause, in which I have taken so deep and so lively an interest. Be pleased, sir, to present to Congress my unfeigned and heartfelt thanks, accompanied with the assurances of my sincere attachment, the only homage which is worthy of being offered to the representatives of a free people.

“From the moment I first heard the name of America, I began to love her; from the moment I understood that she was struggling for her liberties, I burned to shed my best blood in her glorious cause; and the days I shall devote to the service of America, wherever and whenever it may be, will constitute the happiest of my life. Yet I never so ardently desired, as I do now, to deserve the generous sentiments with which these states and their representatives have honored me: and the flattering confidence which they have so freely reposed in me, has filled my breast with the most lively gratitude, and the most lasting affection.”

With the expedition on Rhode-Island, ended the campaign of '78, being the first after the alliance with France, in which nothing was gained to either party. Several unfortunate contingencies, and the skill and gallantry of Lord Howe, although possessing only an inferior force, prevented the Count D'Estaing from rendering us any important service. But the arrival of the French fleet was by no means without its advantage; it not only afforded unequivocal assurance of the friendship of France, but also that she felt so far interested in the contest, as to be willing to become, in some measure, a party to the war, or at least to assume a portion of the burdens of it, by assisting in carrying it on. This consideration seemed to animate our armies and the people, and to keep up a spirit of activity in our resistance.

About this time La Fayette received letters from his friends in France, which acquainted him with the sensation that had been produced in England, by the alliance between France and

America, and the assistance afforded the Americans both by public forces and individuals, the subjects of France: and assuring him, it was the general expectation that war would soon be declared by Great Britain against his native country. The ardor with which the Marquis was then engaged in the service of America, and the field of glory that lay open to him, did not lead him to forget that he was a Frenchman; and his obligations to his native country, when she required his services, he considered as greater than those he owed to America, which he regarded as his adopted country. Under these circumstances, he did not hesitate a moment, but resolved to return to France. He felt more strongly the obligation to pursue this course, from the consideration that his conduct and example in serving America had contributed in some degree to involve his own country in war. But he calculated that his return to France, would not deprive him of the power of serving America, for he had reason to believe he should be able to render her important assistance at home.

Before he left the head-quarters of the army, he communicated to Washington his opinion respecting the assistance to be afforded by France, which was, that in order to be of any essential benefit to America, she must send an adequate naval and land force, and put it under the immediate controul of the American commander-in-chief. Unless the French forces were under the command of the American general, the same difficulties which were experienced in the case of Count D'Estaing, might be expected to occur, and would render the co-operation of France of little service. A French naval or military officer might allege, as had once been done, the secret orders of his sovereign, whenever he wished to avoid a dangerous or disagreeable employment.

The modesty of Washington would not permit him to concur decidedly in the Marquis' opinions, although it was apparent that he approved of them. Accordingly he wrote to his friends in France, who possessed any influence at court, that if the French government really wished to aid the American cause, it must send out a larger auxiliary force, and submit it to the

immediate command of the American commander-in-chief, whom he took care to give such a character as to inspire the highest confidence.

In October, La Fayette left the head-quarters of the army, took leave of his beloved Washington, and proceeded to Philadelphia, where congress were in session, to request permission to return to France. He presented to congress a letter from Washington, and another written by himself, which disclosed his views and objects in the request he made; and the subjoined resolution, adopted thereon, shows the high opinion congress had of his merits at that time:—

“In Congress, October 21, 1778.

Resolved, That the Marquis La Fayette, Major-General in the service of the United States, have leave to go to France; and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

Resolved, That the President write a letter to the Marquis La Fayette, returning him the thanks of congress, for that disinterested zeal which led him to America, and for the services he hath rendered the United States, by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions.

Resolved, That the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, at the Court of Versailles, be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made and presented in the name of the United States, to the Marquis La Fayette.”

The foregoing resolves were communicated to the Marquis in the following letter:—

“Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1778.

SIR—I had the honor of presenting to congress your letter, soliciting leave of absence. I am directed by them to express their thanks for your zeal in promoting that just cause in which they are engaged, and for the disinterested services you have rendered to the United States of America.

In testimony of the high esteem and affection in which you are held by the good people of these States, as well as an acknowledgment of your gallantry and military talents, displayed

in many signal occasions, their representatives, in congress assembled, have ordered an elegant sword to be presented to you by the American minister at the court of Versailles. Enclosed within the present cover, will be found an act of congress of the 21st inst. authorizing these declarations, and granting a furlough for your return to France, to be extended at your own pleasure. I pray God to bless and protect you; to conduct you in safety to the presence of your Prince, and to the re-enjoyment of your noble family and friends.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. LAURENS."

To this note the Marquis made the following reply:—

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1778.

SIR—I have received your Excellency's obliging letter, enclosing the several resolutions congress have honored me with, and the leave of absence they have been pleased to grant. Nothing can make me happier, than the reflection that my services have met with their approbation. The glorious testimonial of confidence and satisfaction respectfully bestowed on me by the representatives of America, though much superior to my merit, cannot exceed the grateful sentiments they have excited. I consider the noble present offered me in the name of the United States, as the most flattering honor. It is my most fervent desire, soon to employ that sword in their service, against the common enemy of my country, and their faithful and beloved allies. That liberty, safety, wealth and concord may ever extend and bless these United States, is the earnest wish of a heart glowing with a devoted zeal and unbounded love for them, and the highest regard and most sincere affection for their representatives.

Be pleased, Sir, to present my thanks to them, and to accept yourself the assurance of my respectful attachment.

LA FAYETTE."

In January, 1779, he embarked at Boston, carrying with him an undiminished attachment to the cause he had espoused and the gratitude of the American people. The regrets which his departure occasioned, were alleviated by the expectation that

he would still continue to exert himself in the cause of America, and that his influence at home might be as useful as his services in the field.

His character and situation, at this time, were without any example in history. He possessed the admiration of France and America, and of the friends of liberty through the world; he connected, in some measure, the interests of two hemispheres, and exerted an important influence on the destinies of the human race. His devotion to the cause of liberty, and his heroic achievements in the field, in its support, were known throughout the civilized world; and all this when he was but 22 years of age. What monarch might not have envied this young hero and patriot? His fame had gone before him, and on his arrival at Havre, he was welcomed by his countrymen, with all that enthusiasm which is peculiar to their character. His disinterested patriotism, attended with the sacrifice of a considerable portion of his fortune; his chivalrous heroism, which shed his blood in the field of battle, and the distinguished honor which had been shown him in America, excited their highest admiration. His popularity, if not equally great with all parties, extended to all; notwithstanding, an order was issued by the king, directing him to visit no one at court but his relations, as a pretence of censure for his having left France without permission.

Among his admirers, was the young queen, Marie Antoinette, then justly celebrated for her beauty, vivacity, and wit, and afterwards not less distinguished for her misfortunes. She possessed a mind richly endowed and highly cultivated, open and generous. The munificence, devotion, and chivalrous spirit of the young Marquis, made a strong impression on her heart, and she became his greatest admirer and protectress. She honored him with many private audiences, and was extremely inquisitive about every thing relating to America, and particularly as to the character of Washington. This was a theme fruitful in itself, which excited all the enthusiasm of La Fayette, and the partiality of the friend and the fidelity of the soldier were manifested with ardour of feeling, earnestness of manner, and eloquence of language, which could not fail of making a deep and

lasting impression on a generous and susceptible mind. The queen when she afterward saw Dr. Franklin, with great affability observed, "Doctor, do you know that La Fayette has made me in love with your General Washington? What a man he must be, and what a friend he possesses in the marquis?"

He arrived at Versailles on the 12th of February, and the next morning had an interview with one of the ministers, but did not see the king.

The cause of America, at this time, when a war was almost daily expected with England, being universally popular in France, La Fayette was not more the object of the enthusiastic admiration of the people, than of the respectful attention of the king and the ministry. Count de Vergennes, a man of great talents and experience, then at the head of affairs, had frequent and long conferences with the Marquis, in which the latter endeavored to convince the minister of the policy, even as it respected the interests of France, of sending a larger force, and more ample supplies, to the assistance of the Americans; and particularly of the necessity of submitting the direction of these forces to the government of the United States. This last point was one of the greatest delicacy and difficulty; but being seconded in his endeavors by the late minister to the United States, and his numerous friends, he at length succeeded in convincing the ministers of the expediency and propriety of the measures recommended by him. Accordingly, orders were soon issued for the equipment of a large fleet, which was to take on board a numerous body of troops.

These measures of the government being known, the spirit of the day, the influence of the example of La Fayette, and the fame he had acquired in America, produced an effect not more novel than honorable to the character of France. The American war became the popular subject of the day, and a perfect mania prevailed, which affected all classes; but the young nobility were the most ardent to go to America, and, like La Fayette, to distinguish themselves in the cause of liberty in the new world, struggling to defend itself against the mighty efforts of one of the most powerful nations on the globe. The American

war was the favorite object of ambition, and the desire to engage in it, and serve under General Washington, was so ardent and extensive, as to occasion the same exertion and intrigue as usually constitute the means of obtaining the most desirable situations in the gift of the government. Thousands of applications were, from necessity, rejected. The influence and assistance of La Fayette was sought on all hands; he was surrounded with applicants, and beset with solicitations and entreaties;—some wished for one birth and some another; some as aids-de-camp, others as secretaries, &c.

Doctor Franklin, the American minister, was extremely perplexed from the numerous applications made to him, and in no small degree embarrassed how to act in a concern of so much delicacy.

After a short tour to Auvergne, for the purpose of visiting his family and friends, and arranging his private affairs, he returned to Versailles, then the regular residence of the king and royal family, to ask permission of his sovereign to revisit America. Louis, on giving his consent, informed him that he could not better serve his king, than by serving in the American war. He soon embarked at Havre, in a government frigate, fitted out for the purpose, to give him a more safe and honorable passage. A great number of officers went out with him, candidates for honorable fame, and he carried a large quantity of arms, ammunition and supplies of every kind.

The resolution of congress before recited, being communicated to Franklin, he took the necessary measures for carrying into effect the wishes of congress before Fayette left France. On presenting the sword, Franklin addressed to Fayette the following letter, written in his usually clear and forcible style:

Passy, 24th August, 1779.

“SIR—The congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but *unable adequately to reward it*, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct,

are, therefore, represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but the *sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you*. For this, figures, and even words are found insufficient.

“I therefore only add, that, with the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.”

“P. S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honor of presenting it to you.”

CHAPTER IV.

He arrives at Boston—his reception—He repairs to the head-quarters of the army—and to congress with the official intelligence of the expected succors from France—The French fleet and troops arrive—their landing superintended by La Fayette—His letter to Samuel Adams—He commands an expedition to the south to oppose Arnold—He saves Richmond—He forms a junction with Wayne—Saves the Military stores at Albemarle—Cornwallis retreats and is followed by La Fayette—Engagement near Williamsburgh.

LA FAYETTE arrived at Boston on the 26th of April, 1779, and landed amidst the crowd which lined the harbor, and was conducted with great parade, the roar of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the display of fireworks, to the suite of rooms which had been prepared for him, by the local authorities. The return of this disinterested patriot, and early and faithful friend of America, occasioned the warmest enthusiasm and unbounded joy. In this cradle of the revolution, he was hailed as the patriot, hero, and friend and benefactor of America. There was no place in the union, where the inhabitants were more heartily engaged in the war, than Boston, or had suffered more from the arrogance of power, and the ravages of lawless warfare; and their exasperated feelings toward their oppressors, made them more enthusiastic in their devotion to the young hero and patriot, who had acted so distinguished a part in the maintenance

of the independence and liberty of the country. Illuminations, fire-works, and public entertainments were among the visible testimonials of gratitude and joy; they were not like the empty pageants of royal festivals or coronations, but were the spontaneous effusions of free and honest hearts offered as grateful homage to one who had rendered such important services to their country. The honors shown to La Fayette were not confined to the Bostonians; the citizens of all the neighboring towns, and surrounding country, collected on the joyous occasion, to participate in the demonstrations of gratitude and respect.

At this period, it could scarcely have been believed; that the man who was thus honored as the nation's friend and benefactor, after the lapse of forty-four years, would by the same community, be welcomed as the "Nation's Guest," with the exhibition of grateful and joyous feelings, if possible, more heart-felt and profound.

On the 11th of May, he communicated confidentially to Washington, the agreeable intelligence of the expected succors from France.

But these scenes of rejoicing and respect did not long detain the American general; ardent to be actually engaged in the service of his adopted country, he soon proceeded to the headquarters of the army at Morristown, and from thence to the seat of government, to lay before congress the official information that the French government was preparing to send a respectable naval and land force to America, to assist in the prosecution of the war. Who can describe the interview between La Fayette and Washington; kindred spirits and co-patriots; although born in different hemispheres, engaged in the same cause of liberty and humanity—one at the head of America, the other bringing into the same contest the auxiliary power of France, both having staked their fortunes and their lives on the issue of the great cause in which they were engaged. Their first interview, after a separation of some time, under circumstances so auspicious to that cause, produced mutual feelings of joy and affection, too deep and glowing to be described. The sub-

joined letters to congress, and the resolution of that body, afford some evidence of the estimation in which he was held at this time.

Head-Quarters, Morristown, May 13, 1780.

“The Marquis LA FAYETTE does me the honor to take charge of this note. I am persuaded Congress will participate in the joy I feel at the return of a gentleman who has so signally distinguished himself in the service of this country; who has given so many and so decided proofs of his attachment to its interests; and who ought to be dear to it by every motive. The *warm friendship* I have for him, conspires with considerations of public utility to afford me a double satisfaction in his return. During the time he has been in France he has uniformly manifested the same zeal in our affairs, which animated his conduct while he was among us; and has been upon all occasions, an essential friend to America. He merits, and I doubt not Congress will give him every mark of consideration and regard in their power.

I have the honor to be, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

To his Excellency, the President of Congress.”

Philadelphia, May 16, 1780.

“After so many favors, which, on every occasion and particularly at my obtaining leave of absence, Congress were pleased most graciously to bestow on me, I dare presume myself entitled to impart to them the private feelings, which I now so happily experience.

In an early epoch in our noble contest, I gloried in the name of an American soldier; and heartily enjoyed the honor I have of serving the United States; my satisfaction is, at this long wished for moment, entirely complete, when putting an end to my furlough, I have been able again to join my colours, under which I hope for opportunities of indulging the ardent zeal, the unbounded gratitude, the warm, and I might say, the patriotic love, by which I am forever bound to America.

I beg you, sir, to present Congress with a new assurance of my profound respect and my grateful and affectionate sentiments.

I have the honor to be, &c.

LA FAYETTE."

In Congress, May 16, 1780. "*Resolved*, That Congress consider the return of the Marquis LA FAYETTE to America to resume his command in the army, as a fresh proof of the distinguished zeal and deserving attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause; and that they receive, with pleasure, a tender of further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

The military operations had been of little moment during the absence of La Fayette; but the events in Europe had the most important influence on the American cause. Not only France and Spain had acknowledged the independence of the States, but both of these powers had united in a declaration of war against Great Britain. But as there are few advantages without some accompanying drawback, these events in Europe, whilst they were calculated to be highly beneficial to the cause of America, and diffused a spirit of joy through the union, occasioned too great expectations, which operated unfavorably, not only on the people but on congress. Many thought the war with France and Spain would so occupy the attention and means of Great Britain, that she would be obliged to abandon her project of coercing her revolted colonies into submission. Washington labored hard to convince congress of the folly of this opinion; that the naval superiority of Britain over France and Spain both, would render the war with them of less consequence than was supposed: and that this event, instead of occasioning Britain to relax, would induce her to redouble her exertions, and call forth all her energies in the prosecution of the war with America. It was the dictate of policy as well as safety, to prepare for carrying on hostilities on a broader scale than had yet been done.

On the 13th of July, Washington received intelligence from New-York, that a large French squadron had been seen off the Capes of Virginia, which was soon followed by a letter from

Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier de Tiernay, acquainting him with their arrival. And what rendered this intelligence more important and agreeable, Count de Rochambeau informed Washington that he had the most positive orders to place himself entirely under the direction of the American congress. La Fayette was requested by the American commander to superintend the reception of his countrymen, and at the same time had confidential instructions to propose to the new allies, a combined plan of operations against New-York, then in the hands of the enemy.

The first division of the French fleet arrived at Newport, and consisted of two ships of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, several smaller vessels, and thirty-two transports, under the command of Rear Admiral de Tiernay. There were four regiments of troops on board, besides the Duke de Lauzun's legion, composed of volunteer noblemen, and a battalion of artillery, with a complete train of bombarding and field pieces, all under the command of Lieutenant-General Rochambeau. This was the first division of the French squadron, and the second was in readiness at Brest, waiting for transports, to convey the troops.

The two commanders were equally sensible of the necessity of preserving entire harmony between the American and French troops. Washington, to produce unanimity of feeling, as well as concert of action, directed his soldiers to wear with the continental cockade a white ribbon, that being the color of the French cockade. The services of La Fayette in maintaining a good understanding between the two armies, were of the greatest importance. Being a French subject, and an American general, he was regarded as belonging equally to both nations, and all delicate orders and commissions were entrusted to him to execute; which was always done with great circumspection and fidelity. By the express direction of Washington, he informed the French general of the low condition of the American army.

From various causes and unavoidable difficulties, the contemplated attack on New-York was abandoned, and the year '80 passed away without any military operations of any importance.

Soon after the arrival of Fayette, he was appointed to the command of the light-infantry and dragoons, being the most advantageous situation in the power of Washington to give him; but he performed no active or important military service during that year; indeed the low condition of the American army, the depreciation of the continental currency, the prostration of public credit, and the want of spirit and activity among the people, not only formed insuperable obstacles to any important military operations, but were calculated to produce the most melancholy reflections, in the mind of every true patriot. No one perhaps, was more deeply affected with this depressed and gloomy aspect of affairs, than La Fayette. The state of the cause here, but little accorded with the expectations which he had contributed to raise in France; and he had reason to fear that when his countrymen arrived as allies to the Americans, they might be so disappointed, that they would feel but little ardor to assist those, who appeared to be doing so little to assist themselves. He may also have apprehended, that from this depressed state of the cause, his own honor might be impeached, and he be subjected to the imputation of having deceived his sovereign and his countrymen, as to the real condition of America.

It was under the influence of these alarming circumstances, that, soon after his arrival at Morristown, the head-quarters of the army, he wrote the following letter to Samuel Adams:

Morristown, May 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—Had I known that I would have the pleasure of meeting you at Boston, and holding confidential conversations with you on public and private matters. I should have anticipated the uneasiness I was put under by the obligation of secrecy, or previously obtained the leave of breaking that so strict law in your favor. Now, my dear sir, that Congress have set my tongue at liberty, at least for such men as Mr. Samuel Adams, I will, in referring you to a public letter from the committee of congress, indulge my private feelings in imparting to you some confidential ideas of mine on our present situation.

As momentary visits did not entirely fulfil the purpose of freeing America, France thought they would render themselves

more useful, if a naval and land force were sent for, co-operating with our troops, and by a longer stay on the coast of the continent, would give to the States a fair opportunity of employing all their resources. The expectations are very sanguine at Versailles, and ought to be more so, when that letter shall be received, by which you know *Congress engaged to furnish on their part five and twenty thousand continental troops, that are to take the field by the beginning of the spring.*

On the other hand, my dear sir, all Europe have their eyes upon us: They know nothing of us, but by our own reports, and our first exertions, which have heightened their esteem, and by the accounts of the enemy, or those of some dissatisfied persons, which were calculated to give them a quite different opinion: so that, to fix their own minds, all the nations are now looking at us; and the consequence of America, in the eyes of the world, as well as its liberty and happiness, must depend upon the ensuing campaign.

The succor sent by France, I thought to be *very important* when at Versailles: now that I am on the spot, I know it was *necessary*; and if proper measures are taken, I shall more heartily than ever enjoy the happiness I had of being somewhat concerned in the operation. But if things stood as they now do, I confess that whether as an American soldier, whether as a private man that said a great deal, and knows congress have ordered much more to be said on the future exertions of America—who took a particular delight in praising the patriotic spirit of the United States, I would feel most unhappy and distressed, were I to tell the people that are coming over full of ardor and sanguine hopes, that we have no army to co-operate with them, no provisions to feed the few soldiers that are left, &c. But I hope, my dear sir, it will not be the case; and more particularly depending on the exertions of your state, *I know Mr. Samuel Adams' influence* and popularity will be, as heretofore, employed in the salvation and glory of America.

If proper measures are taken for provisions, if the states do *immediately* fill up the continental battalions by good drafts, which is by far the best way; if all the propositions of the com-

mittee are speedily complied with, I have no doubt, but that the present campaign will be a glorious, decisive one, and that we may hope for every thing that is good: if, on the contrary, time be lost, consider what unhappy and dishonorable consequences would ensue from our inability to a co-operation.

Your state began the noble contest, it may be gloriously ended by your state's exertions, and the example they will once more set to the whole continent. The reception I met with at Boston, binds me to it by the strongest ties of a grateful affection. The joy of my heart will be to find myself concerned in an expedition, that may afford peculiar advantages to them; and I earnestly hope it will be the case, in the course of this, (if proper measures are taken,) glorious campaign.

I flatter myself you will be yet in Boston, and upon this expectation, I very much depend for the success of the combined expeditions. Such a crisis is worth your being wholly engaged in it, as it will be glorious, important, and, I may say it now, because necessary for the support of the great cause in which you acted so early and decisive a part. What you mentioned confidentially to me at Boston, I have duly noticed, and shall ever remember with the attention of a friend. For fulfilling the same purpose, I wish we may be under particular obligations to you on this occasion.

Give me leave, my dear sir, to suggest to you an idea which I have lately thought of: all the continental officers labor under the most shameful want of clothing. When I say shameful, it is not to them who have no money to buy—no cloth to be bought. You can conceive what may be theirs and our feelings, when they will be with the French general and other officers; and from a general idea of mankind and human honor, it is easily seen how much we should exert ourselves to put the officers of the army in a more decent situation.

I beg, my dear sir, you will present my respects to your family, and believe me most affectionately yours,

LA FAYETTE.

The following is the reply:

Boston, June, 1780.

MY DEAR MARQUIS—Yesterday, your very obliging letter of the 30th May, was brought to me by Mons. Guinard.

The succor coming from France will be so seasonable and important, that if America is not wanting to herself, she will have it in her power, by the blessing of heaven, to gratify the utmost of her wishes. His most Christian Majesty's expectations from us must needs be great; and gratitude to so generous an ally, as well as a due attention to our own safety, interest and honor, lay us under the strongest obligations to be in readiness to co-operate with the greatest advantage. I have long been fully sensible of your most cordial and zealous attachment to our great cause; and to your personal representation to his Majesty, in addition to the benevolence of his royal heart I will take the liberty to attribute his design to afford us such aid and for so long a time as may put it in our power to employ all our resources against the enemy.

It fortunately happened that the General Assembly of this state was sitting when the letter and enclosures from the committee of Congress came to the President of the Council. They were immediately laid before the Assembly, and I have the pleasure to assure you that the filling our battalions by an immediate draft, furnishing the army with provisions, and every other measure for the fulfilling of the just expectations of your sovereign and of Congress, on this most important occasion are the objects of their closest attention. I had for several months past been flattering myself with the prospect of this aid. It strongly impressed my mind from one circumstance which took place when you was at Philadelphia the last year. But far from certainty, I could only express to some confidential friends here, a distant hope, though as I conceived not without some good effect: at least it seemed to enliven our spirits and animate us for so great a crisis.

If it were possible for one to be forgetful of our all important cause for a moment, my particular friendship *for you* would be a prevailing inducement with me, to make my utmost feeble exertions to prevent your disappointment after the great pains you

have taken to serve us. I have endeavored, and shall continue those endeavors while I stay here, to brighten the dark side of the picture which your imagination has painted in one part of your letter before me—God forbid that we should be obliged to tell our friends when they arrive, that we have not a sufficient army to co-operate with them, nor provision to feed the few soldiers that are left. I think I may venture to predict that this state will comply with the requisition upon her to give the utmost respectability to our army on so promising an occasion. I was in the Council Chamber when I received your letter, and took the liberty to read some parts of it to the members present. I will communicate other parts of it to some leading members of the House of Representatives, as prudence may dictate, particularly what you mention of the officers' want of clothing.

I thank you, my dear sir, for the friendly remembrance you had of the hint I gave you when you was here. Be pleased to pay my most respectful compliments to the Commander-in-chief, his family, &c. and be assured of the warm affection of your obliged friend and very humble servant,

SAMUEL ADAMS.

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

The Legislature of Massachusetts soon after adopted a resolution for raising four thousand men, to reinforce the continental army, affording a bounty to those who might enlist, and subjecting those who might be drafted and should refuse to march, to a fine; the select-men of the towns were required to furnish clothing and travelling expenses. These patriotic measures were occasioned by the pressing letter of La Fayette, together with their own sense of the alarming necessity of the country.

General Arnold, the arch traitor, having distinguished himself by his predatory incursion in Connecticut, marked with plunder, robbery, murder, and every species of desolation, in the latter part of the year '80, was sent on a similar depredatory expedition to Virginia. After committing devastations at Richmond, Smithfield, and elsewhere, worthy of his character, he established himself at Portsmouth. Gen. La Fayette, in December, was sent at the head of an expedition, to oppose his desolating

progress. The meditated attack on Portsmouth, in which the co-operation of the French squadron was relied upon, was abandoned in consequence of the result of a naval action, between the French squadron and that of the enemy under Admiral Arbuthnot. La Fayette returned to the head of Elk, where he received the orders of Washington, to repair to Virginia, to oppose General Philips, who embarked at Portsmouth, with 3,000 troops, to attack Richmond. La Fayette was greatly embarrassed and distressed; his army was not only greatly inferior to the enemy, but was destitute of every thing; coats, shoes, and but poorly supplied with provisions. The soldiers were all bare-foot, there was not one pair of shoes in the army; and he had no funds or means of supplying these pressing wants of his troops. But such was the affection of the soldiers for their General, that they bore all their severe sufferings without a murmur. He procured a loan of two thousand guineas on his private credit in Baltimore, and supplied the most urgent wants of his troops; and immediately proceeded, with the greatest despatch, for Richmond, which he believed the first object of the enemy's incursion, and arrived the day before the British made their appearance, and thus saved the capital of Virginia, then the general deposit of the military supplies of the state. The next morning General Philips entered Manchester, directly opposite Richmond; but the Marquis had taken so strong a position, he did not deem it advisable to hazard an attack, but soon moved off.

At this period Virginia was invaded by Cornwallis, Philips, and Arnold, whose united forces were immensely superior not only to those under the actual command of La Fayette, but to any force he could reasonably expect to avail himself of. From appearances, Virginia would be speedily overrun, and entirely conquered: an event which would have been attended with the most serious consequences: the conquest of Virginia would have terminated all resistance in the southern states. Fully sensible of this, La Fayette felt the difficulty and responsibility of his situation; he had but 1,000 continentals, 2,000 militia, and 60 dragoons. General Philips died soon after he left Richmond, and his detachment being united with the troops of Cornwallis,

his lordship proceeded towards Petersburg. From the reinforcements he had received, his force amounted to 8,000 men; he felt the greatest assurance of success, and did not disguise his contempt for his adversary. In some of his letters he observed, "*The boy cannot possibly escape me.*" La Fayette, with the force he had, was sensible he could do no more than watch the movements of the enemy: he moved from Richmond to Chichahominy, where he hoped to form a junction with General Wayne, who had been ordered from the north to reinforce the army in Virginia. Cornwallis strained every nerve to prevent this junction, and to bring La Fayette to action before it could be effected, pursued him with great rapidity. But he found "*the boy*" a match for himself; was foiled in all his attempts, Fayette having succeeded in uniting his forces with those of General Wayne, at Raccoon Ford, without any loss. Cornwallis, by a hasty movement, threw himself between the American army and the public magazines, with the view to cut off the communications between them; but Fayette, by opening an old road which was disused, and forced marches, passed the British army, and to the astonishment of Cornwallis, secured a strong position between his troops and the American magazines, at Albemarle courthouse. Having failed in all his plans, the British General returned to Richmond, and from thence to Williamsburg, whither he was followed by the Marquis. Here he received orders for a part of his forces to return to New-York, Henry Clinton being apprehensive of an attack from the combined armies of America and France. Cornwallis attempted to deceive Fayette by a stratagem, and draw him into an engagement; he knew the American general would attack his rear guard, when his main army was passing the ford to the Island of Jamestown: he accordingly made such dispositions as were calculated to lead General La Fayette to suppose that the principal part of his army had crossed, when he had detained them, expecting that from this deception, Fayette would attack him. The stratagem, however, did not deceive La Fayette, but General Wayne, who had been detached to reconnoitre the enemy's position, supposing that the rear guard of the enemy only remained, from

slight skirmishing soon found himself engaged with the whole British line. La Fayette proceeded himself to reconnoitre the enemy, and discovering the stratagem, he immediately ordered Wayne to retreat, and the British general suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. Thus by the circumspection and caution of La Fayette, this artful scheme of Cornwallis was defeated, and the troops under General Wayne rescued from the most imminent danger.

The gallantry of Wayne, and his detachment, was acknowledged by La Fayette in the general orders issued the 8th of July. "The general is happy to acknowledge the spirit of the detachment under Gen. Wayne, in their engagement with the whole of the British army, of which he was an eye witness. He requests General Wayne, and the officers and men under his command, to accept his best thanks. The bravery and destructive fire of the riflemen rendered essential service, and the fire of the light-infantry checked the enemy's progress round our right flank. The general was much pleased with the conduct of Captain Savage, of the artillery, and is satisfied that nothing but the loss of horses occasioned that of the two field pieces. The zeal of Ccl. Mercer's corps, is fully expressed in the number of horses he had killed."

CHAPTER V.

Cornwallis encamps at Yorktown, and is followed by La Fayette to Williamsburgh—is reinforced by the allied troops disembarked from the French fleet—Siege of Yorktown—Activity of La Fayette—he storms a redoubt—capitulation of Cornwallis, who proposes to surrender his sword to La Fayette—He repairs to Philadelphia, and signifies to Congress his desire of returning to France—resolution of Congress and his reply—he embarks—Great respect shown him in France—makes a tour in Germany—visits Frederick the great—and is present at his Grand Review—After his return, exerts himself to have France send further succors to the United States—proceeds to Cadiz to accompany Count D'Estaing, with a large fleet, to America, which stopped by peace—Visits the United States in 1784—respect shown him in various places—Visits Mount Vernon—honour shown him by Congress, on his taking leave of the country.

A COMBINED attack on New York had been conceived in the spring, immediately after the arrival of the French and matu-

red at Hartford and Wethersfield, in Connecticut; General Washington, the Count de Rochambeau, La Fayette, and a great number of American officers having spent some time in Connecticut on this business. Fortunately this object was given up, and the combined armies agreed to direct their united forces against the British army in Virginia. This was so managed as to deceive Sir Henry Clinton with appearances of an attack on New-York, and thus prevent him from reinforcing Cornwallis. On the 30th of August, at Chester, on their march to the south, Washington and Rochambeau received the agreeable intelligence of the arrival of Admiral De Grasse in the Chesapeake, with a squadron of twenty-four ships of the line. Immediately 3,000 French troops were disembarked, commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, and soon formed a junction with the American army under La Fayette. Cornwallis at this time was encamped at Yorktown, where he had collected all his forces, and he had been followed to Williamsburg by La Fayette, who, although unable to engage the enemy, pursued him wherever he went, and checked his designs. The arrival of the French squadron, and the large reinforcement he received, filled the heart of La Fayette with joy, and inspired him with hopes of a glorious campaign.

On the arrival of Washington and Count de Rochambeau, they went on board Count de Grasse's flag ship, to determine on future operations, which was followed by the movement of the combined army upon York and Gloucester, and at the same time the fleet moved up to the mouth of James River, having just been reinforced by eight ships of the line, under Count de Barras, from Rhode-Island.

The siege of Yorktown was thus commenced, which reflected such lustre on the gallantry and spirit of the combined armies, and terminated the most glorious revolution in the history of the human race.

Having formed his first parallel, Washington commenced the second, with great activity, on the 11th of September. Alarmed at the despatch of the besiegers, Cornwallis opened all his batteries to stop their progress. His fire from two redoubts was

particularly annoying, and Washington determined to carry them. To excite emulation, and avoid all cause of jealousy, the attack of one was committed to the French, under Baron de Viominel, and the other to a detachment of Americans under La Fayette, who led them to the assault in person. This attack was made with such vigor and spirit that the assailants, without firing a gun, forced their way over the abattis and palisades, into the redoubt, and made the whole party, consisting of sixty men under Major Campbell, prisoners, with the loss of only nine men killed and thirty-two wounded. The detachment had been reminded of the massacre of the garrison at fort Griswold, at New-London; but La Fayette, Hamilton and Laurens possessed too much humanity to imitate deeds of ruthlessness and barbarity, or to take the lives of men who begged for quarters, even by way of retaliation. The assault on the other redoubt was equally successful, although not without considerable loss on the part of the French, the enemy being much more numerous, and their defence consequently more persevering and obstinate. The French lost 100 killed and wounded; about half of the enemy escaped, and the other fell into the hands of the assailants. The coolness and gallantry displayed by both parties, excited the applause of the commander-in-chief; he expressed to La Fayette and de Viominel the high sense he had of their intrepid and able conduct, and desired them to convey his acknowledgements to their respective detachments. In his orders he observes, "The general reflects with the highest degree of pleasure, on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must have in each other. Assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger which they will not cheerfully encounter, no difficulty which they will not bravely overcome."

As the last effort, Cornwallis having attempted to escape by passing in the night his whole army over on to Gloucester Point, and being frustrated by a storm, finding that even the elements seemed to have conspired against him, the proud spirit of his lordship was obliged to yield to a destiny which he could no longer control.

On the 19th of October, '81, just four years from the convention of Saratoga, a second British army of more than seven thousand men, was surrendered to the allied forces of France and America. Such was the fate of an army, whose career had long been successful, proud and triumphant; which had spread terror and devastation over a vast extent of country; that at one period had nearly conquered all the southern states, and whose path was traced by ruin, desolation and blood.

In this memorable siege, La Fayette was particularly active and serviceable, and was one of the officers who were honorably noticed by the commander-in-chief, as having distinguished themselves by their intrepid and heroic conduct. In the universal joy which this great event occasioned, throughout the United States, no one, perhaps, rejoiced more sincerely than this youthful patriot and hero, this early and steadfast friend of America. He received the thanks, not only of Washington, but of congress, for his gallant and heroic conduct; and the state of Virginia, afterward presented him with a bust, for his services in defence of that state, against the incursions and ravages of a lawless enemy. His merit was also acknowledged by the enemy, as Lord Cornwallis was particularly desirous of treating with La Fayette alone, and surrendering his sword into his hands; but the modesty of the youthful hero declined an honor which he considered belonged to another.

In November the Marquis repaired to Philadelphia, where he was received with the warmest manifestations of gratitude and eclat. He soon signified to the congress his desire of returning again to France; on which occasion, the resolution adopted by that body, is too honorable a testimony of his merits and of the unlimited confidence reposed in him by congress, to be omitted in a memoir of his life.

In Congress, November, 1781.

Resolved, That Major-General La Fayette have permission to go to France, and to return at such time as may be most agreeable to himself—that he be informed, that, on a view of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Vir-

ginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry, and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merits and military talents—that he make known to the officers and troops whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterprising services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far superior in numbers have been beheld by congress with particular satisfaction and approbation. That the secretary of foreign affairs acquaint the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the United States, that it is the desire of congress that they confer with the Marquis La Fayette, and avail of his information, relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States. That the secretary for foreign affairs, further acquaint the Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, that he will conform to the intention of congress, by consulting with, and employing the assistance of the Marquis La Fayette, in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his most Christian Majesty for the United States. That the superintendent of finance, the secretary for foreign affairs and the board of war, make such communications to the Marquis, touching the affairs of their respective departments, as will best enable him to fulfil the purpose of the preceding resolutions. That the superintendent of finance, take order for discharging the engagements entered into by the Marquis La Fayette, with the merchants of Baltimore, when he borrowed money of them on his own credit, to supply our troops with necessaries.”

At the same time, congress ordered that a conveyance be provided for General La Fayette, in a public vessel, whenever he should choose to embark; and voted to send a letter by him to the king of France.

The following is the reply of the Marquis to the President of congress, who forwarded him the resolves:

“SIR—I have been honored with the resolutions which congress have been pleased to pass in my favor. Testimonies of their esteem and their confidence that are so very flattering to

me, could not but excite those exalted sentiments of gratitude which I am unable sufficiently to express. My attachment to America, the sense of my obligations, and the new favors conferred upon me, are so many everlasting ties that devote me to her. At all times, and in every part of the world, my heart will be panting for opportunities to be employed in her service. With unspeakable pleasure I shall transmit the resolve of congress to the brave and virtuous troops, whom it has been my happiness to command.

I have the honor to be, &c.

LA FAYETTE.

The foregoing resolution of congress he transmitted to the troops, lately under his command; in doing which he remarks: "In the moment the major-general leaves this place, he wishes once more to express his gratitude to the brave corps of light-infantry, who, for nine months past, have been the companions of his fortunes. He can never forget, that, with them alone, of regular troops, he had the good fortune to manœuvre before an army, which after all its reductions, was still six times more numerous than the regular force he had under command."

It being evident that the American revolutionary struggle was drawing to a close, in December, '81, he embarked the second time for France, leaving the grateful homage of one country, to receive the admiration and applause of another.

On his arrival in France, he was received with that enthusiastic manifestation of respect and applause, which his achievements and fame were calculated to inspire. His chivalrous heroism, and ardent attachment to liberty, were not more conspicuous than his modesty, a trait for which his countrymen are not very distinguished; yet, nevertheless, in so young a man, it increased his reputation, even with Frenchmen. Having related to the king a long account of the events and progress of the American war, without having said one word about himself, his majesty could not forbear to remark: "But pray, sir, where were you all this time?"

He remained six weeks in Paris, during which time, having received continually the most distinguished honors and atten-

tion from all classes, from the king to the street-porter, from the inhabitants of "gorgeous palaces" to the wretched inmates of garrets and cellars, he became surfeited with applause, and anxious to realize the more quiet and substantial enjoyments which he could find only in the bosom of his family.

In the universal respect shown to the youthful hero of America, Madame La Fayette came in for a share. At a large assembly, at the Duke Choiseul's, Voltaire publicly complimented her on the patriotic virtues of her husband. Louis was so satisfied with the conduct of the Marquis in America, that he bestowed on him many favors; and the queen was so delighted with him that she presented him with her miniature.

His journey from Paris to his estates in Lorraine, with his wife and son George, then three years of age, was one continued triumph, notwithstanding his intention, and the precautions he made use of, to have it entirely private. Every where bells rung, processions formed, and crowds assembled around him, crying "long live La Fayette!" At the city of Orleans he was detained nearly a week, by the festivities prepared for him.

In the year '82, he made a tour to Germany, and visited many of the German princes, all of whom received him with attention: but his more particular object was to see Frederick the Great, whose character had long attracted general attention in Europe. He was present at Potsdam, during the grand review, when 50,000 men were assembled under the immediate command of the king. During three days, various evolutions of battles, sieges and assaults, were gone through with, and under the eye and direction of the Great Frederick, mounted on his white charger, with his little three-cornered cocked hat, his thread bare blue jacket, and his opera glass in his hand. This was a grand, and highly interesting exhibition; the "tented field," formed by their encampment, resembled an immense city.—These reviews took place every autumn, and attracted numerous strangers, and foreigners of distinction. It is on these occasions, that all promotions, rewards, punishments, and disciplinary

regulations, were published, by being three times read at the head of each company.

Frederick was no sooner informed that La Fayette was present, than he despatched an aid-de-camp to invite him to the palace of Sans Souci. In a long audience which he had with Frederick, the latter, after complimenting La Fayette, expressed his admiration of Washington, and presenting his miniature, set in diamonds, to La Fayette, he observed, "that since he must be separated from the general, he hoped this little memento would sometimes recall him to recollection."

The respect manifested by Frederick, considering his despotic principles and severe character, for Washington and La Fayette, the two great champions of liberty, is creditable to him, and could only have proceeded from the admiration which true greatness always shows to genius and distinguished talent, wherever they may be found.

La Fayette, in his travels and observations of the affairs of Europe, did not for a moment lose sight of the interests of America, and early in the year '83, after his return to France, from his tour, manifested great anxiety to have the treaty of peace between Great Britain and America and France, definitely ratified, the preliminaries of which had been entered into the preceding year. He apprehended that the Court of St. James did not intend to ratify the treaty, and urged on the French government the propriety of affording additional assistance to America, as a means of inducing Britain to conclude the treaty. Accordingly La Fayette was permitted to return to America once more, and orders were given to Count D'Estaing to hold himself in readiness to proceed from Cadiz, with his fleet and troops on board, to the United States, as soon as La Fayette might join him. But the treaty being ratified, the expedition was, of course, abandoned. He went to Cadiz, where he found forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men ready to follow him, and which would have been in America early in the spring, had not peace been concluded. He communicated the first intelligence of this event to congress, by a letter dated Cadiz, February 5, 1783.

The great object of the war being obtained, the independence and freedom of the United States of America acknowledged and established, those who had been the compatriots and associates in arms in the United States with La Fayette, in this great and glorious cause, were very anxious of embracing him once more on that soil, now no longer marked with the traces of oppression, which had been the theatre of their united toils, sufferings and triumphs. La Fayette was not less desirous to revisit a country that he had found oppressed, and struggling for its rights, and which he had contributed to render independent, sovereign and free. The pressing invitation of Washington, and many other friends, was accordingly accepted, and, having arranged his affairs in July, '84, he embarked from Havre for America the third time.

There are few, if any, examples in history, of an individual who has assisted, by his services, his fortune and his blood, to secure the independence, liberty and peace of a foreign and distant people, revisiting the same people, on their pressing solicitations, as "the guest of the nation," to witness the fruits of his labors, the blessings of peace and freedom, and receive the gratitude and homage of millions in the enjoyment of these blessings. This distinguished honor and distinguished felicity, La Fayette has twice enjoyed.

He arrived at New-York, after a passage of thirty-four days, on the fourth of August, 1784. The knowledge of his arrival was communicated with rapidity, and he immediately was surrounded by the officers and citizens, who welcomed his return, and offered to him their congratulations. The day following his arrival, a public entertainment was given him, at which all the officers appeared in their "continentals," both uniforms and accoutrements, which served to produce a more fraternal feeling among the co-patriots and fellow officers of the late arduous struggle, now so successfully and gloriously terminated.

From New-York he proceeded to Philadelphia, where he was met by the officers of the army and a vast concourse of citizens, and escorted to the house of the governor. In the evening an

universal illumination took place; there was not a single house in the city but what was illuminated. On his present visit, also, this city honored La Fayette with an illumination more universal and splendid than any thing of the kind which had been witnessed any where else. The next day he was waited on by Generals St. Clair, Wayne and Irwine, as a committee in behalf of the citizens; and the legislature being in session, appointed a deputation, consisting of one member from a county, who addressed him in their own name and that of their constituents; they also incorporated a county in the western section of the state, by the name of La Fayette.

From Philadelphia he repaired to Baltimore, and from thence hastily to Mount Vernon, to see and embrace his beloved Washington, now no longer the head of the American armies, and the master-spirit of the revolution, but a private citizen, living in retirement on his plantation. It would be in vain to attempt to describe the interview between these two illustrious individuals. Born in different hemispheres, and apparently to different fortunes and different ends, they had nevertheless become united by the strongest ties of affection, principle and sympathy, and by their common toils and sufferings in the same cause, and that cause so sacred in itself, so dear to the hearts of both, and so gloriously successful, guaranteeing the blessings of peace and liberty to a nation, and establishing the fame of all who had acted a distinguished part in it—an interview between two such individuals, under such circumstances, after an absence of nearly two years, which had served to give maturity to the fruits of their exertions, and increase their mutual affection—as it is without example, so it scarcely belongs to this earth; it is rather like an interview between superior beings, rejoicing at the happiness they had conferred upon mortals.

La Fayette remained at Mount Vernon twelve days, when he returned to Baltimore, and, after a short stay, he went on to New-York, and proceeded eastward to Boston, passing through the principal towns in the route, and was every where received with the most hearty welcome and the most lively demonstrations of grateful hearts. On approaching Boston, he was met

at Watertown by the whole body of the late army, addressed in their behalf by his personal friend, General Knox. The legislature being in session, a resolve was immediately adopted, inviting him to meet the members of the two houses in the senate-room, where he was addressed by the governor in terms of respect and affection. He went east as far as Maine, and having visited the considerable towns, he returned to Boston, where he embarked for the Chesapeake. He made a second visit to Mount Vernon, and passed through the principal towns on the way. On his return, Washington came with him to Annapolis, where he took an affectionate, and then thought, as it proved to be, a final farewell of Washington and numerous friends, and received the last benedictions of his illustrious friend and adopted parent.

Before leaving the United States, he deemed it proper to take respectful leave of Congress, then in session at Trenton, where he arrived on the 8th of December. La Fayette having addressed a note to Congress, signifying his intention, a committee was appointed, consisting of one from a state, to give greater dignity to the proceeding, to receive and take leave of the Marquis in the name of Congress, and the nation, and to assure him that congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his zeal and services to promote the welfare of the United States, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently manifested on former occasions. The committee received the guest of the nation in congress hall, and communicated to him the resolve of that body, to which the Marquis made the following dignified and affectionate reply:—

“While it pleases the Congress of the United States so kindly to receive me, I want words to express the feelings of a heart, which delights in their present situation, and in the public marks of their esteem.

“Since I joined the standard of liberty, to this wished-for hour of my personal congratulations, I have seen such glorious deeds performed and virtues displayed, by the sons of America, that in the instant of my first concern for them, I had anticipated but a part of the love and regard which devote me to this rising empire.

“During our revolution, I obtained an unlimited, indulgent confidence, which I am equally proud and happy to acknowledge; it dates with the time, when an inexperienced youth, I could only claim my respected friend’s paternal adoption. It has been more benevolently continued throughout every circumstance of the cabinet and the field; and in personal friendship I have often found a support against public difficulties. While on this solemn occasion, I mention my obligations to Congress, the states, and the people at large, permit me to remember my dear military companions, to whose services their country is so much indebted.

“Having felt both for the timely aid of my country, and for the part she, with a beloved king, acted in the cause of mankind, I enjoy an alliance so well rivetted by mutual affection, by interest and even local situation. Recollection ensures it. Futurity does but enlarge the prospect; and the private intercourse will every day increase, which independent and advantageous trade cherishes in proportion as it is justly understood.

“In unbounded wishes to America, I am happy to observe the prevailing disposition of the people to strengthen the confederation, preserve public faith, regulate trade; and in a proper guard over continental magazines and frontier posts, in a general system of militia, in foreseeing attention to the navy, to ensure every kind of safety. May this immense temple of freedom ever stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! And may these happy United States attain that complete splendour and prosperity, which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come, rejoice the departed souls of its founders.

“However unwilling to trespass on your time, I must yet present you with my grateful thanks for the late favors of Congress; and never can they oblige me so much, as when they put it in my power, in every part of the world, and to the latest day of my life, to gratify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States.”

Congress at the same time also resolved, that the president of their body, address a letter to the King of France, expressive of

the high sense which the United States entertain of the talents and meritorious services of the Marquis de La Fayette, and recommending him to the particular favor and patronage of his Majesty.

La Fayette went from Trenton to New-York, where in a few days he embarked for France, in a frigate that was waiting for him. On his departure he was honoured by the waving standards of the United States from the forts, and by the discharge of thirteen cannon, announcing the number of states which regretted his departure, and whose best wishes he carried with him. During this visit many of the states passed acts conferring the right of citizenship on La Fayette, and his male descendants for ever.

At the time, this separation between La Fayette and America, must have been believed, both by himself and his friends here, to be the last; and however lively an interest he might be supposed to continue to feel for her welfare, it could hardly have been expected that he would again revisit a country which had been the theatre of his early achievements, of his brightest glory; which was still the dearest object of his attachments and hopes, and which contained so many of his dearest and most venerated friends. In leaving the shores of the United States, under such circumstances, his feelings must have been deeply affected; and likewise those of the numerous friends he left behind. To most of the latter, the parting was forever on earth; but the life of this illustrious man, has been spared, through all the vicissitudes which he has since passed, that whilst he was on the confines of the earth and about to leave it, for another and better world, after the lapse of nearly half a century, he should be permitted like a departed spirit returning to the earth, to revisit this favoured land of promise, and witness the countless blessings enjoyed by a numerous and grateful people, flowing from independence, peace, free institutions, and well-regulated social order, the holy and imperishable fruits of the blood and toils of the heroes and patriots of a glorious revolution, of whom he is one of the chief, and almost the only survivor. This is a felicity which no mortal has ever before enjoyed; it was reserved for La Fayette, the first of patriots and philanthropists.

CHAPTER VI.

After his arrival in France, he engages in various philanthropic objects. Virginia places his bust in the capitol of that state, and one at Paris—He again visits Germany—Is a member of the Assembly of Notables—proposes various reforms—is elected a member of the States-General—proposes a bill of rights—procures a decree for the accountability of ministers—Fall of the Bastile—Is appointed to command the National Guards—Exerts himself to complete the constitution—Saves the Royal family at Versailles.—He commands the National Guards at the ceremony of Champ de Mars—Swears to the constitution in the name of the nation—Coalition against France—He is appointed to command one of the armies—Military operations—Is denounced by the Jacobin faction—He addresses a letter to the Assembly—Appears before their bar.

GENERAL LA FAYETTE, is one of the few individuals, who during a long and eventful life, abounding in vicissitudes and trials, has maintained the most scrupulous consistency of conduct and integrity of principle. The happiness of his fellow creatures seems to have been the leading object of all his actions, and we always find him engaged in acts of private beneficence or public utility: he has always been on the side of truth, justice, and liberty. Soon after his return to France he is found taking a strong interest in the affairs of the Batavian patriots, and uniting his influence and exertions with those of the celebrated philosopher Malescherbes, in the cause of the French protestants; while at the same time, he joined a society whose object was, the gradual emancipation of the blacks held in slavery, particularly in the French colonies. In this last philanthropic and benevolent scheme, he spent much time and money, and it is believed that his exertions and those of his associates would have done much towards meliorating the condition of the unfortunate Africans, had they not been arrested by the rapid development of the first scenes in the great drama of the French revolution.

In the year '86, Virginia, in consideration of his services rendered to that state, by an act of the assembly, directed the bust of La Fayette to be placed in the capitol of the state; and at the same time authorised Mr. Jefferson, then the American minister at Paris, to cause the like statue to be placed in the

metropolis of France, with the consent of the municipal authority of the city. In his letter to the municipality of Paris, Mr. Jefferson, says,—“The Legislature of the state of Virginia, in consideration of the services of Major-General, the Marquis de La Fayette, has resolved to place his bust in their capitol. This intention of erecting a monument to his virtues, and to the sentiments with which he has inspired them, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, has induced a hope that the city of Paris would consent to become the depository of a second proof of their gratitude. Charged by the state with the execution of this resolution, I have the honor to solicit the *Prevots des Marchands* and municipality of Paris to accept the bust of this brave officer, and give it a situation where it may continually awaken the admiration, and witness the respect of the allies of France.”

The proposition, meeting with the decided approbation of the local authorities, and of the king to whom it was submitted, the bust of La Fayette, executed by the order of Mr. Jefferson, by Mr. Houden, was placed in one of the galleries of the city hall, with great ceremony, an eloquent address having been delivered on the occasion, by the attorney-general, in which he sketched in the most impressive manner, the important services of La Fayette in North America, the confidence the nation reposed in him, and the unbounded affection of the people for him.

In the year '86, La Fayette made a tour through various parts of Germany, and visited the courts of Vienna and Berlin. But whilst extending his knowledge by acquainting himself with the affairs of other nations, the deep interest he felt in the welfare of America, was not in any degree impaired or diminished, and during his travels, he was distressed and alarmed at the intelligence he received of the disorders which prevailed in the United States, the discords and disaffection of the people, the low state of public credit, the disregard of the authority of congress, and the crude political notions and general spirit of insubordination which every where prevailed; and which in one state had led to actual insurrection. Deeply impressed with

these alarming circumstances relating to his beloved America, he addressed to Washington a letter, filled with noble and patriotic sentiments and which shows the anxiety that he still continued to feel in common with all real patriots here, for the welfare and prosperity of the United States then placed in the most critical condition.

"About this time," says Marshall, "Gen. Washington received a long and affectionate letter from the Marquis de La Fayette, who had just returned from a tour through the north of Europe. In communicating the occurrences at the courts he had visited, and especially at that of Prussia, whose aged and distinguished monarch, uniting the acquirements of the scholar with the most profound skill in the art of war, could bestow either literary or military fame, he dwelt with enthusiasm on the plaudits which were universally bestowed on his military patron and paternal friend. "I wish" he added, "the other sentiments I have had occasion to discover with respect to America, were equally satisfactory with those that are personal to yourself. I need not say that the spirit, the firmness, with which the revolution was conducted, has excited universal admiration. That every friend to the rights of mankind is an enthusiast for the principles on which those constitutions are built: but I have often had the mortification to hear that the want of powers in congress, of union between the states, of energy in their government, would make the confederation very insignificant. By their conduct in the revolution," he added, "the citizens of America have commanded the respect of the world; but it grieves me to think they will in a measure lose it, unless they strengthen the confederation, give congress power to regulate their trade, pay off their debt, or at least, the interest of it, establish a well regulated militia, and in a word, complete all those measures which you have recommended to them."

"Unhappy for us," said the general in reply, "though the reports you mention are greatly exaggerated, our conduct has laid the foundation for them. It is one of the evils of democratic governments, that the people not always seeing, and frequently misled, must often feel before they act right. But evils

of this nature seldom fail to work their own cure. It is to be lamented nevertheless, that the remedies are so slow, and that those who wish to apply them seasonably, are not attended to before they suffer in person, in interest, and reputation. I am not without hopes that matters will soon take a favorable turn in the federal constitution. The discerning part of the community have long since seen the necessity of giving adequate powers to congress for national purposes, and those of a different description must yield to it ere long."

Hitherto the career of the Marquis de La Fayette had been uniformly successful and glorious; his advance in the path of honor and military fame, and in aiding the cause of liberty, had been smooth, dignified, and without interruption; his popularity, like a placid but magnificent stream, increased in volume and force as it flowed smoothly along, occasionally ruffled by the winds, but never torn by cataracts or agitated by the rage of the elements. But the time had now arrived that he was no longer to enjoy a clear horizon and serene sky, without interruption; the smooth current of his popularity is exposed to be agitated and broken by the rage of the most tremendous storms, and all the maddening fury of the elements.

To have been the successful hero and patriot of *two revolutions*, would have been a more glorious destiny than belonged to any mortal; there is no such example in the history of mankind; it was not therefore reserved for La Fayette. He had acquired sufficient glory, and rendered sufficient service to his fellow mortals by the part he had acted in the American Revolution; this will render his name as immortal as that of the country whose independence and liberty he contributed to establish, and as venerated as those of the illustrious individuals with which it is associated.

He was designed to act a part equally, and indeed much more conspicuous in the political revolution in France, than he had in America; but with much less success or glory; not, however, from any fault of his. He contributed as much, perhaps more than any other individual, to give an impetus to the ball of the revolution, but having got in motion, it was no longer in his power to

stop it, or even to regulate its course. If we look back to the influence he had on the part taken by France in the American struggle, it cannot be doubted that he is entitled to the honor of having contributed directly and indirectly, much more towards producing the first movement in favor of a political reform in France, than any other individual. The struggle between the United States and Great Britain, and the part taken in it by France, is undoubtedly the principal cause of the dreadful revolution which soon followed in that kingdom. It added greatly to the public debt, and completely deranged the already embarrassed finances of the nation. The American contest was professedly a war for *liberty*; it led to an examination and discussion, both in the United States and in England, of the first principles of government, of the rights of man, and of the origin and nature of monarchy; and these discussions were generally republished in France, and from a national bias, the people approved of the American side of the argument. The French officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the American war, in some measure had the spirit of the revolution infused into their minds. Being engaged in the same cause with the Americans, they imbibed the same feelings, and in no small degree adopted the same principles. It was natural, therefore, for those who had fought for liberty abroad, to look into the political state of their own nation; and it was a painful reflection to all who had contributed to establish the independence and freedom of America, to perceive the oppressed and degraded condition of their own country.

In the commencement and early part of the revolution, the American hero and patriot, acted a most distinguished and influential part. He was a member of the Assembly of Notables, which convened in 1787, and was nominated one of the members of the committee under the Count D'Artois, the present king of France. Here he was a zealous and intrepid advocate for the correction of existing abuses in the government and a political reformation. He read several memorials, distinguished for their noble political sentiments, and freedom and boldness of language. His zeal and independence gave great offence to the

Count D'Artois, and called down upon him the suspicions and hostility of the court, which placed him in a very delicate and critical situation; but he was supported by the committee, who approved of his memorials. One of the members in the warmth of his feelings said to him—"Your achievements in America had already enrolled your name in the list of heroes, but never before have you so justly deserved that glorious distinction. How happy I should be was there a sculptor present to perpetuate your zeal for the welfare of your country and your king." Being encouraged from the support he received, La Fayette followed up his patriotic plans, and proposed a series of reforms, the suppression of the state prisons, and *lettres de cachet*, and obtained a resolution favoring the civil right of the protestants. But the most important measure which he proposed was the convocation of the States-General, which had so important an influence on the destinies of France and Europe. "What," said the Count D'Artois, "do you ask for the States-General?" "Yes," replied La Fayette, "and for something more and better;" an intimation not then understood.

La Fayette was chosen a deputy to this celebrated body, which convened in the month of May, 1789, and assumed the name of the National Assembly. He at once became a leading and influential member, and as vice-president, presided during the important sitting on the night of the 13th and 14th of July, the moment the Bastille was falling before the furious assaults of the populace.

On the 11th of July, he submitted to the National Assembly, the first declaration of the rights of man, which he introduced with the following memorable language:

"Although my powers do not extend to me the right of voting among you, it is my duty to lay my opinion before you.

"You have been presented with the declaration of rights, as the first object of your labor and attention.

"That declaration is indispensable. It is not founded upon metaphysical opinions, but upon the very basis of social order."

"It is of the first importance that those rights which are engraven on every man's heart, should be distinctly and unequivocally recognized."

"Yet it is my opinion that this declaration should be confined to a statement of the unalienable rights of man, and of man as we find him in a state of society.

"I have now the honor to submit the first model of such a declaration.

"I am far from insisting that it shall be adopted as it is; I only ask that it be copied, to be circulated freely among the different committees."

M. de Lally Tolendal arose, and said—"With the exception of a few lines, which admit, perhaps, of some little discussion, I second the motion which has just been offered. All the principles contained therein are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble and sublime. The author of the motion now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has already shown courage in defending it."

It was under his influence that a decree was adopted providing for the responsibility of the ministers, which was predicated on one of the elementary principles of limited and representative monarchy. He took an active and influential part in the important discussions of this period, the bill of rights and the constitution, which having been matured, was adopted and sworn to, with the most solemn ceremony, by the members of the assembly in the Champ de Mars, on the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastile.

After the fall of this strong castle of despotism, before the rude assault of an immense armed multitude, of all ages and conditions, great disorders prevailed; the people had become enraged and their passions inflamed, and being encouraged by success, it was difficult to restrain them or check their excesses. At this critical conjuncture, two days after the capture of the Bastile, La Fayette was appointed to command the National Guards of Paris, by M. Bailly, who had been elected mayor of that city. To increase the disorders, great scarcity prevailed in the large cities, which threatened a famine, and immense multitudes of both sexes were patrolling the streets with the cries of bread! bread! La Fayette did all in his power to preserve tranquillity, and protect the persons and property of the

citizens. The assembly also exerted themselves to calm the public mind, and to maintain the public peace; they also steadily advanced forward in the great objects of the revolution, and endeavored to act out the principles they had already recognized. They passed a decree for the security of persons and property, and enjoining the payment of taxes as usual; they also abolished the most odious features of the feudal system, which was followed by the suppression of tithes, and they declared that henceforth all distinctions, political and personal, should cease, and that France should be one nation, one family, governed by the same laws, and that all other titles should be merged in that of French Citizen. The constitution of '90, divided France into eighty-three departments, abolished the feudal system, and *lettres de cachet*, fixed the qualifications of electors, provided that the representatives were to form but one chamber, and rendered the sale of offices criminal, annihilated all orders and distinctions, granted to the king his *veto* on all acts of the assembly, and established triennial legislatures.

In all these important measures, calculated to give to man his dignity, his rights, his liberty, and to render a nation free, powerful, prosperous and happy, La Fayette took an active and decided part. If these measures did not produce the happy results intended, let it not be considered as an impeachment of the great principles on which they were founded, or of the patriotic motives of their authors. The leaders in the first or constituent assembly, La Fayette, Mirabeau, Bissot, &c. were distinguished men, and their patriotic conduct, although not successful to the extent they had reason to expect, is, nevertheless, the source of most of the political advantages which France now enjoys. And there is reason to believe, that neither the imperial despotism of Napoleon, or the re-establishment of the throne and dynasty of the Bourbons, nor all the violence and disorders of the revolution, can extinguish the light which these illustrious men contributed to disseminate. The seeds of liberty, sown in the early stages of the revolution, although at first producing a growth too rank and luxuriant to ripen to maturity, and afterward for a long period, choked by

thorns, nevertheless can hardly fail, in due time, of producing their proper fruits. But however this may be, it would be in vain for the minions of royalty to impeach the motives and integrity of those distinguished patriots, or to sully the lustre of their well-earned fame. The fidelity of history will do them justice, and enrol their names among the first patriots and benefactors of their country.

The situation of La Fayette as commander of the National Guards, was one of peculiar difficulty and delicacy, as it brought him into constant contact with the court and the throne. On the 5th of October, 1790, a vast multitude, principally women, appeared in the streets of Paris, crying out bread! bread! Being joined by a company of the volunteers of the Bastille, they set out for Versailles, the residence of the royal family. From the contagion of example, the National Guards insisted on proceeding hither likewise; and La Fayette believing it difficult to restrain them, and also that the guards under his direction might prevent the excesses of the multitude, thought it advisable to let them proceed; and having obtained the sanction of the municipal authority, he led the guards to Versailles, where he arrived about ten o'clock at night. He had been on horseback from before day light in the morning, and made incredible exertions to calm the guards and repress violence. "The Marquis de La Fayette," says Madame de Stael, "entered the Chateau, and passing through the apartment where we were, went to the king. We all pressed around him as if he was master of events, and yet the popular party was already more powerful than its chief, and principles were yielding to factions, or rather, were beginning to serve only as their pretext. M. de La Fayette's manner was perfectly calm; nobody ever saw it otherwise; but his delicacy suffered from the part he was to act. He asked for the interior posts of the Chateau in order that he might ensure their safety, but only the outer posts were granted to him." This refusal was not from want of confidence in La Fayette, but because of the etiquette of the court, the immediate defence of the royal family could be intrusted to none but the guards of the royal household. La Fayette therefore held himself re-

sponsible for the post committed to him and the National Guards. The king and queen retired to rest between two and three o'clock; and about four, a portion of the populace found their way into the interior of the palace through an obscure passage, which had been overlooked, and which was not in that part of the Chateau entrusted to La Fayette. They were evidently led by persons acquainted with the secret avenues, and soon made their way to the queen's chamber; two of her guards were instantly cut down, and she narrowly escaped, almost naked. La Fayette rushed in at this instant, at the head of the National Guards and rescued the Swiss Guards from popular violence, and saved the royal family, which came near being sacrificed to the etiquette of the court.

At dawn of day, an immense multitude surrounded the palace, and filled the vast space called, from the rich materials of which it is constructed, the court of marble. In loud and angry vociferations they called on the king to accompany them to Paris, and on the queen to present herself at the balcony. The king, after a consultation with his ministers, concluded to set out for the capital. La Fayette, apprehending that it would be unsafe for the queen to go, knowing the violence of the populace towards her, went and asked her if she intended to accompany the king to Paris. "Yes," she replied, "although I am sensible of the danger." "Are you positively determined?" "Yes sir." "Condescend, then," said La Fayette, "to go out on the balcony, and suffer me to attend you." "Without the king?" she hesitatingly replied—"have you heard the threats?" "Yes, Madame, I have, but dare to trust me." He conducted her to the balcony; it was a moment of the most awful and delicate responsibility; the agitations, cries, and shouts of the vast multitude, like the sound of mighty waters, prevented his voice from being heard; but not on this or any other occasion, did his presence of mind fail him, he simply, with that ease and grace which distinguished the old court of France, kissed her hand, in view of the multitude. This unexpected event was viewed for a moment with silent astonishment by the populace, but soon the air resounded with the cries of "long live the queen! long

live the general," from that same fickle populace, who, a few hours before, had imbrued their hands in the blood of the guards who defended this same queen. It was on this occasion that the guards first placed the tricolored cockade in their hats, and supplicated for mercy in behalf of the king. The popular rage for a time seemed to subside; but was soon revived by the cry of "to Paris! to Paris!" The king having thought it prudent to comply with the demands of the populace, accompanied by a deputation of two hundred of the assembly and the National Guards, set out for Paris. He was preceded by an executioner, between two wretches, each with a bloody head suspended upon a pike, and followed by an immense multitude. La Fayette could not prevent this indignity being offered the king, but succeeded in preventing much violence and bloodshed.

The discontents of the nobility and clergy broke out into a civil war in La Vendee, and faction raged in the capital. On the 20th June, '91, the Royal Family fled from the capital with the intention of leaving the kingdom and proceeding to Varennes, where they were discovered and conducted back to Paris. Conducted by the citizens of Varennes, and surrounded by an immense body of the National Guards, the royal family passed along the streets and squares amidst half a million of spectators: no murmurs or reproaches were heard, nor a solitary voice greeted the royal ear with the expression of joy; not a hand was uplifted, nor a head uncovered, to honor the sovereign, but a sullen silence prevailed.

From the increasing strength of the Jacobin faction, the situation of La Fayette became every day more difficult and critical; he was placed between Scylla and Charibidis; the violent leaders on the one hand tending to disorder and anarchy, and the king and old aristocracy on the other. But by a steady adherence to principles he preserved his consistency and honor in the most difficult circumstances. As a member of the assembly he supported all rational plans of reform, in maturing and perfecting the revolution, and opposed all violent measures. On the 20th of June, 1790, he seconded a motion for the abolition of all titles of nobility. From this time he renounced his own title

of Marquis, and has never since resumed it, himself, although sometimes so called by others. He used all his influence to complete the constitution, which it was decided should be received and adopted in the assembly and the nation, in the most imposing and solemn manner, and for which purpose, the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, was selected as an appropriate occasion. The labor of from one to two hundred thousand persons of all conditions and sexes, dukes, duchesses, bishops, deputies, butchers, porters, &c. in a few weeks raised an amphitheatre of earth four miles in circumference, in the area behind the military school, called the Champ de Mars, from the Champus Martius of the Romans. Seats rising above each other were formed round the sides for the people, and in the centre was erected the throne and the altar. The king, officers of the government, the deputies of the national assembly, a deputation of military from each department, and a concourse of citizens amounting in all to more than four hundred thousand, were collected in the grand amphitheatre, which gave a magnificence and sublimity to the national festival. Mass having been said, La Fayette, who commanded the National Guards and the military, approached the altar, and in the presence of this vast concourse swore to the constitution in behalf of the nation. It was an awful situation; every eye of this vast assemblage was directed towards him, and every hand raised to join with him in the oath. The world has never witnessed so magnificent and solemn a ceremony, or perhaps an individual voluntarily raised to so exalted and conspicuous a situation. He had the command of six millions of men, directed this august national ceremony, and was the organ of the nation itself. After La Fayette, the members of the assembly swore to the constitution.

On the 13th September, Louis informed the assembly that he had given his sanction to the constitution, which was solemnly proclaimed throughout the kingdom; and on the 30th of the same month the president proclaimed—"That having concluded the object for which they had convened, the national assembly declares its powers to be at an end, and that it will set no longer "

Thus, after a session of two years, terminated the labours of the first, or constituent assembly; a body of men as distinguished for talents and patriotism as any other ever convened; and if we except the American congress of '76, perhaps the labours and discussions of no other, were ever more important. Soon after La Fayette, having completed the organization of the National Guards, resigned, and retired to his estate. The second national assembly, commenced by taking the oath to support the constitution. Alarmed for their security, the nobility and clergy fled from the kingdom; and the princes of the blood having repaired to Coblenz, that place became a general rendezvous of the emigrants; and the Prince of Conde soon began to assemble an army of malcontents.

When the political society, first called the "Friends of the People," and afterward the "Jacobin Club," having fallen under the influence of Robespierre and Danton, had become odious and a most dangerous engine, La Fayette, with Talleyrand, the Duke de Rochefaucault and Laincourt, the two Lameths and others, attempted to counteract its pernicious influence, by the establishment of another society, called "The Club of 1789;" but they were afterward commonly called the *Fuillans*, from the convent where they assembled. This party were the constitutionalists, of whom La Fayette may be regarded as the head; they continued in general to act with the *Girondists*, who were believed to be favorable to a republic, and were distinguished for talents, patriotism and virtue. These two parties united, formed a decided majority in the assembly, and for a long time kept down the Jacobin faction, headed by Robespierre and Danton.

Whilst the nation was agitated with disorders and factions within, a storm was gathering from without, which threatened the desolation of France. The treaty of Pilnitz, consummated the first coalition against France: the professed object of which, was to regulate its internal affairs, and to re-establish the monarchy with all its original powers and prerogatives; but its real object probably was, had it been successful, to have subjected France to the fate of Poland. This outrageous enterprise on

the part of the allied powers, and the insulting demands of the Emperor of Austria, overcome the dread of war at first felt by the people, and roused the spirit of the nation. This spirit was inflamed to the highest pitch by a popular and eloquent address to the nation, published by the assembly, which immediately followed the decree of war. And the conduct of the French emigrants, who assembled on the borders of the state in a hostile manner, ready to invade their country, excited the highest indignation of the people.

The assembly displayed great activity in preparing to prosecute hostilities. Three large armies took the field; one commanded by La Fayette, who was called from his voluntary retirement for this purpose, one by Marshal Rochambeau, and the other by Marshal Luckner. Their first operations were not successful: the three generals had formed one plan of the campaign, and the cabinet had formed another, and the dissensions between them soon led to serious embarrassments and difficulties. By the former scheme, La Fayette, was to have been entrusted with the execution of an enterprise against the Low Countries, or Austrian Netherlands, at the head of 50,000 men, and was to have been supported by a second army under Rochambeau; whilst a third was to have taken possession of Mentz.

The expedition against Tournay, and that against Mons, both failed; from which cause the advantages of the occupation of Furnes were obliged to be relinquished. La Fayette with the main army proceeded to Givet, where it was intended to make a general rendezvous in the heart of the Austrian Netherlands. The failure of the two first expeditions, disconcerted his plans and embarrassed his operations; he was able however to keep his ground. His army occupied the tract of country extending from Givet to Bouvines. In the month of June the French armies had made considerable progress in the Netherlands; but the Austrians and Prussians advancing with a superior force, they were obliged to retreat to Givet and Valenciennes. In the mean time the cabinet was distracted by contentions, which led to the resignation of Rochambeau, and finally to a change of

the ministry, which was succeeded by an administration of the Fuillant party. They did not possess the confidence of the people or the majority of the assembly, and their power was short. The dismissal of the old, and the appointment of the new ministry, increased the strength and boldness of the Jacobin or violent party, both in the assembly and nation. This, and other measures of the king, together with the coalition of sovereigns against France for the avowed object of restoring Louis to his prerogatives and power, had occasioned suspicions that he secretly favored the designs of the enemies of France, and that if he could escape, he would leave the country and throw himself into their hands. The conduct of the allies and of the king favored these suspicions, and enabled the leaders of the violent party to inflame the fears and passions of the people to the highest pitch. The violent party were still a minority in the assembly; but by their boldness, their violent measures, and the control and direction they had acquired over public opinion, they over-awed the deliberations, and in a great measure dictated to the assembly. The leaders of this party feared no man so much as La Fayette: from his known integrity, his attachment to the constitution, the nation and the king, from the popularity he still maintained with moderate men of all parties, and above all from his having the command of the army, they were sensible they could never succeed in their ambitious plans until he was out of the way; they were determined therefore to destroy him. He was denounced in the assembly and the papers as having engaged in a conspiracy with the king against the nation. But neither the personal danger to which he perceived himself exposed, nor the gathering storm which threatened to burst on his country, shook his firmness in the least, or deterred him from making a bold and resolute effort, to save the constitution, the king and his country from all the evils of anarchy and civil war. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, he addressed to the national assembly, a long letter, in which he openly denounced the Jacobin faction as the authors of all the mischiefs which afflicted the nation, and conjured the assembly to crush the factions and save the nation. This letter unfolded the situation and sentiments of

La Fayette so fully at this conjuncture, that it ought not to be omitted in a memoir of his life:—

*At the entrenched camp of }
Maubege, 16th June, 1792. }*

“Gentlemen,

“At the moment, perhaps too long deferred, in which I am about to call your attention to the highest public interests, and to point out among our dangers, the *conduct of a ministry*, whom I have for a long time censured in my correspondence, I learn that, unmasked in consequence of its own divisions, it has fallen a sacrifice to its own intrigues. [This was the Brissotin ministry.] It is not enough, however, that *this branch* of the government has been delivered from its disastrous influence. The public welfare is in peril—The fate of France depends principally on its representatives—The nation expects from them its security. But in giving them a *constitution*, France has prescribed to them the *only* means by which she can be saved.

“Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituent assembly, a constitution ought to be the law of the legislators, which that constitution shall have established. It is to *you* that I ought to denounce the too powerful efforts which are making to induce you to depart from that course which you have promised to pursue.

“*Nothing shall deter me from the exercise of this right of a free-man, to fulfil this duty of a citizen*; neither the momentary errors of opinion; for what are opinions when they depart from principles? nor my respect for the *representatives* of the people; for I respect still more the *people* whose sovereign will it is to have a constitution; nor the benevolence and kindness which you have constantly evinced for myself; for I would *preserve* that as I *obtained* it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

“Your situation is difficult—France is menaced from without, and agitated within. Whilst foreign powers announce the intolerable (inadmissible) project of attacking our national sovereignty, and avow it as a principle! at the same time the enemies of France, its interior enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and annoy us with

their insolent malèvolence. You ought, gentlemen, to repress them; and you will have the power so to do, *only when* you shall become *constitutional* and *just*. You wish it, *no doubt*; but cast your eyes upon all that passes within your own body and around you. Can you dissemble even to yourselves, that a *faction*, (and to avoid all vague denunciations) the *jacobin faction*, have caused all these disorders? It is *that which I boldly accuse*—organized like a separate empire in the metropolis, and its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a *corporation entirely distinct* in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps, by tyrannizing over its representatives and constituted authorities.

“It is in that body, in its public meeting, the *love* of the laws is denounced as aristocracy, and their *breach* as patriotism. There the assassins of Dessilles receive their triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrists. There the recital of the massacre which has stained the city of Mentz, has also been received with *infernal* acclamations! Have they become sacred because the emperor Leopold has pronounced their name? And because it is our highest duty to combat the *foreigners* who mingle in our domestic quarrels, are we at liberty to refrain from *delivering* our country from domestic tyranny?”

“Of what importance is it, as to the fulfilment of this duty, that strangers have their projects, and their connivance and concert with our internal foes! It is I, who denounce to you this sect (the jacobins;) I, who, without speaking of my past life, *can reply* to those who suspect my motives—“Approach, in this moment of awful crisis, when the character of each man must be known, and see which of us, more inflexible in his principles, more obstinate in his resistance, will more courageously overcome those obstacles, and those dangers, which traitors to their country conceal, and which true citizens know how to appreciate, and to brave for her.”

“And how could I delay longer to fulfil this duty, whilst every successive day weakens still more the constituted authorities. substitutes the spirit of party for the will of the people; whilst the audacity of the agitators, [the disorganizers] imposes silence

on peaceable citizens, throws into retirement useful men, and whilst *devotion* to the *sect or party* stands in the place of *public* and *private* virtues, which, in a free country, ought to be the austere [severe, or strict] and only means of attaining to public office.

“It is, after having been opposed to all the obstacles, and to all the snares, which were laid for me, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to conspiracies against its commander, [La Fayette was the commander] that I now oppose to this faction the *correspondence* of a *ministry*, worthy representative of its *club*—a correspondence, the calculations of which are false, its promises vain and illusory—its information deceitful or frivolous—its advice perfidious or contradictory—correspondence, in which, *after* pressing me to advance without precaution—to attack *without means*—they finally began to tell me that *resistance* was *impossible*, when I indignantly repelled the cowardly and base assertion. What a remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between the factions whom the aristocracy avow, and those who *usurp* the *name of patriots*! They both wish to overthrow our laws, rejoice in our disorders, array themselves against the constituted authorities, detest the national guards (the militia)—preach insubordination to the army—sow, at one moment, distrust—at another, discouragement.

“As to myself, gentlemen, *who embraced the American cause at the moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was perilous or desperate*—who from that moment have devoted my life to a persevering defence of liberty and of the sovereignty of the people—who, on the 14th of July, 1789, (after the taking of the Bastille,) in presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to say, “that in order that a nation should be free, it is only necessary that it should *will* so to be,” I come, this day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause—of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully or stain it with crimes; I am ready to declare that the French nation, if it is not the vilest in the universe, *can* and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings who have coalesced against it!

“It is not in the midst of my brave army that timid counsels should be permitted—patriotism, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the military and civil virtues I find here. Here the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property held sacred. Here calumnies and factions are unknown. And when I reflect that France has many millions who *can* become *such* soldiers, I ask myself, to what a degree of *debasement* must such an immense people be reduced, stronger in its natural resources than in its artificial defences, opposing to a monstrous and discordant confederation simple and united counsels and combinations, that the cowardly, degrading idea of sacrificing its sovereignty, of permitting any discussion as to its liberties, of committing to negotiation its rights, could be considered among the *possibilities* of a rapidly advancing futurity!

“But, in order that we, soldiers of liberty, should combat for her with efficacy, or *die* for her with any *fruit* or advantage, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of the country should be promptly made in some degree proportionate to that of our opponents; that the supplies of all descriptions should be increased so as to facilitate our movements; that the comfort and conveniences of the troops, their clothes and arms, their pay, the accommodations for the sick, should no longer be subject to fatal delays, or to a miserable and misplaced economy, which defeats its very end.

“It is *above all, necessary* that the citizens rallied round their constitution, should be assured that the rights which that constitution guarantees shall be respected with a *religious* fidelity; which will of itself cause more despair to our enemies than any other measure.

“Do not repel this desire—this ardent wish. It is that of all the sincere friends of your legitimate authority; assured that no unjust consequences or effect can flow from a *pure* principle—that no tyrannical measure can save a cause, which owes its *force*, *aye* and its glory, to the sacred principles of liberty and equality. Let criminal jurisprudence resume its *constitutional* power.—Let civil equality—let religious freedom enjoy the application of their true principles. In fine, let the reign of the *clubs* be *annihilated* by you; let them give place to the laws—their

usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the powers of the constituted authorities—their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty—their delirious fury to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights, and is ready to defend them—in fine, their sectarian combinations to the true interests of the country, of the nation, which, in a moment of danger, ought to unite *all*, except those to whom its subjection and ruin are the objects of atrocious pleasure and infamous speculation.

LA FAYETTE.

The sentiments contained in this letter, are bold, noble and patriotic, worthy of the disciple of Washington, and of the hero and patriot of the American revolution. But the efforts of La Fayette were in vain; the audacity and violence of the jacobin faction continued to increase; the assembly had not the courage or the power to repress them, and affairs rapidly approached a crisis. On the 20th of June, a vast and promiscuous multitude, headed by Santerre, armed with pikes and preceded with two cannon, advanced to the palace, and overcoming every obstacle, found their way to the presence of the king and royal family. They read a petition to his majesty, praying for the dismissal of the new ministry and the relinquishment of his *veto*, by means of which he had suspended several decrees. Louis manifested great courage and firmness, and after an animated address from Vergniaux, a leading member of the assembly, and a few words from Petion, mayor of Paris, the populace withdrew, without committing any violence; but not until they had placed the red cap of liberty on the head of the king, to see how the symbol of freedom would become the brow of royalty.

This and other outrages, together with the repeated denunciations against himself, induced La Fayette to confront his accusers, and make one more still bolder effort, to rouse the assembly to a sense of danger, and inspire them with that courage and firmness, demanded by the crisis. Leaving the head-quarters of the army, he repaired to Paris, and fearlessly presented himself before the bar of the national assembly, confronted his enemies, and demanded to be tried. Being acquitted by a great

majority, "he entreated the assembly to come forward and save the country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs and inflicting exemplary punishment on the authors of the late disgraceful riots." His friends in the assembly were numerous, and undoubtedly a majority of that body condemned the violent proceedings against which he raised his voice; but they had not courage to act; the assembly were overawed and enslaved by the audacity and tyranny of desperate and unprincipled demagogues who controlled the fury of the populace. The presence of La Fayette, revived the recollections of the national guards of Paris, of his unbounded popularity when he was placed at their head; they assembled before the hotel where he lodged, planted the tree of liberty before the door, decorated it with ensigns and ribbons, and greeted him with enthusiastic exclamations of La Fayette and the constitutions! La Fayette and liberty, viva le La Fayette!

Finding that all his efforts to preserve tranquility, repress the factions, and preserve the constitution were unavailing, he left the capitol and returned to the army on the frontiers. On retiring he addressed the following note to the assembly, containing the most noble and patriotic sentiments, expressed in dignified language.

"Gentlemen—In returning to the post where brave soldiers are ready to die for the constitution, but ought not and will not lavish their blood except for that, I go with great and deep regret in not being able to inform the army, that the national assembly have yet deigned to come to any determination on my petition. [Alluding to the request in his letter to the assembly a short time before to suppress the Jacobin clubs.] The voice of all the good citizens of the kingdom, which some factious clamours strive to stifle, daily calls to the elected representatives of the people, that while there exists near them a sect who fetter all the authorities and menace their independence; and who, after provoking war, are endeavoring, by changing the nature of our cause, to make it impossible to defend it; that while there is cause to blush at the impunity of an act of treason against the nation, which has raised just and great alarms in the minds of

all the French, and universal indignation; our liberty, laws and honor are in danger.

Truths like these, free and generous souls are not afraid of speaking. Hostile to the factions of every kind, indignant at cowards that can sink so low as to look for foreign interposition, and impressed with the principle, which I glory in being the first to declare to France, *that all illegal power is oppression, against which, resistance becomes a duty*, we are anxious to make known our fears to the legislative body. We hope that the prudence of the representatives of the people will relieve our minds of them. As for me, gentlemen, who will never alter my principles, sentiments, or language, I thought that the national assembly, considering the urgency and danger of circumstances, would permit me to add my regrets and wishes to my profound respect."

The boldness and intrepidity of the conduct of La Fayette on this occasion, when he was openly denounced by the violent leaders, and known to be the object of the hatred and vengeance of all the factious demagogues, could only have been inspired by a conviction that an awful crisis was impending, and a consciousness of the justness of his cause, and the integrity and patriotism of his motives.

"Thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just,
And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

Among the accusations against La Fayette, he was charged with a design to march to Paris with his army, and to force the assembly to act agreeably to his wishes. In behalf of the assembly, the minister of the interior wrote to him on the subject, and General La Fayette in reply observed—"If I were questioned respecting my principles, I should say that as a constant proclaimer and defender of the rights of man and the sovereignty of the people, I have every where and always resisted authorities which liberty disavowed, and which the national will had not delegated; and that I have every where and always obeyed those of which a free constitution had fixed the forms and

limits. But I am questioned respecting a fact—Did I propose to Marshal Luckner to march to Paris with our armies? To which I answer in four words—*it is not true.*”

Whilst faction raged within, the storm was gathering without; the coalition having received the accession of several other powers, had collected an army of 80,000 men on the frontiers of France, for the invasion of the country. The Duke of Brunswick, who had been appointed generalissimo of the combined forces, on the 25th of July, issued a manifesto, in which he declared that the object of the coalition was to annihilate the existing government, liberate the king, and re-establish the monarchy and the ancient regime; that the national assembly should be answerable with their heads for the safety of the royal family; and that the city of Paris should be held responsible for all disorders, and if the least violence should be offered to any one of the Royal family, that city should be razed to the ground, and the inhabitants exterminated with the sword. He also denounced vengeance and military execution against all who should be found in arms in support of the existing government, and in defence of their own country. This infamous coalition, as weak as it was wicked, with the avowal of such abominable intentions and objects, confirmed the suspicions of the unfortunate monarch, inflamed the already exasperated feelings towards him, and hurried on his fate, and that of France, by strengthening the violent party, and giving them an ascendancy.

On the 3d of August, Petion, at the head of the Sections of Paris, appeared before the bar of the assembly, and demanded the deposition of the king; and numerous petitions to this effect were received from various quarters. Affairs having ripened to a crisis, on the night of the 9th of August, a conspiracy was formed by the leaders of the violent party, to overthrow the king, the monarchy, and the constitution, at one blow. Danton, Desmoulins, Conville, Tallien Fabre d'Eglantine, Collot d'Herbois, Santerre, and others, met in the hall of the Cordeliers. Danton, with a loud and furious voice, concluded a vehement speech, in which he recapitulated the crimes of the court, with the following appeal:—"Let us cease to appeal to

the laws and the legislators, the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of La Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor, is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced kings. What do I say! it is this very night which this perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage and to the flames that capital which he wishes once more to leave—To arms! to arms!" This cry in an instant was repeated from a thousand mouths; it spread like lightning in every direction; the bells were rung, and in a few minutes the dreadful *tocsin* of alarm resounded through the capital, filling the inhabitants with fear, and carrying terror and dismay to every apartment of the Thuilleries. More than 20,000 men, headed by Westermann, armed in various ways, with forty pieces of cannon, made a furious assault on the castle of the Thuilleries. The Swiss Guards made a resolute and obstinate defence, but were overpowered by numbers, and nearly all massacred. Before the attack, the king and royal family fled for refuge to the national assembly, where they remained for fourteen hours, in a small box appropriated to the reporter of a newspaper; he was finally conducted, under a strong escort, to the Temple. The king being thus deposed, in fact, and being overawed by the violent leaders, the assembly passed a series of acts declaring the executive power suspended, and the authority vested in the king by the constitution, revoked; and inviting the people to meet in primary assemblies, and elect members to a national convention. A provisional executive council was established, and a decree of accusation issued against several of the late ministers.

News of these violent proceedings reached La Fayette at his head-quarters, at Sedan, on the 10th inst. He did not, for a moment, hesitate how to act: as he had been the first to oppose the despotism of the court, he was also the first to oppose the faction and tyranny of unprincipled demagogues, who trampled under foot the constitution they had sworn to support. He immediately addressed to the army under his command, the following letter:—

"Citizen Soldiers,

"It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward: the constitution you swore to maintain, is no more; a banditti from Marsailles, and a troop of factious men besieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the National and Swiss Guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

"General D'Affry, his aids-de-camp, and his whose family, were murdered.

"The king, queen, and all the royal family, escaped to the national assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the king, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

"Citizens, you are no longer represented; the national assembly is in a state of slavery; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representatives to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your king."

"Gen. Dillon, who commanded the northern army, and who had been a member of the first assembly, having assembled his troops, prevailed on them to take the oath of fidelity "to the nation, the law, and the king." Marshal Luckner hesitated, for a long time, but finally declared for the assembly; and the other generals, Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, sent in their adhesion, and bowed to the new order of things, and together with their troops, took the republican oaths. The effect of the appeal of La Fayette to his troops, was for a short time uncertain; the soldiers at first apparently responded to his sentiments; but he soon found that the contagion had spread among the troops, and that their fidelity was no longer to be depended upon. The assembly, anticipating that La Fayette would not recognise their authority, had despatched three commissioners to arrest him, or secure the army, by inducing the troops to desert. On their arrival at Sedan, La Fayette ordered them to be arrested, and held as hostages for the safety of the king and

his family; they were detained from the 14th to the 20th inst. The situation of La Fayette became every day more critical; the assembly passed a decree of accusation against him, and finding that he had lost the confidence of the army, and that his troops were ready to desert him, he deemed it prudent to seek an asylum in a foreign land, and intended ultimately to go to America.

Thus terminated the revolutionary career of La Fayette in his own country; very different from the termination of his exertions in the glorious struggle for liberty in America. Here, although a foreigner, he enjoyed the confidence of the government and of the nation, and the universal love and esteem of the people. There, after all his services and sacrifices, and the unbounded popularity he had enjoyed, he was proscribed, and a reward offered for his head by the government, and the object of the suspicion, if not of the hatred, of the people.

In the early stages of the revolution, his popularity and influence were very great. He proposed the first plan of a "declaration of rights" in the constituent assembly; he was first appointed commander of the National Guards of Paris, and after the recall of Necker, he was unanimously chosen commander-in-chief of the National Guards of the whole kingdom, which he, in a great measure, organized and instituted, the tri-colored cockade. In this capacity he presided at the grand national fete, on the 14th of July, as the generalissimo of a greater body of troops, than had ever perhaps been under the immediate command of one man, since the days of Xerxes.

In 1791, after the constitution was established, and the new government organized, he resigned his command and retired to his estate. He declined to receive any thing for his services, or the sacrifices he had made. On being pressed on this subject, by the assembly and the municipality of Paris, he replied—"My private fortune secures me from want; it has outlasted two revolutions, and should it survive a third, through the complacence of the people, it shall belong to them alone."

When the coalition was formed against France, near the close of the year '91, he was called from retirement to take the com-

mand of the central army; he was at that time major-general, but soon obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and marshal of France.

If La Fayette failed in his attempt to secure the liberties of his own country, and establish a free government founded on the immutable basis of the sovereignty of the people, the delegation of authority, the representative principle, and the supremacy of constitutional law, it is no impeachment of his patriotism or his capacity. He did not fail alone; the many illustrious and patriotic men, who were associated with him, failed likewise. They succeeded, however, in accomplishing the revolution as far as they proposed to carry it, but the difficulty was in stopping it from going farther. In this they failed; and it is by no means probable, that any body of men, not even Washington and the American Continental Congress, could have been more successful. The circumstances of the times were unexampled, and events are not therefore, to be decided on, according to ordinary principles.

The overthrow of the monarchy and the constitution, on the 10th of August, and the execution of the king, and all the violent proceedings which followed, are more to be attributed to the infamous coalition formed against France than any other cause. Had it not been for this unholy interference of the "holy alliance" of that day, it is more than probable, that La Fayette and his party would have succeeded in preserving the constitutional government, in saving the king from the guillotine, and the nation from all the horrors of anarchy and civil war. La Fayette was sincerely and ardently devoted to the constitution; to popular and free institutions, and to regulated liberty; he could admit of no compromise of principle, or violation of constituted authority; and his personal integrity, as well as political principles, required him to adhere in the most scrupulous manner to the oath he had taken, of fidelity to the constitution, the nation and the king. And although he did not succeed in preserving the constitution or protecting the monarch, he did what was more important to his own reputation; he maintained his integrity and fidelity under the most trying circumstances, to

the last. It was this fidelity that occasioned his proscription; had he yielded in some degree, to the times, and gone along with the current of popular opinion, still endeavoring to maintain what control and direction he could over it, he might have saved himself from the storm which at that time burst upon him, and possibly his country from the dreadful evils which afterward befel it. This, however, is extremely problematical; and at any rate, it could not have been done, without compromising both his personal integrity and political principles, and would have destroyed that consistency of character for which he now stands so conspicuous.

That La Fayette and his party were correct in their views and objects, the result has shown; their opinions of the jacobin leaders proved to be well founded, and had the counsels of the party of which he was the leader prevailed, France would not only have been saved from the anarchy which afterward afflicted her, but would have preserved her liberty and all the blessings of free institutions. Although from the peculiar and extraordinary circumstances under which he was required to act, he may in some instances have misjudged or committed errors, yet now, no one, unless it be the minions of royalty and the creatures of the 'holy alliance,' can doubt the rectitude of his intentions, the soundness of his principles, or that he was a sincere friend of liberty and his country.

On the 20th of August, La Fayette,* with his three friends, Generals Latour Maubourg, Alexandre Lameth, and Bureau de Puzy, the commandant of engineers, with his aids-de-camp and a part of his staff, mounted on horse back with an escort, started off, as if to reconnoitre, which was supposed to be the object by all except the three first, as they alone were in the secret.

* The account of La Fayette's imprisonment and sufferings, and the particulars of the attempts made to effect his escape, are taken from the recent work of General H. L. VILLAUME DUCOUDRAY HOLSTEIN, who, under the fictitious name of Peter Feldmann, assisted in the liberation of La Fayette from the prisons of Olmutz. The accuracy of General Holstein's account of the attempts made to effect the escape of General La Fayette, has been questioned, and differs in many respects from former accounts. But as he possessed the means of information, it would be strange that he should attach his name to a publication, professing the fidelity of history, which had more the character of romance.

They proceeded eight or ten miles, and dismounted at an inn, and established sentinels to guard against surprise from the enemy's patrols. Here General La Fayette communicated intelligence from the capital; that he had been declared a traitor and an enemy of his country, a decree of accusation passed against him, and a price set upon his head. He concluded by saying, that he had determined to quit his country for a time, and that he should consider any man her enemy who should propose to take up arms against her. Nothing could equal the astonishment and indignation of these young officers; and notwithstanding the injunction, they unanimously declared that the only way left to save their country and their general, was to march direct to Paris, and disperse and put down the Jacobin faction. This their patriotic and persecuted general positively declined. They then insisted on emigrating with him; but he represented to them the danger of this, to themselves and families, and entreated them to return to the camp. He finally consented that the two brothers, Latour and Louis Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, Alexandre Lameth, Auguste Masson, Rene Pillet, and Cadignan might accompany him. The rest of the officers, with the escort of 150 cavalry, returned to the camp. The cavalry, at first, however, refused to return, and insisted on accompanying their general. Here it is worthy of remark, that La Fayette, persecuted and proscribed as he was, by an ungrateful country, did not attempt to procure the desertion of a single regiment; he would not even permit the escort that had accompanied him, to share his fortunes, which they were desirous to do, but insisted on their returning. The situation of La Fayette at this time, and the dreadful reflections which agitated his mind, if they can be conceived, cannot be described. His own danger, and that of his family and his estate; the distracted condition of his ungrateful country, torn to pieces by factions, under the misrule of anarchists, and on the point of being invaded by a formidable army drawn from half of Europe rushed on his mind, and filled it with the most disagreeable reflections.

About eleven o'clock at night, the seven fugitives arrived in the neighborhood of the Austrians' advance guard, and were

arrested, and after being detained some time, sent under a strong escort to the Austrian head-quarters, and at length to Luxemburg. Here they were recognized by a crowd of refugees, who regarding La Fayette as one of the first promoters of the revolution, treated him and his companions with the greatest insolence and contempt. Being placed in rigorous confinement; they wrote to the Duke of Saxe Teschen for passports, which was answered by a savage threat of a public execution. The governor of Luxemburg having received orders to deliver his prisoners into the hands of the king of Prussia, they were transported into a common cart like criminals, guarded by a strong escort, to Wesel. During the nights when it was necessary to stop, they were confined in the common jails of the country. At Wesel, after being insulted by the populace and treated like brutes, they were put in irons, and confined in separate cells in the castle, being denied all intercourse with each other. They were daily told that "the king intended to have them hanged for wretches who deserved no favor."

From the severity of his treatment, and his successive apprehensions on account of his wife and children, La Fayette fell sick; and whilst recovering, but yet in a languishing state, the king had the baseness to offer him his liberty on condition that he would betray his country; and the decided refusal he received, was followed by a more rigorous confinement and harsher treatment, and all information as to their families was denied them. From this place they were transported in a cart like convicts to Magdeburg; it was expected that this treatment would excite public scorn and detestation; but their tyrants were mistaken, for a lively sympathy and interest was every where manifested in their behalf. Here they were confined one year in a damp and subterraneous dungeon, but were permitted to remain together. From Magdeburg, with the exception of Alexandre Lameth, they were all conveyed to Silesia, and were confined in an unhealthy and loathsome dungeon at Neisse.

On making peace with France, the king of Prussia, fearing that he might be required to give up his prisoners, had them conveyed to Austria, where they were confined more than four

years at Olmutz, about one hundred and fifty miles north of Vienna, and near Silesia. Here they were stripped of what little the Prussians had left, and among the articles were two books whose liberal sentiments did not accord with the despotic principles of the government, so that La Fayette inquired, "whether they were seized as contraband." They were incarcerated in separate cells, and informed that they would never again see the light of the sun or hear a human voice; that their very names were to be annihilated, and that in future they would be designated in all despatches of the government, by the number of their respective cells. The prison walls were twelve feet thick; the cells were eight or ten paces deep, and six or eight wide; the light was let in through an opening two feet square, secured by massive iron bars transversely placed; before the loop-holes of the prison was a broad ditch filled with stagnant water, which emitted a noxious effluvia, and beyond were the outer walls of the castle, which prevented the slightest breeze from passing to the grated windows of these miserable dungeons. When it rained, the water found its way into the prison through the loop-holes and off the walls, so that the prisoners often waked in the morning wet to the skin. A quantity of rotten straw formed their bed, which, with a broken chair and an old worm eaten table, constituted the furniture of each apartment. A dim lamp glimmered in each cell at night, and very little light was introduced during the day, even when the sun shined, but when cloudy, which was very common in that wet country, it was total darkness. Such was the situation for years, of one of the most illustrious men of the age.

CHAPTER VII.

Sentiments which his unjust imprisonment produced—Exertions of Washington for his liberation—in the House of Commons—Attempt of Bollman to effect his escape—is favored in his efforts by Huger—They succeed in effecting his escape—Are all arrested and confined in prison—La Fayette is put in irons, and receives the most severe treatment—He is joined by his wife and two daughters, who share his imprisonment—they are discharged and return to Holstein—they return to France—His interview with the First Consul—Protests against his appointment of consul for life, and writes him a letter—This ends the connexion between him and Napoleon.

THE imprisonment and suffering of La Fayette excited the most lively interest with the friends of liberty and humanity throughout Europe and America; here, particularly, the deepest sympathy was manifested in his behalf. As was natural to have been supposed, no one was more sensibly affected at the misfortunes of La Fayette than his friend Washington, at this time president of the United States. From the hostility both of the government of France and the coalesced sovereigns to La Fayette, it was a delicate matter for Washington to interfere officially in his behalf, and at the same time very evident that this course was not the most likely to be successful; and on the other hand, it might have exposed him to severer treatment.—Washington, however, was not unmindful of the situation of his personal friend, and the friend of America; he instructed our minister at St. James's, and those at the other foreign courts, to interest themselves in his behalf, and to make known the interest felt by the government of the United States in his fate. He also sent a messenger to Berlin, to solicit his release, but he did not arrive until La Fayette had been delivered over to the Austrian government. All his efforts having failed, Washington addressed the subjoined unofficial letter, containing the most noble sentiments, directly to the emperor of Austria.

“It will readily occur to your majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present,

I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

“In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de La Fayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes; and endeavor to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

“I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty’s consideration, whether his long imprisonment and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ; and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

“As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.”

This appeal to the *magnanimity and humanity* of the emperor was in vain; these sentiments are not often found in the bosoms of kings, and where they do exist, they are suppressed by “reasons of state.”

The subject of the cruel imprisonment of La Fayette, equally in violation of the laws of nations and the dictates of humanity, was brought before the house of commons in Great Britain.—General Fitzpatrick, on the 16th December, 1796, moved for an address to his majesty, stating that the detention of La Fayette and others, by order of the king of Prussia and emperor of Austria, was dishonorable to the cause of the allies, and praying him to interfere for their release. The motion called forth a most animated and spirited debate; it was ably and eloquently

supported by the mover, Mr. Fox; and other members of the opposition; and was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and other ministerial members. The motion afforded a striking illustration of the inconsistency of conduct or waywardness of fortune in two individuals. Among the supporters of the motion was Colonel Tarlton, then a member of Parliament, and who had been opposed to La Fayette in America, in the campaign of 1781, and at that time so obnoxious to all the friends of liberty in the United States, and the friends of La Fayette. He displayed much zeal in supporting the motion in favour of his former military opponent, and did great justice to his character and merits. While Tarlton, who had been so active in supporting the oppressive plans of the British government for enslaving America, was advocating the cause of La Fayette, who was a champion in her struggle for liberty, Edmund Burke, who during the American war, was the fearless advocate of the rights and liberty of the Americans, was now the most violent opposer of this early and steadfast friend of America and of liberty. He was very severe in his remarks, and charged La Fayette with being the first mover and author of all the evils which had afflicted France, and of the general war in Europe.

In Germany, also, the liberal and enlightened, the friends of justice, liberty, and humanity, manifested great admiration of the patriot and hero of two revolutions, in both of which he had been the champion of liberty and of the rights of mankind, and an honorable sympathy for his cruel sufferings. Many of the public journals had sufficient independence to openly advocate his cause, and to condemn the conduct of his persecutors.—Among his greatest admirers was Henry Bollman, a young physician of Gottingen, who was so affected by the barbarous treatment which he experienced, that he determined to attempt his liberation at the hazard of his own life. In the beginning of the year 1794, he sold his library to raise funds for his journey, and set out on foot for Hamburg. Here he became acquainted with Mr. Sievsking, a most liberal and benevolent man, and a great admirer of La Fayette; he undertook to assist Bollman in his enterprise, and gave him a letter of introduction, and also

a letter of credit for 10,000 florins on Hirsch, a banker at Olmutz.

Bollman, having by his conduct excited suspicions among the police, he was advised, by Hirsch to leave Olmutz, and go to Vienna for the present. Here he became acquainted with Francis Huger, an American, son of Colonel Huger of Charleston, South Carolina, who was the first man that received La Fayette on his arrival in the United States, in 1777. Young Huger was active, generous and brave; and the admiration which every American feels for La Fayette, in him was increased from the circumstance of his being the personal friend of his father. These circumstances induced Bollman to confide his intentions to Huger, and to solicit his assistance. The proposition was assented to with enthusiasm by the young American, who declared that his purse and his blood should be devoted to so honorable and meritorious an enterprise. They left Vienna with a faithful servant, all on horseback, and traversed the surrounding country, under the pretence that Huger, being unwell, was travelling for his health with his physician. They examined the roads in various directions, and particularly the great road leading from Olmutz to Trappau.

The illustrious prisoner was guarded with the greatest possible strictness—how then could they communicate with him? This was a difficult point; but by means of the banker and one thousand florins, they engaged in their interest the head surgeon of the garrison through whose assistance they opened a communication with La Fayette. The surgeon asked permission to make a medical visit to the prisoners, and in that way conveyed to La Fayette a note, which informed him that several of his friends had arrived with the intention of effecting his escape, and advising him to feign indisposition, and to request the jailer that he might have the assistance of a medical gentleman. This note was the first La Fayette had received since he had been at Olmutz, and was read with great eagerness; he wrote an answer on the back with his blood, and returned it through the hand of the doctor.

After the feigned sickness of La Fayette had continued for some time, his physician represented to the governor of Olmutz, that it was necessary to his recovery, that he should ride without the walls of the place in an open carriage, to take the fresh air. This advice was reduced to writing, and the reasons for it assigned; and the intendant made a certificate in confirmation of this statement. Those documents being sent to Vienna, the desired permission was obtained, accompanied with the injunction that the governor should always accompany the prisoner in person, and a strong guard to prevent his escape. For several weeks La Fayette daily rode out with the governor, and by his prepossessing manners succeeded in attaching the governor very much to him.

The plan being matured and the arrangements completed, the 27th of October was fixed on, as the day for carrying into execution their bold enterprise. Bollman and Huger mounted their horses at the hour the governor and his prisoner were to take their accustomed ride, and not either of them being known to La Fayette, as the carriage passed them, whilst riding very slow, they took out a white handkerchief, which was a signal agreed upon, and La Fayette did the same. When the carriage had arrived at the place designated, the general made some pretence for advancing some distance beyond the governor; at the same moment, Bollman and Huger spurred their horses forward, and as they came up with La Fayette, Huger sprang off to assist him to mount behind Bollman; but before this was effected, the governor, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, came up and seized the general by the arm as he was mounting, and one of the guards approached and seized him behind. Huger seizing the guard by the hair, threw him on the ground, and told La Fayette to make his escape with Bollman. But before he could do this, he had a severe struggle with the guard and the old governor; in attempting to thrust his handkerchief into the mouth of the former to stifle his cries for help, the general had two fingers severely bit, and in extricating them, the skin and flesh was torn away and left in the mouth of the guard. In the scuffle which ensued, Huger's horse took fright and fled into the fields. The general having cleared himself, was coming to the

assistance of Huger, but was entreated by the latter, to mount instantly behind Bollman and fly, and that he would take care of himself. The general having mounted, Bollman rode off at full speed. Huger made his escape into a thicket, but was soon pursued and taken by a peasant, being much exhausted; his hands were tied and he was taken back to town, where he was immediately put in irons and thrown into prison.

Bollman and the general had not gone three miles before they heard the report of the alarm-guns of the fortress. The police in Austria is so strict, that when a prisoner escapes, or a soldier deserts, three alarm-guns are fired, which is the signal for the mayors and municipal officers of the neighboring towns, as far as the report is heard, to close the town gates, and cause the alarm-bells to be rung, which are heard from one village to another, by which means the alarm is spread to the distance of fifty or sixty miles. The cavalry is despatched in pursuit, and all the inhabitants, who are organized into a kind of militia, are obliged on heavy penalties to meet at appointed places, where they receive arms and instructions. By these means, the alarm, and intelligence of the escape of a prisoner, had been spread to a great distance. Notwithstanding these measures, La Fayette and Bollman proceeded safely eleven miles: here Bollman was at a loss which road to take; after some hesitation he took the wrong one, which was uneven and rough; the horse being fatigued, stumbled and threw both of them off, several times, at one of which La Fayette received a severe contusion; it was extremely dark, and they had advanced about three miles on the road they were travelling, when Bollman being satisfied they were wrong, they concluded to return; at this time a patrolling party came up and took them into custody, without, however, knowing who they were. They were confined in a barn, with a guard that night, and the next morning were taken before the mayor of Braunseifer. Perceiving that there was no other resource, Bollman informed the mayor that his companion was the great and good La Fayette, whom he had assisted to escape, and entreated him to save the general, offering him all the gold he had about him, besides bills of exchange to the amount of 20,000

florins, and telling him, that La Fayette would promise him one hundred thousand more, if he desired them: and added, that he had brought La Fayette into that situation, and ought to be responsible for its consequences, and that he would remain a prisoner. Mr. Richter, the mayor, was a benevolent man, and had great veneration for La Fayette, but dared not assume the responsibility of permitting him to escape. Soon the aid-de-camp of the governor arrived, with orders for the prisoners to be conducted back to Olmutz, and both were thrown into prison.

La Fayette was put in irons, and subjected to the most rigorous confinement, the most severe suffering. No light was admitted into his cell, shackles were placed on his feet, and an iron round his waist, to which a chain was fastened and secured to the wall, with sufficient length barely to permit him to turn from one side to the other; his bed consisted of a little damp and mouldy straw. He had suffered severely from fatigue and the bruises he had received in attempting to escape, which, with the unspeakable anxiety and anguish he felt on finding himself again in the hands of his tormentors, brought on a violent fever. The winter was severe, but his jailers did not relax the severity of his treatment, but increased his sufferings as his constitution seemed to sink under them, so that it appeared as if it was their object to put an end to the existence of their victim. He was emaciated almost to a skeleton, and the hair fell from his head. His mind was, at the same time, filled with anxiety, and the deepest concern for the fate of his wife and children, of whom he had obtained no other information but that they had been confined in the prisons of Paris. To fill the measure of his afflictions, his inhuman jailers informed him that his generous friends, Bollman and Huger, were soon to be brought to a public execution, and expiate their enormous crime on the scaffold. In this state of rigorous confinement and suffering he remained for several months, when, from the influence of his friends, the Jewish banker and the chief surgeon, who had not been suspected of aiding in his escape, his irons were taken off, and he was permitted to walk before the front of the prison, attended by a strong guard, but no one was allowed to speak to him.

Bollman and Huger suffered a cruel imprisonment for their patriotic attempt to rescue La Fayette, in the same building with him; but each were confined in a separate cell, and they were not permitted to have any communication with each other: they however devised and practised several ingenious modes of communicating with each other, which afforded them much satisfaction, and escaped the scrutiny of their jailers. At length Bollman and Huger were brought to trial, and were first sentenced to imprisonment for life, which was commuted to a term of years, and finally they were offered their liberty on the payment of a large sum of money to the government, which, by the help of friends, they raised, and were accordingly released.

The fate of Madame La Fayette does not less demand our sympathies, or even admiration, than that of her illustrious husband. On the flight of La Fayette, she and her two daughters, one fifteen and the other twelve, were seized and cast into prison at Paris. The family estate was confiscated, and most of the political and personal friends of her husband were crushed by the Mountain,* and fell under the stroke of the guillotine. For twenty months, she and her daughters suffered this degrading imprisonment: during a reign of anarchy and terror, daily hearing of the death of her friends, anxious about her own fate, and still more about her husband's. She bore her severe and complicated distresses, with great firmness and fortitude: reposing when all earthly succour seemed to have failed, on Divine Providence, she was often found in a retired part of her prison, with uplifted hands and holy supplications to that Being who holds in his hands the destinies of man. When she was liberated, from the feeble state of her health, she was advised by her physicians to seek repose in some retired part of the country; but in opposition to this advice, and the entreaties of her friends, she resolved to repair to Olmutz, and if she could not procure the liberation of her husband, to share in his imprisonment. She went first to Vienna, and through the influence and assistance of two noble females, obtained an audience with the Em-

* The violent party was called the Mountain party.

peror. His Majesty received her graciously, and expressed a personal desire that her husband should be set at liberty; but said the subject was too complicated for him to interfere with it, and that he could not do it, consistent with his political engagements with other powers. He was graciously pleased, however, to permit her to visit her husband, and share in his captivity. This, with her two daughters, she immediately did, whose presence spread a ray of light in the gloom of the dungeon, and rendered the most cruel imprisonment tolerable. It is impossible even to conceive of the joy which La Fayette experienced on receiving his beloved wife and daughters, or the consolation which she administered to him in his affliction. Of women it is truly said—

“When pain and sickness cloud the brow,
A ministering angel thou!”

And of no one could this be more true than of Madame La Fayette, who was one of the best and most sensible of women. For nearly two years she and her two daughters remained in prison. At one time, her health being much impaired, she asked permission to visit Vienna for a week: and was informed that her request would be granted, provided she would consent never to enter the prison again, and to have her daughters confined in a separate apartment from their father. The base offer was declined with becoming spirit, in a letter which concludes with the following dignified language: “Whatever may be the state of my own health, and the inconvenience attending the stay of my daughters in this place, we will most gratefully take advantage of the goodness his imperial majesty has expressed towards us, *by permission to share in the miseries of this captivity.*”

La Fayette, his wife, and daughters, and his two friends, were all discharged on the 25th of August, 1797, for which they were indebted to General Bonaparte. The victorious general peremptorily insisted on the liberation of the prisoners of Olmutz, as a preliminary condition to peace. He inquired if the prisoners at Olmutz were free, and as the ambassadors hesitated in a reply, he observed with great warmth,—“Gentlemen, you may take my word for it, that if these prisoners are

not instantly set free, I sign no treaty of peace with his imperial majesty." He was obliged, however, to despatch one of his aids to Vienna to demand of the emperor himself the liberation of his prisoners, which was accompanied with a threat, that if it was not immediately done, he would march to the capital and throw open the prison doors himself. Such was the reluctance of the emperor to give up his victims; but he was obliged to yield to the conqueror: the prisoners were discharged, and soon after, the celebrated treaty of Campo Formio was concluded.

The emperor prescribed several conditions to the liberation of La Fayette, one of which was, that he should leave Europe immediately for America; and another that he should never set his foot on the Austrian territory without special permission, as his principles were dangerous to the Austrian government. The general replied, that although it was his wish and intention to go to America, yet he could not consent to such a condition, as that would be recognizing the right of his majesty to impose it; and as to his never entering the Austrian dominions, he owed certain obligations, both to France and America, of which he could not divest himself, and he should enter into no engagements which might interfere with the rights of his native or adopted country to his personal services. With these exceptions, he would assure his majesty that it was his determination never again to set his foot on the territory of the emperor.

La Fayette, with his family and his two friends, who had been his fellow-sufferers, after being liberated, proceeded to the neutral city of Hamburg, where they were received and treated with great attention by a number of distinguished Americans and the French minister, who gave them a public entertainment. Here they put on the tri-coloured cockade, to show that they were not emigrants, but friends to their country and the principles of '89. After a few days stay they accepted the invitation of a Hanoverian nobleman, and spent some time at his chateau in Holstein. Previous to this, they were joined by George Washington La Fayette, who had arrived from America, where he had spent considerable time at Mount Vernon. This rendered

the family complete, and consummated their happiness. At the mansion of his noble friend, the general's eldest daughter, Anastasia, was married to Latour Maubourg, brother of the prisoner of that name, who had been one of La Fayette's aids-de-camp. The celebration was in a plain and simple style, which best accorded with the truly republican ideas of La Fayette.

George Washington La Fayette, in 1795, went to the United States. He landed at Boston, and immediately wrote to Washington, then president, acquainting him with his situation, and requesting his advice as the friend of his father. General La Fayette then being proscribed by the government of France, and as an unfriendly disposition had already been manifested by the directory towards the United States, the president felt constrained to decline interfering officially in behalf of the son of the illustrious friend of America. He, however, wrote a private letter to the Honorable George Cabot, requesting him to acquaint young La Fayette with the reasons why he could not officially interfere in his behalf, and at the same time to assure him that he might consider him as a father, and rely on his protection and assistance. He also advised to have him enter the University at Cambridge, and told Mr. C. that he would see the expenses paid. But young Fayette did not avail himself of this offer, as the private tutor, who had accompanied him, wished to have him under his sole instruction.

General La Fayette and his family, including his son-in-law, went from the house of his Hanoverian friend to the chateau of the Count de Tesse, one of the French emigrants, and who had married the sister of Madame La Fayette's mother. Being unable to return to this country, he remained in his retreat, in the mansion of his uncle, for a considerable time, and amused himself with studying the agriculture of the country, particularly the raising of merino sheep, in which the inhabitants of Holstein excel, and to which afterward he very successfully turned his attention at La Grange.

In this situation, La Fayette remained, happy in the enjoyment of his family and friends, until the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, (Nov. 10, 1799,) which established the consular

constitution, and placed Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the government. Among the first acts of the new government was a proclamation, inviting all emigrants and other French citizens, to return, and assuring them of protection. La Fayette and his family immediately returned to France, after an absence of nearly eight years, and with his son-in-law Maubourg, soon after visited Paris.

The first Consul, to give splendor and support to the new government, intended to draw around him all who had been distinguished in the field or in the cabinet, during the revolution, and among the rest General La Fayette was invited to the Thuilleries. La Fayette admired the youthful genius of Bonaparte, and the astonishing victories he had achieved, which had saved France, and cast a lustre on the French name; he also felt grateful to him for the services rendered to himself. An interview took place between these two distinguished characters, which convinced Bonaparte that the patriot of two revolutions was too inflexible in his principles to become an instrument of his ambition. He did not, however, immediately relinquish his design of availing himself of the name and reputation of La Fayette, by inducing him to take a part in the new government. He retained him in the office of general of division, and offered him a seat in his conservative senate. To this office, there was a salary of 7000 dollars, which would have been very acceptable to La Fayette, as his income was now reduced to about two thousand dollars, which had been thirty thousand at the commencement of the revolution. But being satisfied that it was the intention of the First Consul to establish a military government, of which he was to be the chief, and that the conservative senate, and the constitution itself, were only empty forms, intended to give more security and stability to the power of Bonaparte, La Fayette did not hesitate to decline the offer, although strenuously urged to accept of it by his friends. With this office would have been connected that of count of the empire. He preferred to remain in retirement, and forego the advantages of so honorable and lucrative a station, to any compromise with principle, or placing himself in a situation which

might cast a suspicion on his political integrity, or occasion even a doubt as to the sincerity of his devotion to liberal principles and free institutions. Such noble and disinterested sentiments; such political consistency, firmness and integrity, if not wholly unparalleled, was without any example, on that occasion, except the case of the celebrated Carnot.

The First Consul did not, however, entirely abandon the idea of obtaining the approbation, if not the support of La Fayette; and previously to his election as consul for life, he invited him to the Thuilleries, and a remarkable interview took place between them. Napoleon ordered every one to retire, and commencing a conversation on the subject, attempted to show that a permanent magistracy was necessary for the security and happiness of France. General La Fayette boldly replied, that "before venturing on such a step, France expects of you a guarantee of her liberties; when they are satisfied on this score, they will comply with your wishes unasked." In conformity to the sentiments disclosed on this occasion, his vote was expressed in the following words;—"I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until the liberties of the people are secured; in that case, I vote for Napoleon Bonaparte." In further explanation of his views and motives, he addressed to the First Consul the following noble and independent sentiments:

"GENERAL—

"When a man who is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes you, and who is too ardent a lover of glory to be wholly indifferent to yours, connects his suffrage with conditional restrictions, those restrictions not only secure him from suspicion, but prove amply, that no one will, more gladly than himself, behold in you the chief magistrate for life, of a free and independent republic.

"The eighteenth of Brumaire saved France from destruction; and I felt myself reassured and recalled by the liberal declarations to which you have connected the sanction of your honor. In your consular authority, there was afterward discerned that salutary dictatorial prerogative, which, under the auspices of a genius like yours, accomplished such glorious purposes; yet, less

glorious, let me add, than the restoration of liberty would prove.

“It is not possible, general, that you, the first amidst that order of mankind, which surveys every age and every country, before the stations of its members in the scale can be determined, that you can desire that a revolution, marked by an unexampled series of stupendous victories and unheard of sufferings, shall give nothing to the world but a renovated system of arbitrary government. The people of this country have been acquainted with their rights too long, to forget them forever; but perhaps they may recover and enjoy them better now, than during the period of revolutionary effervescence. And you, by the strength of your character, and the influence of public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your power, and your fortunes, in re-establishing the liberties of France, can allay all agitations, calm all anxieties, and subdue all dangers.

“When I wish, then, to see the career of your glory crowned by the honors of perpetual magistracy, I but act in correspondence with my own private sentiments, and am influenced exclusively by patriotic considerations. But all my political and moral obligations, the principles that have governed every action of my life, call on me to pause before I bestow on you my suffrage, until I feel assured that your authority shall be erected on a basis worthy of the nation and yourself.

“I confidently trust, general, that you will recognize here, as you have done on all other occasions, a steady continuance of my political opinions, combined with the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and the deepest sense of all my obligations to you.”

This letter, which was not answered, closed all intercourse between Bonaparte and General La Fayette; and they did not see each other until after the wonderful restoration of the emperor, in June, 1815. These two distinguished individuals were not kindred spirits, or in any degree assimilated in their characters; and their objects were entirely different. One influenced by an unbounded ambition, aimed at unlimited power, not so much for his own aggrandizement as for the execution of

great and magnificent plans; he wished to concentrate every thing in himself, and to be the source and fountain of power, the arbiter of the destinies of France, and to hold in his own hands the guarantees of the rights and liberties of the people. The other possessed a more exalted, rational, and philosophic ambition. He aspired only at the honorable fame and distinction of rendering the most important services to the human race, and from the most disinterested motives; he wished to be the first of patriots, and the first of heroes, in defence of the rights and liberties of the people. One aimed at sovereignty in his own person, the other wished to establish the sovereignty of the people. Their principles and views were directly opposite, although both were opposed to the reign of anarchy and violence, and were for giving vigor and energy to the laws on which the security of personal liberty and private property depends.

After the event which we have noticed, Bonaparte manifested decided hostility to La Fayette, and, on all occasions, treated him with the most studied neglect. But it was in vain that he attempted to impair the respect or lessen the consequence of the veteran patriot of two revolutions; the constant, undeviating, and incorruptible friend of liberty. Not the eclat of splendid victories, the glory of conquest, or all the gorgeous pageantry of the imperial court, could cast into the shade the illustrious name of La Fayette, although a private citizen, and living in retirement.

The hostility of Napoleon was not confined to the general, but extended to all who bore the name (the most illustrious in France) of La Fayette; to all who were connected with the family, and even the particular friends of the Marquis. Perhaps there is nothing more dishonorable in the character of Bonaparte, than his treatment of the La Fayette family. George Washington La Fayette, the only son of the general, was a brave and excellent officer; he was general of division; Gen. Grouchy appointed him his aid; he was distinguished on many occasions, and particularly at the battle of Eylau, where he saved the life of Grouchy twice, his horse being killed under him. His general made a very favorable report of his conduct,

and recommended him very warmly for promotion: yet the emperor instead of promoting him, struck his name out of the official bulletin. But notwithstanding the unworthy treatment he received, he continued in the service, from the commencement of the consular government, in 1800, until after the peace of Tilsit. It was attempted at one time, to persuade him to resign, but he nobly replied "that so long as his country was involved in war, he should consider himself disgraced by a resignation, and that he should be ashamed even to think of it, while all his companions were daily exposing themselves to dangers of every sort." It was true he was an American citizen, but he was first of all a Frenchman, and a loyal Frenchman.

Gen. La Fayette's son-in-law, De Lasteyrie, who married his second daughter Virginia, was also a meritorious officer, and was treated with the same neglect by Bonaparte, and this was likewise the case with the two former aids of General La Fayette.

CHAPTER VIII.

He remains in retirement at La Grange—Situation of La Grange—His family and descendants—He employs himself in agricultural pursuits—Loses his wife—Napoleon, after his return from Elba, attempts to obtain his influence—He protests against the additional act—Is elected representative to the chamber—His speech and resolutions after the defeat of the Emperor—Is one of the committee who attend the grand council of ministers, and one of the commissioners to treat with the allies—Capitulation of Paris—He retires to La Grange—Is elected a representative after the restoration of the Bourbons.

AFTER the appointment of Napoleon consul for life, from which time he manifested a strong dislike to La Fayette, who had voted against his election, the latter lived in retirement at his estate of La Grange, situated in the province of Brie, forty miles from Paris, engaged in the pursuits of agriculture; a spectator of political events, tranquil and happy, in the midst of his numerous and interesting family. What vicissitudes in the life of an individual! and how extraordinary, that one of the most

illustrious men of the age, in the prime of life, should remain for years in retirement during the most eventful period the world has ever witnessed, when Europe was convulsed to its centre, and which embraced two mighty revolutions, affecting the whole continent: one the establishment of a new system of monarchy, and a new order of things, by the Emperor Napoleon; and the other, in the complete overthrow of that system, and the re-establishment of the old regime and the Bourbon dynasty; and that individual, the first and principal promoter of that political revolution, which, in its progress, had led to these momentous events, and at one time possessed of an unbounded popularity, and commander-in-chief of the armies of France. He was not, however, an unobservant spectator of passing events, or indifferent to the welfare of his country; but whilst that country was no longer free, his principles and his honor required of him to remain in retirement. With him the post of honor was only to be found in a private station.

“La Grange is situated in the fertile district of La Brie, forty miles from Paris, remote from any common road, and far distant from a bustling world. In the midst of a luxuriant wilderness, rising above prolific orchards and antiquated woods, appears the five towers of La Grange, tinged with the golden rays of the declining sun. The deep moat, the draw-bridge, the ivied tower and arched portals, opening into a large square court, has a feudal and picturesque character; and the associations which occur, on entering the residence of a man so heroic, so disinterested, so celebrated, fill the mind with peculiar admiration, and excite the most lively interest. The family party, partaking more of patriarchal than of courtly manners, is composed of individuals mutually attached, and anxious only for mutual improvement and happiness. It represents the younger members, as employed in their studies or engaged in innocent recreations so salutary to the youthful temper and constitution: and the older as occupied in useful and literary pursuits, or devoted to the more enlivening pleasures of conversation.

“The venerable head of this happy family, at the age of sixty-seven is in the full possession of every talent and faculty. His

memory has all the tenacity of youthful recollection. On his person, time has yet made little visible impression. Not a wrinkle furrows the ample brow; and his unbent and noble figure is still as upright, bold, and vigorous, as the mind which informs it. Grace, strength, and dignity still distinguish the fine person of this extraordinary man; who, though more than forty years before the world, engaged in scenes of strange and eventful conflict, does not yet appear to have reached his grand climateric. Active on his farm, graceful and elegant in his *saloon*, it is difficult to trace, in one of the most successful agriculturalists, and one of the most perfect of fine gentlemen of France, a warrior, and a legislator. But the patriot is always discernable. His conversation is enriched with anecdotes of all that is celebrated in character or event, for the last fifty years. His elegant and well chosen collection of books, occupies the highest apartments in one of the towers of the chateau; and like the study of Montaigne, hangs over the farm-yard of the philosophical agriculturalist. 'It frequently happens,' said M. La Fayette, to one of his visitors, as they were looking from a window on some flocks, which were moving beneath, 'that my merinos and my hay-corts dispute my attention to Hume or Voltaire.' "

The practice in Europe, particularly with the landed nobility and gentry, is very different from that which prevails in the United States. Here the paternal home becomes the home of one of a man's descendants only, and the family estate is given to him, or divided among several heirs: the members of the same family, and descendants of the same ancestors, are scattered over the country; one remains in the paternal mansion, one goes to seek his fortune at the south, and becomes a planter on the banks of the Mississippi; another emigrates to the west, and settles on the borders of the Ohio or the Maumee; and perhaps a fourth becomes a successful merchant in some large seaport. But in Europe the paternal chateau frequently becomes the home of all the descendants of the owner, and his whole posterity, children, children-in-law, grand-children, and great-grand-children, all reside under the same roof with himself. He

becomes the patriarch of a numerous race, which forms a community of themselves. This practice is not favorable to enterprise, but there is something very agreeable in it, and conducive to social happiness.

At La Grange are found all the descendants of La Fayette, who is the venerable head and patriarch of the interesting groupe. He has three children:—George Washington La Fayette, who was married in 1803, and has five children, Oscar, Edmund, Natalia, Matilda, and Clementina; the eldest daughter is twenty years of age, and a favorite of her grand-father. This, the only son of the general, is now with him in the United States. His eldest daughter, Anastasia, as we have already mentioned, was married to Charles Latour Maubourg, brother of the companion of the general in his misfortunes, of that name: they have three daughters, Louisie, Jenny, and Mrs. Brigode, the latter of which is married, and has two daughters, named Georgiannia and Gabriella. Virginia La Fayette, his second daughter, married M. de Lasteyrie, who served with his brother-in-law George, in several campaigns, and was distinguished at Jena, Eylau, and Friedland; Mrs. Lasteyrie has three daughters and one son, Paulina, Melaire, Octavina, and Jules.

All these descendants, to the third generation, reside at the hospitable mansion of La Grange, and it is said are principally dependent on the income of that estate for support.

The spacious chateau has not only apartments for five families, that of the father, son, two sons-in-law, and grand son-in-law; but there is also an apartment for M. de Maubourg, the companion and fellow-prisoner with the general, and others for a brother and two sisters of the same family.

In this retired situation, these several families, the descendants of the illustrious patriot who is their patriarchal chief, live in a quiet, agreeable, and simple manner; contented and happy in the enjoyment of each other, neither caring for, nor disturbed by the turbulent pleasures of the world. Noisy dissipation, splendid equipage, and corrupting luxury, are strangers at this favorite abode of peace and innocence, and rural simplicity. Business and amusements divide their attention, and afford sufficient occupation.

“Little rural balls are frequently given in the park, in the midst of the honest farmers and peasants of the neighborhood, and plays are performed daily by both old and young members of the family, in the open air.

“Early in the morning, every one is occupied in his own apartment, where a servant brings him coffee, chocolate, or tea; scarcely an individual makes his appearance in the saloon, till ten or eleven o'clock. The utmost quiet and silence reigns throughout the chateau until this time. Then all the families meet together at breakfast, and the delightful prattle of the children is amusingly contrasted with the kind and constant attention of their parents. Each mother is surrounded by her little ones, the fathers assist in taking care of them, and the grandfather presides over the whole.

“After breakfast each one retires till 5 o'clock, when dinner is brought up; the families again meet, converse, laugh, sing, and dance, every one amusing himself according to his age and taste.”*

In this felicitous retirement, the distinguished patriot and philanthropist, who is the subject of this memoir, has lived surrounded by his numerous descendants, with patriarchal simplicity and happiness, since 1800. He has frequented no places of amusement, and had little intercourse with the world, he has lived like an intelligent and independent agriculturalist, and exhibiting the bright example of a public man, content with a moderate income, free from all envious and angry feelings; and willing to live in dignified silence when he had not the power or influence to do good. He has spent his time in the cultivation of his farm, in study, and answering the letters of his numerous correspondents, and in the enjoyment of the society of his family and many friends who visit La Grange. He has been a skilful and scientific agriculturalist, and that agreeable employment has afforded him much satisfaction, whilst it has been the source of the support of his large family. His flock of merino have afforded him both profit and pleasure, and he has been very

*General Holstein's Memoirs of La Fayette.

successful in breeding them, having made himself acquainted with the subject when residing in Holstein. "My dear friend," said he to one of his visitors, "you cannot conceive how much pleasure I enjoy in watching the yearly growth of this fine flock; do you know that each fleece will give me twelve francs, and that I get two shearings every year?" To another visitor he observed, "That his merinos and his hay carts often disputed his attention to Hume or Voltaire." Most of the distinguished American and English travellers in France, visit La Grange.

In the year 1802, the celebrated Charles James Fox, the distinguished British orator and statesman, and General Fitzpatrick, also a distinguished member of parliament, visited La Grange. As we have already stated, these two distinguished men exerted all their powerful eloquence in the house of commons, when La Fayette was incarcerated in the prisons of Olmutz, to induce the British government to interfere for his liberation. Although their efforts were not successful, they were not the less honorable to them, or the less calculated to excite the gratitude of La Fayette. Gen. Fitzpatrick had known La Fayette in America, and admired his character and principles. The union of these three distinguished patriots and philanthropists, after the momentous events they had witnessed, and in many of which, acted a distinguished part, was highly gratifying to themselves, and a pleasing sight to the friends of liberty. "I have often," says the writer who gives an account of this interview, "contemplated with great pleasure, Mr. Fox, General Fitzpatrick, and M. de La Fayette, walking in the long shady grove near the chateau, speaking of past times, the war in America, and the revolution in France. The rare sight of three such characters, was grateful to any one who felt friendly to the cause of civil liberty, and valued men for their services to humanity, rather than for successful ambition."

Among the numerous visitors to La Grange, was lady Morgan, who, in her "France," gives a very interesting account of her visit to this hospitable seat, which the virtue and renown of its present owner will render celebrated forever: and of the numerous inmates of the venerable chateau.

In 1807, General La Fayette was affected with a domestic calamity, which more sorely affected his heart than the sufferings of six years imprisonment. The imprisonment of Madame La Fayette at Paris, and her voluntary confinement in the damp and unwholesome dungeons of Olmutz, had undermined her constitution, and she never enjoyed perfect health afterward; but her fortitude, patience, equanimity, and sociableness of temper, were not impaired with her health, and enabled her to contribute to the happiness of her husband and family. In December this virtuous and distinguished woman fell a victim to the barbarous persecutions of her husband, in which her affection and fidelity led her to be a voluntary sharer. The same winter, General La Fayette had the misfortune to fall and break his leg, which confined him to his bed, and without being able to change his position for nearly six months, during which he suffered severe pain. This is the cause of his present lameness.

The dreadful struggle in which France was engaged with the combined forces of all the powers of Europe, did not call the patriot of La Grange from his retreat: it is not to be supposed, however, that he did not feel great anxiety for the impending fate of his country; as much as he disliked the disposition of Bonaparte, he was evidently opposed to the restoration of the Bourbons, as they intended to seize upon the crown as their own right, by the aid of one million of foreign bayonets, and to re-establish the absolute power of the monarchy and the old regime, as far as it could be done, and thus destroy all the fruits of the revolution. He visited Louis but once in 1814, after his restoration, and although well received, he did not repeat the visit. Whilst others deeply stained with the crimes of the revolution, and against the Bourbon family, offered their adhesion, and changed as the political tune turned, he made no compromise of principle, neither supplicated for favor, nor even expressed his approbation of the re-establishment of the Bourbon throne.

That most marvellous event in the history of nations, the return of Napoleon from Elba, the re-establishment of the imperial throne, and the threatened invasion of France, with more than a million of men, did not call him from his retirement.

The emperor, knowing his influence with the friends of liberty, endeavored to obtain his approbation; he sent his brother Joseph to invite General La Fayette to an interview with the emperor, that he might judge for himself of the guarantees proposed to be offered to the French people. This invitation he declined.

Napoleon, on the 22d of April, with a view to conciliate the nation, issued his *Acte Additionel*, or additional act, as he called it, being an addition to the constitutions of 1799, 1802, and 1804, which provided for the establishment of a chamber of representatives to be elected by the elective colleges and an hereditary chamber of peers. This act was accepted by the French people under the influence of existing circumstances; but it was not satisfactory to La Fayette, who entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit, and from the same considerations that he did against the consulship for life. But the same college of electors to which he presented his protest, notwithstanding, first chose him their president, and then their representative. The emperor too, anxious to secure his influence, or at least his silence, placed his name first on the list of peers; but true to his principles, he declined this, and accepted of the situation of representative.

General La Fayette and his son were both returned as deputies to the chamber. The emperor used all his influence to procure one of the presidents of the departments of state, to be chosen president of the chamber; but the votes were divided between Lenjuinais and La Fayette, and after several ballots, the former was chosen president and the latter vice-president.

During this short reign of one hundred days, La Fayette had but little confidence in the emperor; he saw him for the first time, at the opening of the session on the 7th of June. "It is above twelve years since we have met," said Napoleon in a very kind and affectionate manner. But this had no influence on La Fayette. The defeat of the emperor at Waterloo, and his attempt, and that of his personal friends, to prorogue the chamber, and declare himself dictator, afforded a crisis which called forth all the energies of the patriot of '89. Napoleon arrived at Paris, on the night of the 20th of June, and confirmed all that had been

feared as to the defeat of the army, and the critical situation of the country. The chamber was thrown into great agitation, not only from the approach of foreign armies, but from a report that the emperor was about to dissolve the chamber; various propositions were moved and withdrawn, and no one seemed to know what to do. At length the venerable patriot, La Fayette, arose, ascended the tribune, and addressed the chamber—"This is the first time that I have raised my voice within these walls, and I feel the necessity of opening my whole soul to my colleagues. In a time of public distress, the true friends of liberty will perhaps recognize this voice which has always been raised in its defence, and never has been mingled with the cries of faction. Our armies have suffered a reverse, and our territory is threatened. It is to you, representatives of the people, that it belongs to rally the nation round the tri-coloured banner of 1789, that sacred standard which is the signal of the revival of liberty, independence, and public order. It is to you that it belongs to summon the whole nation to the defence of its rights, its independence, and its territory against foreign usurpation. A veteran of liberty, and, I repeat it, a stranger to the spirit of faction, I am about to propose to you those measures which our present critical circumstances imperiously require."

He then submitted the following propositions:—

"*Article 1*—The chamber of representatives declare that the independence of the nation is endangered.

"*Article 2*—The chamber declare themselves in continued session; that every attempt to prorogue the session shall be considered high treason; that any one guilty of such attempt shall be deemed a traitor to his country, and be instantly proceeded against as such.

"*Article 3*—The army of the line and the national guards, who have fought and are still fighting for the independence of France, deserve the gratitude of their country.

"*Article 4*—The Minister of the interior is requested to assemble the General Staff, the Commandants and Majors of the Legions of the National Guards of Paris, to consult on the means of supplying them with arms, and to render complete.

the citizen-guard, whose patriotism and zeal having been proved for twenty-six years, offer a sure guarantee of the liberty, the property, and the tranquility of the capitol, and of the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

“Article 5—The Ministers of War, those of Foreign Relations, of the Interior, and of the Police, are invited to attend the assembly immediately.”

These resolutions were adopted with some slight alterations.

Gen. La Fayette had been informed by Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and Thibaudeau, two of the emperor's council, who were opposed to this violent measure, that it was the intention of Napoleon immediately to dissolve the chamber. It was a great crisis; either the emperor or the chamber must fall that day; and the courage and influence of La Fayette decided this momentous question. The emperor was said to be greatly agitated when he was informed that La Fayette was addressing the chamber. “What,” said he, “La Fayette in the tribune?” He was greatly agitated and embarrassed from the measures which had been adopted in the chamber; he hesitated nearly the whole day what course to pursue, his friends were also divided in their opinions; his courage and firmness seemed to have forsaken him, and it is said that Lucien told him, “that the smoke of the battle of Mount St. Jean had turned his brain.” It was finally decided to send Lucien and three of the ministers to the chamber, in conformity to their resolution, to make a partial exposition of the state of affairs. Bonaparte relied, principally, on the eloquence of Lucien, to which he was indebted for success in the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, to bring the chamber into his views. It was past five o'clock in the evening when the ministers and Lucien arrived; the appearance of the latter occasioned loud murmurs; which, however, subsided on the house being informed by the president that he appeared as the commissioner of the emperor. The ministers made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, of the resources of the nation, and of the hopes and projects they still entertained. A short, but painful silence ensued, which was interrupted by an animated debate, attended with great agitation.

M. Duchene, and other members, (among whom was Mr. Jay, who, twenty years ago, was well known in Boston, under the assumed name of Renaud, as a teacher of the French language, and a writer in the public newspapers,) took a hasty, but spirited view of the alarming state of affairs, the impossibility of opposing the advance of the enemy, and concluded, by strongly urging, that, as the allies had refused to treat with the man at the head of the government, it was a duty which the chamber owed the nation, to insist on the unqualified abdication of the emperor. This bold proposition had been apprehended, and to resist which Lucien had attended the chamber. He had exhibited great impatience and excitement during the discussion. His situation was the most critical and trying; the power and political existence of the emperor, and all the hopes, and objects depending upon them, were confided to him, and depended on the success of his efforts. He was sensible too, of the disposition of the chamber, and of the alarm which prevailed among the members. At length Lucien arose, and ascended the tribune, and in the doubtful and gloomy light which two vast torches shed through the hall, and over the anxious features of the members, commenced a reply. Momentous as was the occasion, he was found fully equal to it; he never before appeared equally powerful, or poured forth such a strain of impassioned and vehement eloquence. It was a speech worthy the defence of a throne and a dynasty. The scope of his argument was designed to prove, that the pretensions of the allies, that their designs were directed against the emperor, and not against France, were deceptive and intended to delude the French people, and lead to the subjugation of the nation; that the people of France were still attached to the emperor; that momentous as was the crisis, the resources of the country were adequate to its defence, and that the genius and talents of the emperor were necessary for this object. He insisted that the emperor was necessary to the salvation of France, and that to separate him from the nation, would be to deliver it up to their implacable enemies. "It is not Napolcon," he cried, "that is attacked, it is the French people; and a proposition is now made to this people to abandon

their emperor; to expose the French nation before the tribunal of the world to a severe judgment on its levity and inconstancy. No sir, the honor of this nation shall never be so compromised!" As soon as this solemn declaration was made, La Fayette arose, and interrupted the speaker. Standing in his place, and without going to the tribune, which was contrary to the rules of the house, he observed in a manner calm and dignified, addressing himself to Lucien, and not to the president—"The assertion which has just been uttered is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy to the Emperor Napoleon? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt, and through the wastes of Russia; over fifty fields of battle; as faithful in disaster as in victory: and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of three millions of Frenchmen." These words and the solemn truths they conveyed, made a visible impression on the chamber, which Lucien perceiving, he bowed respectfully to La Fayette, and sat down without resuming his speech.

Finally, a resolution was carried to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber, to attend the grand council of ministers which was to be held that night to determine on the measures to be adopted. La Fayette was one of the number. Cambaceres, the arch-chancellor of the empire, presided at the sitting. A motion was made by La Fayette that a deputation, the next morning, wait on the emperor and request his abdication: this motion the president refused to put; but it was as much decided as though it had been formally adopted. The following morning, the 22d of June, Napoleon sent to the chamber his abdication; and a committee was thereupon appointed, of which La Fayette was one, who went to the Thuilleries to thank him for it, in behalf of the nation. It was this bold asserter of the rights of the people, also, who proposed that the life of Napoleon should be put under the protection of the French people. A provisional government was established, which appointed commissioners, of whom La Fayette was the head, to treat with the allies, for the suspension of hostilities; but their efforts were unavailing, as this did not agree with their legitimate views.

On returning to the capital, he learned with surprise and regret, that the city had capitulated, and the army been withdrawn. The chamber continued in session until the 7th of July, and on the next day, the doors being closed by the *gens d'armes*, although it is not known by whose orders, a number of the deputies met at the house of La Fayette, from whence, at his instance, they repaired to that of the president, and entered a formal protest against this forcible and unjust exclusion, and each one went his own way. Perceiving that nothing more could be done to secure the liberties of the people, La Fayette retired to his estate. He did not, like some of his mistaken friends in America, hail the restoration of the Bourbons, as having rendered the "family of nations complete," or as a glorious termination of "the long agony" for liberty. He did not acknowledge the "legitimacy" of a dynasty and government established by force and violence, the invasion and subjugation of the country, by foreign armies; he did not supplicate for favor or preferment; he did not even visit the king; and the minions of the "holy alliance" knew him too well to consult him, or invite him to take any part in the new government, although many of the creatures of Bonaparte were employed.

Since this era, General La Fayette has remained in retirement, and taken but little part in public affairs. He has been twice returned a member of the chamber of deputies since 1817, in opposition to all the influence of the ministerial party. He, in general, has taken but little part in the business of the legislature, believing that he could do no good. But the plan of the minister to establish a censorship over the press, aroused the patriotism and spirit of this veteran of two revolutions. He declared with great energy, that the law was incompatible with even the most limited freedom, and an outrage on the rights of the people; and he "conjured the servants of the crown to maintain the liberties of France within the limits prescribed by the constitution. To violate it, is to dissolve the mutual guarantees of the nation and the throne; it is to give ourselves up to total primitive freedom from all duties and from all laws."

The proposed law was adopted by a small majority; which led to the institution of a society, consisting of the members of the opposition, and other *liberals*, for the relief of those who might suffer on account of the unjust restrictions on the press. General La Fayette was placed at the head of this society.

CHAPTER IX.

General La Fayette receives numerous invitations to visit the United States once more—Resolution of congress on this subject—He arrives at New-York—The reception he has met with by the people—Detail of the manner of his reception by congress—Address of the speaker and his reply—Grant made him by congress—His services for America, and character.

As GEN. LA FAYETTE could discover but little gratifying to him, in the present political condition and future prospects of his native country, for several years past, his heart seems to have inclined, with unusual fondness to the country of his adoption—to his dear America, the theatre of his early and successful struggles in the cause of liberty; where his patriotism and services in that sacred cause are duly appreciated, and where he is honored, venerated, and almost adored. Having signified to many Americans, and others, his intentions of visiting the United States once more, numerous public and private letters were written to him, from this country, expressing much satisfaction at this intelligence, and the hope that the citizens of the United States would soon be gratified by seeing among them this distinguished friend of America and great apostle of liberty. Among other communications were letters from the mayors of New-York and Boston, inviting him to visit those cities; and in January, 1824, congress adopted a resolution requesting the president “to offer him a public ship, for his accommodation, and to assure him, in the name of the people of this great republic, that they cherished for him a grateful and affectionate attachment.” This national respect, more honorable, perhaps than any individual ever received before, under similar circumstances, he declined, probably from motives of

delicacy; but embarked at Havre, the (port at which he had three times before set sail for the United States,) in a private vessel, and arrived at New-York on the 15th of August, 1824. He was accompanied by his son George Washington La Fayette, and his friend and private secretary, M. La Vassieur.

The reception which General La Fayette met with at this commercial metropolis of the United States, and in every other town which he has visited, or through which he has passed, has been such as became the free citizens of the freest nation on earth, to offer to the first and most venerated patriot of the age, and the early and undeviating friend of America, who had sacrificed his fortune and his blood in establishing its independence and liberty. Although he came among us as a private individual, he has been received as a public or national character, as the guest of the country, and honored as the distinguished and disinterested benefactor of America; to whom, ten millions of freemen acknowledge themselves measurably indebted for the political privileges and blessings which they enjoy. No man ever received, and no one can receive greater honour than this: the homage and gratitude of an entire nation; unbribed and unbought, flowing spontaneously, the free-will offering of the heart; a universal impulse which vibrated as the pulse of the nation. To this universal feeling, manifested in a thousand ways and by the strongest demonstrations, there is not a solitary discordant voice; there is "no rebellious string, that jars in the grand chorus and dissents." All are united, there is but one sentiment, and the wish of the imperial tyrant of Rome that the Roman people had but one neck that he might sever it at a blow, is in some measure realized here, on the present occasion, as the American people have but one heart and but one voice. This honor, unexampled and distinguished as it is, does not exceed the merits of the individual who is the subject of it, as his character and services for America, are equally unexampled. The moral grandeur of this scene is unequalled, and its political influence must be great and salutary. It is not only to the benefactor of America that such distinguished honors are offered; but it is also to the *uniform and consistent patriot, and steadfast and undeviating friend of liberty.*

These honours from the people, in their individual and primary character, called for corresponding conduct from the nation in its collective and corporate capacity; and the representatives of the people have met the wishes of their constituents, and as the organs of the public will, have, in the name of the nation, shown that respect to the distinguished benefactor of the country, which corresponded with the sentiments manifested by the people. They have done more; they have offered a more substantial tribute of respect, and in some measure discharged the obligations of the nation to its disinterested and illustrious benefactor.

We cannot, from our prescribed limits, follow General La Fayette in his tour through the United States, and his visits to the principal towns, and notice the various manifestations of respect and gratitude, by addresses, illuminations, military escorts, parades, and public entertainments: besides, these details have so recently appeared in the public papers, that they are fresh in the minds of all, and a repetition of them would afford but little interest. The respect, however, shown him by congress, possessing a national character, is more deserving of notice.

President Monroe, in his message at the opening of the session, recommended to congress to make some remuneration to Gen. La Fayette, for his services and sacrifices in the revolutionary war, worthy the national character. The suggestion of the president, which was in accordance with the sentiments of the people, has been very honorably followed up by congress, which has manifested its respect and liberality, both in a manner wholly unexampled.

At the commencement of the session, a joint committee was appointed to consider and report, what respectful mode it might be proper for congress to adopt to receive Gen. La Fayette, and to testify the high gratification which he has afforded, by his present visit to the United States. The committee, on the part of the house, recommended the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

“*Resolved*, That the congratulations of this House be publicly given to General La Fayette, on his arrival in the United States,

in compliance with the wishes of congress, and that he be assured of the gratitude and deep respect which the House entertains for his signal and illustrious services in the Revolution, and the pleasure it feels in being able to welcome him, after an absence of so many years, to the theatre of his early labors and early renown.

“Resolved, That, for this purpose, General La Fayette be invited by a Committee to attend the House on Friday next, at one o’clock; that he be introduced by the Committee, and received by the members standing, uncovered, and addressed by the Speaker in behalf of the House.”

The committee, on the part of the senate, recommended “that the president of the senate, invite General La Fayette to take a seat, such as he might designate, in the senate chamber; that the committee deliver the invitation to the general, and introduce him into the senate, and the members to receive him standing.” This resolution was unanimously adopted: and about one o’clock on the 9th of December, Gen. La Fayette entered, supported on the left by the Hon. Mr. Barbour, chairman of the committee, and followed by the rest of the committee; he was conducted to a seat on the right of the president pro tem. the Honorable Mr. Gaillard, in the presence of the senators, all of whom were standing. As he entered, Mr. Barbour addressed the senate in these words:—“We present General La Fayette to the senate of the United States;” and as he advanced to the president’s chair, the president addressed him:—“On the part of the senate I invite you to take a seat,” pointing to the seat on the right of the chair. A motion was then made “that the senate do now adjourn, for the purpose of allowing the members, individually, to pay their respects to Gen. La Fayette;” which was unanimously adopted; and thereupon the members, leaving their seats, in turn saluted him, in the most cordial manner. This is the first instance in which an individual was introduced to the senate of the United States, whilst in session.

Cæsar never received greater honor from the servile senate of Rome, when his victorious legions surrounded the capitol; but one was the constrained homage bestowed on a conqueror,

at the head of a victorious army; the other, the free and spontaneous honor shown to a private individual, without power or influence to command it, or any other consideration, but his unexampled patriotism and distinguished services.

At an early hour on the next day, crowds were flocking into the galleries of the house of representatives, and before eleven o'clock a concourse of ladies entered the hall and took the seats and sofas prepared for them; it was found necessary to provide additional seats, and soon the house presented an exhibition of beauty and fashion, which it is presumed has never been equalled, that gave a more imposing interest to a scene naturally grand and affecting. A motion having been adopted, to invite the members of the senate to attend on the occasion, they entered in procession, and took seats on the right of the speaker. At one o'clock, George Washington La Fayette and Colonel La Vassieur, the secretary of the general, entered and took seats by the side of the secretary of state: and in a few minutes, General La Fayette entered the house, supported on his right by Mr. Mitchell, chairman of the committee, on his left by Mr. Livingston, and followed by the rest of the committee.

The speaker and members then rose, and the procession advanced towards the centre of the house, when Mr. Mitchell introduced Gen. La Fayette in the following words:—"Mr. Speaker—The select committee, appointed for that purpose, have the honor to introduce General La Fayette to the House of Representatives."

General La Fayette being conducted to the seat prepared for him, the speaker, Mr. Clay, arose and addressed him in the following dignified and impressive manner:—

"GENERAL:—The House of Representatives of the United States, impelled alike by its own feelings, and by those of the whole American people, could not have assigned to me a more gratifying duty than that of presenting to you cordial congratulations upon the occasion of your recent arrival in the United States, in compliance with the wishes of congress, and to assure you of the very high satisfaction which your presence affords on this early theatre of your glory and renown. Although but few

of the members who compose this body shared with you in the war of our revolution, all have, from an impartial history, or from faithful tradition, a knowledge of the perils, the sufferings, and the sacrifices which you voluntarily encountered, and the signal services, in America and Europe, which you performed for an infant, a distant, and an alien people; and all feel and own the very great extent of the obligations under which you have placed our country. But the relations in which you have ever stood to the United States, interesting and important as they have been, do not constitute the only motive of the respect and admiration which the house of representatives entertain for you. Your consistency of character, your uniform devotion to regulated liberty, in all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous life, also command its admiration. During all the recent convulsions of Europe, amidst, as after the dispersion of, every political storm, the people of the United States have beheld you, true to your old principles, firm and erect, cheering and animating with your well-known voice, the votaries of liberty, its faithful and fearless champion, ready to shed the last drop of that blood which here you so freely and nobly spilt, in the same holy cause.

The vain wish has been sometimes indulged, that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place—to view the forest felled, the cities built, the mountains levelled, the canals cut, the highways constructed, the progress of the arts, the advancement of learning, and increase of population. General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Every where, you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city, bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forest which then covered its site. In one respect you behold us unaltered, and that it is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the father of his country, and to you, and

to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surrounded us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigor, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent to the latest posterity."

While the speaker was addressing him, General La Fayette was very evidently affected. At the close of the address, he seated himself for a few seconds, and then rose, and in a tone influenced by powerful feeling, made the following reply.—

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen

of the House of Representatives:—

While the people of the United States, and their honorable representatives in congress, have deigned to make choice of me, one of the American veterans, to signify in his person, their esteem for our joint services, and their attachment to the principles for which we have had the honor to fight and bleed, I am proud and happy to share those extraordinary favors with my dear revolutionary companions; yet it would be, on my part, uncandid and ungrateful not to acknowledge my personal share in their testimonies of kindness, as they excite in my mind emotions which no adequate words could express.

My obligations to the United States, sir, far exceed any merit I might claim; they date from the time when I have had the happiness to be adopted as a young soldier, a favored son of America; they have been continued to me during almost half a century of constant affection and confidence; and now, sir, thanks to your most gratifying invitation, I find myself greeted by a series of welcomes, one hour of which would more than compensate for the public exertions and sufferings of a whole life.

The approbation of the American people, and their representatives, for my conduct during the vicissitudes of the European revolution, is the highest reward I could receive. Well may I stand firm and erect, when in their names, and by you, Mr. Speaker, I am declared to have, in every instance, been faithful

to those American principles of liberty, equality, and true social order, the devotion to which, as it has been from my earliest youth, so it shall continue to be to my latest breath.

You have been pleased, Mr. Speaker, to allude to the peculiar felicity of my situation, when, after so long an absence, I am called to witness the immense improvements, the admirable communications, the prodigious creations, of which we find an example in this city, whose name itself is a venerated palladium; in a word, all the grandeur and prosperity of these happy United States, who at the same time they nobly secure the complete assertion of American independence, reflect, on every part of the world, the light of a far superior political civilization.

What better pledge can be given, of a persevering national love of liberty, when those blessings are evidently the result of a virtuous resistance to oppression, and of institutions founded on the rights of man, and the republican principle of self-government.

No, Mr. Speaker, posterity has not begun for me, since, in the sons of my companions and friends, I find the same public feelings, and, permit me to add, the same feelings in my behalf, which I have had the happiness to experience in their fathers.

Sir, I have been allowed forty years ago, before a committee of a congress of thirteen states, to express the fond wishes of an American heart; on this day, I have the honor, and enjoy the delight, to congratulate the representatives of the Union, so vastly enlarged, on the realization of those wishes, even beyond every human expectation, and upon the almost infinite prospects we can with certainty anticipate; permit me, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of representatives, to join to the expression of those sentiments, a tribute of my lively gratitude, affectionate devotion, and profound respect.

This scene, this simple and unstudied expression of a nation's feelings towards its early and disinterested benefactor, was truly affecting and sublime; how unlike the kingly pomp, the idle and ceremonious pageantry of courts! it gives a moral effect and grandeur to the republican character and free institutions, which exalt them far above any thing which the records of monarchy afford.

The noble sentiments, worthy of the best days of Rome, of the address of the speaker, and the reply of the general, were listened to with the profoundest attention; the deepest interest was manifested; and both on the floor, and in the galleries, the most unbroken silence prevailed: every eye was strained, and every ear on the alert, that not a word, nor a movement of the countenance of the venerable object of such unexampled national honor, should be lost.

As soon as the general resumed his seat, a motion was made and adopted to adjourn; and immediately the speaker left the chair, and offered him his personal congratulations, shaking him cordially by the hand. This was followed by the speaker's introducing all the members of the house individually to the general, which closed a scene the most imposing in its character, and instructive in its effects, which, perhaps, has ever been witnessed in any age or nation.

But congress did not stop here; they have left on record a more substantial and imperishable testimonial of national gratitude. A committee was raised in each house, to consider and report what provision it would be proper to make for Gen. La Fayette; which reported a bill granting to him two hundred thousand dollars, in stock to be created for that purpose, and a township of land, to be located on any of the unappropriated lands of the government. This bill, after some slight opposition, which only served to call forth a disclosure of the immense expenditures and sacrifices of this veteran patriot during the six years he was engaged in our revolutionary struggle, was adopted, there being only seven dissenting voices in the senate, and twenty-six in the house. It was stated by Mr. Haynes in the senate, that he had documents in his hand, which had been obtained without the interference or knowledge of La Fayette, from which it incontestibly appeared that during six years of the American war, he expended in the service 700,000 francs, or 140,000 dollars. This sum at compound interest for forty-three years, would amount to more than a million of dollars.—Mr. Haynes also stated another fact, highly honorable to the general. In 1803, congress granted him a tract of 11,520 acres

of land, to be located in any of the unappropriated lands of the government; and his agent located 1000 acres in the county of Orleans, in the vicinity of the city of N. Orleans. Without attending to this fact, congress subsequently included this tract in a grant of land made to that city. This tract was then worth 50,000 dollars, and is now said to be valued at 500,000. Notwithstanding this, and although advised that his title was indubitably valid, the general, with singular delicacy of feeling, immediately relinquished his claim, and caused a deed to be recorded, remarking, "that he would not enter into controversy: the act had been gratuitous, and congress best knew what they intended to bestow."

The following is the act:—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That in consideration of the services and sacrifices of General La Fayette, in the war of the revolution, the secretary of the treasury be, and he is hereby authorized to pay to him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, that there be granted to the said Gen. La Fayette, and his heirs, one township of land, to be laid out and located under the authority of the president, in any of the unappropriated lands of the United States.

H. CLAY,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN GAILLARD,

President of the Senate pro tempore.

Washington, Dec. 28th, 1824—Approved:

JAMES MONROE.

This grant, liberal as it is, does not exceed the merits of the illustrious patriot, who is the worthy object of it, or the wishes of the American people; it is worthy the national justice and munificence, and the character and services of La Fayette. In addition to this and the grant of land in 1803, already alluded to, in 1794, when he was persecuted and proscribed at home, his estates confiscated and his family impoverished; when he was

the victim of the vengeance of coalesced kings, he was not forgotten in America, and congress granted him the pay of a major-general, for the period of his service in the army of the United States; he having declined receiving any compensation at the time.

General La Fayette is undoubtedly the most interesting character now living; and with the exception of a venerated name, who was his own leader and guide—who was “First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,” probably the most interesting character in the annals of history.

His services for America, whether we consider the disinterested and patriotic motives which produced them, the great individual sacrifices which attended them, or their important consequences to the sacred cause of independence and liberty in which they were employed, are without any example, and can never be sufficiently appreciated. Whether the American colonies alone, and unaided by any foreign assistance, would have been able to have sustained themselves in the mighty struggle with Great Britain, and to have established their independence, must now for ever remain a problem; but it is evident that the war could not have been brought to a conclusion at the time and manner it was; for, to say nothing about the assistance of the French troops, amounting to above seven thousand, the successful operations at Yorktown, which so gloriously terminated the war, were entirely dependent on the co-operation of the French fleet. It was the assistance of France, that brought the revolutionary struggle to a close, and how far we are indebted to General La Fayette for that assistance, cannot now well be determined; but it is a position by no means extravagant, that it is to his exertions and influence, directly and indirectly, that we are to attribute the assistance afforded America by France.

General La Fayette possesses the highest and most honorable character which has ever adorned human nature, that of a *distinguished, consistent, and undeviating* PATRIOT AND PHILANTHROPIST—the lover of liberty and the friend of mankind.

The subjoined extract from Madame de Stael, who was personally acquainted with all the distinguished characters who figured in the French revolution, and with the events of that important epoch, is an honorable testimony of the worth and character of Gen. La Fayette:—

“M. de La Fayette, having fought from his early youth for the cause of America, had early become imbued with the principles of liberty, which formed the basis of that government. If he made mistakes with regard to the French revolution, we are to ascribe them all to his admiration of American institutions, and of Washington, the hero citizen, who guided the first steps of that nation in the career of independence. La Fayette, young, affluent, of noble family, beloved at home, relinquished all these advantages at the age of nineteen, to serve beyond the ocean in the cause of that liberty, the love of which has decided every action of his life. Had he had the happiness to be a native of the United States, his conduct would have been that of Washington: the same disinterestedness, the same enthusiasm, the same perseverance in their opinions, distinguished each of these generous friends of humanity. Had General Washington been like the Marquis de La Fayette, commander of the National Guards of Paris, *he* also might have found it impossible to control the course of circumstances; *he* also might have seen his efforts baffled by the difficulty of being at once faithful to his engagements to the king, and of establishing at the same time the liberty of his country.

“M. de La Fayette, I must say, has a right to be considered as a true republican: none of the vanities of his rank ever entered his head: power, the effect of which is so great in France, had no ascendancy over him: the desire of pleasing in a drawing-room conversation, did not with him influence a single phrase: he sacrificed all his fortune to his opinions, with the most generous indifference. When in the prison of Olmutz, as when at the height of his influence, he was equally firm in his attachment to his principles. His manner of seeing and acting is open and direct. Whoever has marked his conduct, may foretell with certainty what he will do on any particular occasion.

“His political feeling is that of a citizen of the United States; and even his person is more English than French. The hatred, of which M. La Fayette is the object, has never embittered his temper; and his gentleness of soul is complete: at the same time nothing has ever modified his opinions; and his confidence in the triumph of liberty, is the same as that of a pious man in a future life. These sentiments, so contrary to the selfish calculations of most of the men who have acted a part in France, may appear pitiable in the eyes of some persons—“it is so silly,” they think “to prefer one’s country to one’s self; not to change one’s party when that party is worsted; in short, to consider mankind, not as cards with which to play a winning game, but as the sacred objects of unlimited sacrifices.” If this is to form the charge of silliness, would that it were but once merited by our men of talents!

“It is a singular phenomenon, that such a character as that of M. de La Fayette, should have appeared in the foremost rank of the French *noblesse*; but he can neither be censured or exculpated with impartiality, without being acknowledged to be such as I have described him. It then becomes easy to understand the different contrasts which naturally arose between his disposition and situation. Supporting monarchy more from duty than attachment, he drew involuntarily towards the principles of the democrats, whom he was obliged to resist; and a certain kindness for the advocates of the republican form, was perceptible in him, although his reflection forbade the admission of their system into France. Since the departure of M. de La Fayette for America, now forty years ago, we cannot quote a single action or a single word of his, which was not direct and consistent. Personal interest never blended itself in the least with his public conduct: success would have displayed such sentiments to advantage; but they claim the attention of the historian in spite of circumstances, and in spite of faults, which may serve as a handle to his opponents.”

We would not wish to write an eulogium on La Fayette; he certainly requires none; a simple relation of the facts, connected with his life and conduct, is the highest panegyric that

can be bestowed on him; the faithful page of history will be the proudest monument of his fame, and sufficiently substantial to sustain all the laurels that adorn his name. It is not on the extraordinary talents he has displayed, or the brilliancy of any particular action or event; it is not on the number of pitched battles he has fought, or the victories he has won, that his reputation depends. It rests on a more substantial and noble basis—private worth and public virtue. There have been greater generals and orators in almost every age; and there were many greater, at least more fortunate, among the distinguished characters which the memorable revolution in his own country called forth. But the powers of his mind, and the adequacy of his talents to any service, whether in the civil or military concerns of government, are sufficiently established from the fact, that he sustained the very first rank, and perhaps more influence than any other individual, among that brilliant galaxy of genius and talents which irradiated the horizon of France during the early part of the French revolution. To be in the first rank, if not the very first, among such an assemblage of learning and eloquence, is sufficient to establish his claim to superiority. But it is certain that in the progress of the revolution, there appeared individuals possessed of greater learning and talents; greater orators, statesmen, and warriors; yet, nevertheless, there is no one who has gone through that mighty ordeal with a reputation that will in any respect compare with his. It is true that many of the greatest and best men were cut off by the guillotine; but of those who survived the restoration of the Bourbons, which ended the revolutionary period, La Fayette seems to have been almost the only one, among the distinguished actors, who has passed through this long and eventful period, so fruitful in dangers and trials, with an unsullied reputation; who ended with the same principles with which they commenced, and maintained a perfect consistency of character. If there is any other, it must be Carnot; and he yielded, in some measure, to the usurpation of Bonaparte, but not until his country was about to be invaded by foreign armies, which threatened a greater evil to France, and obstacle to the liber-

ties of the people, than existed in the despotism of Napoleon, by the restoration of the Bourbons.

La Fayette possessed the same political principles, the same attachment to freedom, the same sacred regard to the rights of the people, and steady adherence to the cardinal bases of civil liberty, resting on free institutions, under all circumstances, on both sides of the Atlantic; as a volunteer in the struggle of a distant and alien people for their political rights; in the mighty contest in his native country against oppression; in success and a popularity never equalled; in the sudden loss of that popularity, followed by proscription and exile; and he has exhibited the same confidence in his principles and professions, the same integrity of purpose, in glory and in suffering, in popularity and power, and in proscription and disgrace. When directing the revolution or the victim of its injustice and violence, he "has maintained the same tone, the same air, the same open confidence amidst the ruins of the Bastile, in the Champ de Mars, under the despotism of Bonaparte, and in the dungeons of Olmutz." It is the character of a consistent, uniform, and incorruptible *patriot*, or rather the services he has performed, and the sacrifices he has made, which afford the evidence of this character, on which the magnificent fabric of his reputation rests; this is a foundation which time will not impair; and the fame which it supports, undimmed by age, will shine brighter and brighter, as long as liberty has an abode on earth, or virtue is revered.

It must be admitted that La Fayette, like most others, is in some degree indebted to fortune, for his extraordinary character. He lived in the most eventful period, and one the most important to the destinies of mankind, comprising that portion of time when philosophy, applied to the nature and end of government, made mankind acquainted with their political rights, and in which, as a consequence thereof, the great struggle, so interesting to the human race, commenced between the oppressors and the oppressed; between the people, for the right of self-government, and those who claim the prerogative of governing them, according to "legitimate" principles; who claim an interest and

inheritance in them; a struggle which has been crowned with success in America, made great progress in Europe, and which will not cease, although it may be apparently suppressed until all the nations of that portion of the earth shall become free.

Among all the individuals, who have taken a distinguished part in the events of this period, no man, it is believed, with one illustrious exception, will leave a reputation so dear to the friends of freedom, as La Fayette. And in one respect, his character has no example: he alone, during this important epoch, has acted a distinguished part in two hemispheres, and exerted a leading and controlling influence in the two mighty revolutions by which this period is distinguished, which, from their moral and political influence, are the most important events in the annals of the world. To have acted an important part in one, and a commanding part in the other, of the two most conspicuous struggles for liberty which have ever occurred, is a circumstance so extraordinary as would of itself confer great celebrity: but to have acted from the purest and most disinterested patriotism; to have sacrificed a princely fortune; to have been the victim of injustice and proscription, for a faithful adherence to principle; to have endured the severest sufferings; and to have passed through these momentous struggles, abounding in difficulties and trials, with perfect consistency of principle, a steady adherence to his original objects, and without a stain on his escutcheon, is what constitute the chief glory and renown of the man who is the subject of these remarks.

Who has done more, who has suffered more in the cause of freedom? Who has been more consistent and uniform in the pursuit of the only worthy object of human ambition, that of benefitting mankind? And, notwithstanding the failure of the immediate object of the struggle in France, it may also be asked who has accomplished more in this sacred cause? To whom, then, is the world more indebted? Who ought to be more revered by the friends of liberty? Not only the prime of his days, but his early youth and declining years have been devoted to subserve the interests of humanity. The glowing patriotism of the young volunteer of nineteen, was matured by his

meridian sun, and is now scarcely less ardent, under the chilling influence of age. The corrupting influence of a long participation in public affairs, and the cold, calculating policy of age, have produced no effect on him. Neither triumphs nor sufferings, the rage and persecutions of demagogues, or the cruelties of despots, the temptations of power, or the provocation of unjust suffering, have had any influence on his principles. He is the same patriot now, and almost as sanguine in his hopes, as when fighting the battles of America, or directing the French revolution, literally "a tempestuous sea of liberty." After nearly half a century, devoted to the interests of humanity and the cause of civil liberty, in two hemispheres, he may well be regarded as the "veteran patriot," and as the "great apostle of liberty."

Since he has been among us, in his answers to public addresses, and in the toasts he has given at public entertainments, we perceive the same principles, the same love of liberty, and apparently, the same confidence in its ultimate triumph, not only in France, but throughout Europe, which influenced his conduct through a long and active life. It is true he has not since his return to France, taken an active part to promote the freedom of his country; he has not attempted to make himself a tribune of the people, or to stir up commotions, being as little inclined to faction as to despotism; and he has believed that neither the military usurpation of Bonaparte, nor a revival of the feudal despotism by the Bourbons, afforded favorable opportunities to attempt to combine the elements of freedom, which exist in France; he has been contented to wait the slow, but sure progress of public opinion, being persuaded that the operation of this would not fail in due time of producing the emancipation of his country. To this event, as Madame de Stael has well observed, "he looks forward with the same hope, the same consoling confidence, as a pious man does to a future state of existence and felicity."

Such is the life and character of the man who is now on a visit to the United States, as the "guest of the nation," and on the invitation of the nation; but, although it is the same nation, it is not the same people with whom he fought and bled: almost the entire population, then on the stage, has past away; the ten

millions of freemen, which greeted his arrival, and who, wherever he goes, offer him the sincere tribute of grateful hearts, nearly all belong to a new generation, which have come on the stage of action, since that great struggle, in which he acted so prominent and useful a part. It cannot, certainly, be a matter of surprise, that there is an universal interest and curiosity manifested to see such an individual—a man who has acted a prominent part in the most important concerns and events of half a century past: To see such a character is, as was remarked by Mr. Speaker Clay, “like seeing and conversing with one from the dead:” is as beholding one of the grave actors in the great events of which history informs us; it is almost the same as would be the appearance of one of Plutarch’s heroes on the earth. These considerations alone are sufficient to render him an object of the greatest curiosity and interest; but it is not from these circumstances that he is welcomed and greeted with the admiration and gratitude of the entire population of the country; these feelings proceed from causes that make a deeper and more lasting impression on the heart; from his character as a disinterested and distinguished patriot and sincere friend of liberty; but chiefly from his having been the *benefactor* of America, and having devoted his fortune and his blood to establish its independence and freedom, the acknowledged sources from whence flow the fertilizing streams of public and private prosperity, which happily distinguish our country above all others on earth.

General La Fayette constantly speaks of himself as an American citizen, which it is well known he is; and he has exhibited abundant proof that he takes as lively and deep interest as any native citizen can do, in the success of our institutions and the prosperity of the country; and it has even been supposed that he intends to spend the remainder of his days here; but he has given no such intimation, nor is it probable; for however much more interest he may feel, in the institutions, and even in the people of his adopted, than in those of his native country, it is natural that he should wish to close the evening of his life in the midst of his numerous descendants, and to leave his bones to repose with those of his ancestors.

BIOGRAPHY.
OF
OFFICERS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES,

COMMISSIONED BY CONGRESS.

· **KOSCIUSKO.**

THE American revolutionary contest is memorable, for having called into its service the aid of many distinguished foreigners, soldiers of liberty, and volunteers in the cause of an oppressed people, struggling to defend their liberties. Among the most celebrated of these, was Kosciusko, one of the first and bravest of the Polish patriots. Although it does not appear that he performed much, or any very important service, in the American war, yet from his distinguished character as a patriot, and the noble struggles he has made, in defence of the independence of his own country, and to realize the last hopes of its friends, a sketch of his life cannot but be interesting, and properly belongs to a work containing the memoirs of the military heroes of the American revolutionary war. This high-minded patriot was first distinguished in the war which terminated in the first dismemberment of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Poland had long been distracted with dissensions, often breaking out into civil war; and particularly since the conquest of the country by Charles XII. of Sweden, which led to the interference of Russia, and afterward that dangerous neighbor always had a strong party in Poland, and generally a controlling influence. Charles XII. conquered Augustus, and compelled him to abdicate in favor of Stanislaus Leczinski, whom he had previously caused to be elected king. The armies of the Czar, which Augustus had availed himself of, had not been sufficient to save him from this humiliating result. The battle of Pultowa overthrew

the power of Charles; and Augustus was restored by the aid of Russia, the latter taking care to be well paid for its friendly interference. During the reign of this prince, and his son, Augustus II. Poland was little better than a Russian province, surrounded by Russian troops; and the country torn to pieces by contentions among the nobles, they were kept on the throne only by the power of Russia.

On the death of Augustus II. in 1764, Catharine II. Empress of Russia, compelled the Diet to elect Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Pole of noble rank, who had resided for some time at Petersburg, and made himself agreeable to the empress who supposed that his election would promote the influence and designs of Russia. This increased the disorders, and inflamed the rage of the two great parties, the Russian and anti-Russian, towards each other. At this time, to their political causes of dissension, were added those of religion. The protestants, who in Poland were called dissidents, had long been tolerated, but still suffered under many civil disabilities, which were greatly increased by a decree that was passed during the interregnum that preceded the election of Poniatowski. They were, in a great measure, denied the free exercise of religious worship, and excluded from all political privileges. This unjust and impolitic measure roused the spirit of the Protestants; they petitioned and remonstrated; they applied to the courts of Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, and Denmark, all of which remonstrated to the government of Poland, but without any essential effect. Some unimportant concessions were made, which did not satisfy the dissidents, who were determined to maintain their rights with their blood, being encouraged to this determination by assurance of support from Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The Catholics were not behind their opponents in preparations for war, and the "Confederation of the Barr" formed the bulwark of their strength and hopes. With both parties, religion and liberty became the watchword and a signal for war. The *confederates*, as the Catholics were denominated, not only wished to overcome their opponents, but to dethrone Stanislaus, and rescue the country from the influence of Russia. This desperate civil war was

very gratifying to the ambitious neighbors of Poland, who, a considerable time before, had entered into a secret treaty for the conquest and partition of Poland. The armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria invaded the country in various directions, and seized on different provinces.

The confederates, or the anti-Russian party, comprising most of the distinguished Polish patriots, made a resolute and determined struggle; but, being feebly supported by Saxony and France, and having to contend with numerous forces of the coalition which invaded the country, as well as those of their opponents at home, they were defeated in every quarter, and the country left a prey to the three royal plunderers. They issued a manifesto, declaring that the dissensions and disorders of Poland had rendered their interference necessary, and that they had adopted combined measures for the re-establishment of good order in Poland, and the settlement of its ancient constitution, and to secure the national and popular liberties of the people on a solid basis. But the security and protection which they afforded to unhappy Poland, was like that which the wolf affords to the lamb, and the tears they shed over her misfortunes, were like those of the crocodile when preying on its victim. Instead of securing the rights of the dissidents, which was the professed object of the war, the combined sovereigns thought only of aggrandizing themselves; and, after great difficulty, they finally succeeded in dividing the spoil, a treaty for the partition of Poland being concluded at Petersburg, in February, 1772. Russia took a large proportion of the eastern provinces; Austria appropriated to herself a fertile tract on the southwest, and Prussia the commercial district in the northwest, including the lower part of Vistula; leaving only the central provinces, comprising Warsaw and Cracow, the modern and ancient capital. Thus was Poland despoiled by three royal robbers, which Europe witnessed, not without astonishment, but without any effectual interference. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against this violent usurpation, which probably had as much effect as was expected—none at all.

In this unjust and cruel war, Kosciusko had taken an active and zealous part in defence of the independence of his country; but his patriotism and exertions were unavailing; the patriotic Poles could not resist the power of faction and the invading armies of three formidable neighbors. To strengthen their acquisitions, the allied powers insisted on Stanislaus convoking a diet to sanction the partition; and, notwithstanding the influence of three powerful armies, the diet refused to ratify this injustice for a considerable time; but, by promises of favours, and by profuse use of money among the members, together with the influence of military force, a majority of six in the senate, and of one in the assembly, was at length obtained in favour of the iniquitous measure, and commissioners were appointed to adjust the terms of the partition. This completed the humiliation and degradation of Poland, and occasioned many of her most distinguished patriots to leave their dismembered and unhappy country. This took place in May, 1773. Kosciusko was among those who retired from the country.

The war that broke out between the American colonies and Great Britain, opened a field for military adventurers from Europe, it being supposed that America was destitute of men of military science and experience, and being justly regarded as a contest for liberty, between an infant people, few in number, and with feeble means, and the most powerful nation on earth, many patriots of the old world repaired to America as volunteers in the cause of freedom. The first events and successès of the contest, and the dignified attitude assumed by the solemn declaration of independence, produced the most favorable impression abroad, which brought many distinguished foreigners to our shores in the early part of the year 1777. This distinguished Polish patriot, who is the subject of this brief notice, and his countryman, Count Pulaski, were among the number. It is not known at what time either of them arrived, but it is believed it was early in the year '77, as the latter was present and distinguished himself in the battle of Brandywine. So many foreigners of distinction arrived, that Congress was embarrassed in giving them employment, corresponding with their expectations

and rank; and, from the commissions which were given to foreigners, disagreeable jealousies were produced among the native officers of the continental army. Kosciusko, like the Marquis de la Fayette and others, had been influenced wholly by patriotic motives and an ardent attachment to liberty; he had no occasion to acquire military fame, and he possessed a soul which raised him infinitely above becoming a mercenary soldier. He wanted neither rank nor emolument; his object was to serve the cause, not to serve himself. He however received a Colonel's commission, and was employed under General Greene, in the southern campaign of '81. In the attack on Ninety-Six, a very strong post of the enemy in South Carolina, Kosciusko being a skilful engineer, Greene intrusted to him the important duty of preparing and constructing the works for the siege. He continued in the service until after the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which terminated all the important operations of the war.

On leaving America, Kosciusko returned to his native country, where he exerted himself for the improvement of the political condition of his countrymen, and promoting the general prosperity. Stanislaus exerted himself to improve what territory was left him by his friendly neighbors; a taste for agriculture was cherished, the condition of the peasantry who had been so long enslaved and degraded, was raised, and a national system of education established. But the most important improvement was in the constitution of the state. The disorders and factions which had so long and so unhappily prevailed, had convinced all enlightened patriots, that the existing constitution was the fertile source of their internal dissensions; and that it was incompatible with the tranquility or prosperity of the country. After repeated attempts, the diet in 1791, succeeded in establishing a new constitution, on just and liberal principles, so wisely framed that Mr. Burke commended it, by saying that the condition of all was made better, and the rights of none infringed.

But the prosperity and hopes which these improvements were calculated to afford, were soon dissipated. Poland was

again destined to become the victim of the "she bear" of the north. A few of the nobles, disaffected at the new constitution, which had deprived them of some of their privileges, presented their complaints to the court of Petersburg, which, glad of a pretext for interfering in the affairs of Poland, immediately marched a numerous army into the country, for the ostensible object of re-establishing the constitution of 1772. But the real designs of Russia were too apparent to be mistaken: and the Poles did not delay in making preparations for hostilities. This base aggression, and the remembrance of her former rapacity, aroused the nation to a sense of its danger; all dissensions and animosities were forgotten in the common struggle; a spirit worthy the occasion was excited, and every class and rank were resolved to conquer or die in defence of the independence and liberties of their country. The nobles presented their plate and valuable jewels to enrich the treasury, and afforded the means of carrying on the war. The prince Poniatowski, nephew of the king, and Kosciusko, were at the head of the armies, and displayed prodigies of valor. But with all their exertions, bravery, and perseverance, they were unable to resist the power of Russia, whose armies were almost every where successful. And being threatened by the empress with a devastation of the country, if he made farther resistance, and that she would double her present force, Stanislaus, to prevent further effusion of blood, surrendered at discretion, and was conveyed to Grodno, to await the decision of the conqueror. Neither the king nor the nation were long kept in suspense, for soon the courts of Russia and Prussia promulgated a manifesto, declaring their intention of annexing to their dominions several of the adjoining provinces of Poland. This was early in the year 1793.

Not satisfied with their former spoiliations, the King of Prussia and Empress of Russia resolved to lighten the burdens of government, which they believed too heavy for Stanislaus to sustain, by a second partition of his kingdom. Accordingly the latter seized on the country from the Dwina to the Neister; and assuming the civil government of the territory, the inhabitants were ordered to take the oath of allegiance to her Imperial Majesty,

or abandon the conquered district; and the King of Prussia, not to be behind his ally in a neighborly regard for Poland, wrested from it several provinces, besides the cities of Dantzic and Thorn. These high handed depredations were made with the assent of the Emperor of Austria, and pretended to be necessary precautions against the contagion of jacobinal principles, which might otherwise infect their dominions bordering on Poland. Again a diet was convoked, and compelled, by military power to sanction this second partition of the Polish dominions. The Russian ambassador informed the diet "that to prevent any kind of disorder, he had caused two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to surround the castle to secure the tranquility of their deliberations." But although the country had been rent in pieces, the spirit of the nation was not destroyed; and as long as a particle remained, such injustice and violence was calculated to call it into action. The nation was roused, and the patriotism of the Polish nobles was once more called forth. It was readily perceived that nothing could be done without a leader, and the eyes of all were directed to Kosciusko, who had taken refuge in Saxony, with Potocki, Kolontay and Zajonzek. These four resolute patriots rejoiced at the spirit of resistance to oppression which was roused among their countrymen, and were prepared to exert all their energies, and to shed the last drop of their blood, for the independence and freedom of their oppressed and much injured country. Zajonzek was despatched to Warsaw, to learn the state of affairs, to confer with the chief malecontents, and concert the plan of operations. And in the mean time Kosciusko repaired to the frontiers, and anxiously waited the result of this mission. It was determined to make an attempt to rescue the country from the slavery of Russian domination; but suspicions of the designs having been excited, it was thought advisable that no movements should be made at that time. Kosciusko retired to Italy for greater safety, where he was soon joined by Zajonzek, who had been banished from the Polish territories as a promoter of sedition. He informed Kosciusko, that his countrymen were ripe for a revolt, and that they wished to have him appear without delay, as a

more favorable opportunity would not occur. The ambitious designs of Russia were no longer concealed: the ambassador of the empress ordered the constitution of 1791 annulled, and the military force of Poland reduced to 16,000 men, thus intending to deprive the nation of all power of resistance. The patriotic Mondalinski, placing himself at their head, the troops were invincible and refused to lay down their arms. The spirit of resistance was spread through the country, and the ardor of the nation roused to the highest pitch. The Russians to enforce their mandates, sent a numerous army into the country, whose ruthless conduct drove the Poles to desperation. The peasantry were compelled to feed, lodge, and convey their enemies from place to place, without compensation, and thus to become the instruments of enslaving their own country. This severe and cruel treatment exasperated the public feeling, and the spirit of revenge and resistance became inveterate and universal.

At this time, the great patriot and hero to whom all looked as a leader, appeared, and was immediately appointed generalissimo of the patriot army, and chief of the confederacy. He took the oath of fidelity to the nation, and of adherence to the act of insurrection by which war was declared against the ruthless invaders of the rights and independence of Poland.—Like Washington, he had conferred on him such ample powers, as, in the possession of any other man, would have been a source of jealousy if not of real danger; but his country had the most unbounded confidence in Kosciusko, which was not misplaced. He issued a proclamation, containing an appeal to every rank and class of the people, to rally round the standard of their country and of freedom, and to break the chains which enslaved them, or perish in the attempt. This appeal was not made in vain: he was soon surrounded by a large number of armed peasantry; and the nobility having proclaimed the constitution of 1791, departed to their respective estates, to bring their vassals into the field. The Russians were soon driven out of Cracow, which became the head quarters of the patriot army. A Russian force of 6,000 men marching toward Cracow, under Gen. Wononozow, to attack the patriots, was engaged by their brave

leader, and defeated with the loss of 1000 men, and eleven pieces of cannon, and their general made prisoner. This splendid success became the signal for general hostilities, and had the most favorable influence. The Russian general, Igelstrom, attempted to make himself master of the arsenal at Warsaw, but was resolutely repelled by the inhabitants, who after a bloody contest of three days, drove the Russians from the city with the loss of more than fifteen hundred men. The enemy retired to the camp of the Prussian general Wolki.

In other towns the inhabitants displayed similar bravery and resolution, and in many their exertions were successful. These successes served to inspire confidence, and to animate the most desponding; the whole country was soon in arms, and 60,000 troops were in the field, exclusive of the peasantry, who were armed with pikes. These movements filled with astonishment the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, who had flattered themselves that Poland was so far humbled, and the spirit of the nation so broken, that it had no longer the power to make any resistance. Being exasperated at this unexpected resistance, Catharine and Frederick made great exertions to overcome the insurgents, as they called them, and to defend the country they had forcibly annexed to their own dominions. These two powers marched 110,000 men into Poland, all regular and well-disciplined troops, which gave them a decided superiority. Kosciusko, however, made a skilful retreat upon Warsaw, where he was besieged by a large Prussian army. He defended the place for ten weeks, when, after sustaining a loss of 20,000 men, the Prussian commander was obliged to raise the siege and retire to his own territories.— During this siege the Russians had overrun Lithuania and Volhynia; and Kosciusko being at liberty, marched to oppose them. The eyes of Europe and America were fixed on him, as this was justly viewed as the last struggle of an oppressed but brave people; all who loved liberty, or regarded justice, felt an ardent desire for their success; and from the noble spirit which pervaded the nation, and from the victories which had been achieved, great hopes were entertained. These, however, were too soon found to be fallacious: fortune did not favor the patriot chief.

and Poland was destined to fall never to rise again, and to be erased from the map of nations. Kosciusko and his brave companions in arms, fighting for their liberty, the independence of their country, the safety of their wives and children, displayed feats of bravery and determined perseverance, worthy of the sacred cause in which they were engaged, with the disciplined but ferocious barbarians of the north.

After some less important operations, a great battle was fought at Matchevitz, on the 19th of October, (1794,) in which Kosciusko was defeated, and his brave patriot army almost annihilated. The Russian general, Baron de Fersen, on learning that Kosciusko expected to be joined by Poniski, resolved to attack him before a junction could be effected. The action commenced before light, and continued to rage until past mid-day; the patriots animated by the example of their intrepid chief, fought like men determined to conquer or die, and the latter, dreadful alternative, was the unhappy fate of a large portion of these brave men; 6000 lay dead on the field, and nearly 2000 were wounded or captured. Their intrepid leader was wounded and made prisoner. He was advancing a few steps after he received his wound, when a Cossack approached and aimed at him a dreadful blow, which would inevitably have proved fatal; had not a Russian officer, whose wife had been a prisoner to Kosciusko, and been treated with great kindness by him, interposed and stopped the blow. The prostrate hero, however, not wishing to survive the fall of his country, requested the officer if he really wished to do him a kindness, to permit the soldier to put an end to his existence. But he was made a prisoner, conveyed to Petersburg, and there confined in a fortress. The last vial of wrath was poured out on Poland, and her fate was irrevocably sealed;

“ Oh! bloodiest picture in the book of time!
Sarmatia fell unwept without a crime,
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe.
Strength in her arms, or mercy in her wo;
Dropp'd from her nerveless grasp the shattered spear,
Clos'd her bright eye and curb'd her high career;
Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shriek'd as Kosciusko fell.”

The whole country was now in the possession of the Russians and Prussians, except Warsaw, where the troops of the invaders were marching to besiege it. The brave Poles, "few but undismayed," consisting of not more than 10,000 men, were determined to make a desperate resistance, and to sell their lives as dear as possible. As soon as the Russian army reached the suburb of Prague, they erected during the night several batteries, and a furious assault was then commenced. The two first divisions, after suffering severely from a vigorous fire of the inhabitants for more than eight hours, at length overcoming all obstacles, rushed into the place, pursued the routed foe through the streets, slaughtered about two thousand of them, and drove one thousand into the Vistula. The entrenchments were every where forced, and the streets filled with dead; a regiment of Jews having made an obstinate defence, were nearly all killed; the fugitives being pursued to the river, which stopped their flight, several thousands were massacred. Not satisfied with the slaughter of the battle, about ten hours afterward, the ruthless and infamous Suwarrow, the Kengis-Khan of modern times, ordered the city set on fire, and delivered the inhabitants up to plunder and massacre. No age, sex, or condition was spared, but all were alike exposed to the brutal violence of a ferocious soldiery, and were involved in one common ruin. More than fifteen thousand persons were killed or drowned, and about the same number made prisoners; a majority of whom were soon after released. Humanity weeps over this horrid scene, and Christianity blushes that such savage monsters should assume her name.

King Stanislaus was again taken to Grodno, and compelled to resign his crown, and from thence was removed to St. Petersburg, where he remained a prisoner until his death. As Russia and Prussia were about dividing the spoil, Austria suddenly stepped in and demanded a share; and unwilling to incur her displeasure, and as stolen property is always valued rather lightly, they concluded to gratify her in her wishes, and the remaining territories of Poland were divided among the three royal robbers. All the patriotic associates of Kosciusko shared the same fate as their leader; they were imprisoned at Peters-

burg, and in other fortresses, where they remained until the accession of Paul, in 1796. He showed great liberality to the persecuted Poles, and set most of them at liberty. Kosciusko was among the number, he being permitted either to remain in the Russian dominions, or to emigrate to America. He preferred to retire to the country of freedom, which he had assisted in its struggle for its independence, and not long afterward came to the United States.

We are not informed how long he remained here; but he had returned to Europe previously to the last mighty struggle between France and the allied powers, and in 1815, when the armies of the latter entered Paris, he was residing in that capital. He was sought out by the Polish soldiers, who regarding him as the great patriot of their country, and remembering his toils, exertions, and sacrifices in defence of its independence, and to redeem its fading glory, could not sufficiently express their gratitude and veneration for him, then weighed down with years and sufferings, yet illustrious in his misfortunes. He died soon after in France, at an advanced age; and since, his remains have been removed from a foreign grave, and deposited in the cemetery of the kings of Poland, at Cracow, where they repose with those of the great Sobieski. A monument of Carpathian marble has recently been erected to the memory of Kosciusko, on the summit of Mount St. Bronislaway, in the neighborhood of Cracow. The Emperor Alexander has since caused the remains of Stanislaus Poniatowski to be removed from St. Petersburg, where he died in 1798, to the same cemetery.

COUNT PULASKI.

COUNT PULASKI, a distinguished patriot of Poland, and a partizan warrior; he was one of the distinguished foreigners, who during our revolutionary struggle came to America, as a soldier of liberty, to assist in fighting the battles of freedom.

He had signalized his patriotism and valor in the disastrous war in which his country was engaged in 1772, which terminated in the first dismemberment of Poland. This unhappy war originated from internal dissension, occasioned by an unjust and impolitic decree respecting the privileges of the Protestants, in Poland called the dissidents. Having petitioned and remonstrated in vain, the dissidents, being encouraged by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, were resolved to appeal to the sword for the defence of their rights. A civil war was thus commenced, which afforded an occasion for the ambitious and rapacious neighbors of Poland to interfere, and as the pretended allies of one of the contending parties, invade the country. This unjust invasion aroused the spirit of the nation, and active preparations were made to defend the country. The anti-Russian party, consisting principally of the Catholics, were called the confederates; and the other party, comprising the adherents of Russia, acted in concert with the troops of the allies. The original cause of the contest was changed; and it became really a struggle between the Russian and the anti-Russian parties, the former being supported by troops of the allies, and the latter feebly assisted by Saxony and France. Some time previous to the breaking out of this war, Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman of high rank and distinction, had been elected king of Poland by the influence of Russia. The confederates, or the anti-Russian party, were jealous of him, considered him as being subservient to the court of Petersburg, and believed that he was secretly in favor of the malecontents, who had invited foreign armies into the country, and were acting with them in carrying on hostilities. From these views, it became a great object with the confederates, to depose Stanislaus and crush the Russian faction, and rescue the country from the influence of that dangerous neighbor.

Among the ardent partizans and leaders of the confederates, was count Pulaski. By him, and other distinguished Poles, belonging to the anti-Russian association, it was believed that Poland could never be safe nor tranquil, until it was rescued

from the paralysing influence of Russia. And regarding the king, (although as subsequent events proved, rather unjustly,) as subservient to that power, Pulaski conceived and planned the bold enterprize of seizing the king, and conveying him to the camp of the confederates. Matters having been arranged for the execution of this daring achievement, Kosinski, and other members of the anti-Russian association, who were intrusted with its execution, surprised and seized the king at Warsaw, although surrounded by a numerous body of guards, and conveyed him into a neighboring forest. But his expostulations and entreaties had such an effect on Kosinski, that he released him, and saved him from farther violence, he having been wounded by the assailants. The king was so exasperated, that he declared Pulaski an outlaw.

But the confederates receiving little or no assistance from France or Saxony; and the combined powers, bent on the conquest of the country, filling it with their troops, the contest resulted as might have been expected, from the unequal means of the belligerent parties. The brave Poles were almost everywhere defeated, and the numerous armies of the combined powers overcame all resistance, and made themselves masters of the country. Their unprincipled designs were no longer disguised; but they openly avowed their intention of seizing on a considerable portion of the conquered country, and dividing the spoil among themselves. A treaty to this effect having been signed on the 2d of February, 1772, they immediately ordered the Poles to convoke a diet, and sanction this violent dismemberment, under a threat of subjecting the country to military execution, and treating it as a conquered state. By these violent measures, a majority of the diet was constrained to sanction such injustice and rapacity.

Many, however, of the noble-minded Poles, rather than to be the unwilling instruments of bringing their country to ruin, preferred exile and poverty; and to avoid witnessing the degradation of their native land, sought an asylum abroad. Among this number were count Pulaski, and the illustrious Kosciusko.

War breaking out two years after, between the American colonies and the parent country, this struggle of an infant people with their powerful oppressors, excited the sympathies of the friends of liberty throughout Europe, and invited many patriots to our shores, who volunteered their services in the glorious cause. Pulaski and Kosciusko were among the number: they arrived, it is believed, early in the year 1777. Pulaski, who had been an experienced cavalry officer at home, had a command given him in the light-horse. He was first engaged in the battle of the Brandywine, in which the young Marquis de la Fayette, and many other foreigners were employed. Count Pulaski, who commanded a party of horse, sustained his high reputation for courage, his activity and exertions were conspicuous throughout the engagement, and he was particularly noticed by the commander-in-chief, as having distinguished himself. And congress were so much gratified with his conduct and promise of usefulness in that branch of the service in which he was employed, that they a few days afterward appointed him a brigadier-general, and commander of the horse. He continued with the army in Pennsylvania, during the remainder of the campaign in 1777. Early the next year, when Baron Steuben was appointed inspector-general, and great exertions were made by Washington to improve the discipline, and effect a radical reform in the army, Count Pulaski was empowered to raise an independent legion; which he afterward accomplished, and organized and disciplined his men in an excellent manner. In the fall of this year, he was unfortunately surprised by a party of the enemy, and sustained considerable loss. Captain Ferguson, having returned to Egg-Harbor from a predatory incursion, there obtained information of some deserters from Pulaski's legion, of the situation of that corps, which induced him to attempt to surprise and attack it. Accordingly Ferguson, with about two hundred and fifty men, embarked in barges in the night, and landed near where a part of Pulaski's legion was quartered, who, being asleep, and wholly unprepared and unsuspecting of danger, were fallen upon, and about fifty of them massacred, including several officers of distinction. Pulaski,

having rallied his men as soon as he could, made an attempt to cut off this party, which immediately retreated, but without success.

In January, 1779, General Lincoln having been appointed to the command of the southern department, Count Pulaski's light-horse were ordered to the south. After the shameful flight of General Ashe, the British, under General Prevost obtained possession of the whole state of Georgia. The appointment about this time of John Rutledge governor of South Carolina, clothed with ample powers, produced a favorable effect, and soon changed the gloomy aspect of affairs. Lincoln, finding himself at the head of 5000 men, again resolved to act on the offensive. He once more crossed the Savannah River, and took such a position as would enable him to intercept the supplies of the enemy, from the back parts of Georgia; leaving General Moultrie, with 1000 men, at the Black Swamp. Count Pulaski's legion of light-horse, formed a part of the force under Lincoln. The American general had no sooner made this movement, than the British commander determined to penetrate into South Carolina. Having collected a force of 3000 men, he crossed the river in several places, and, traversing swamps that had been deemed impassable, appeared so unexpectedly, that the militia under General Moultrie made very little resistance, and retreated towards Charleston.

The British general, who at first probably intended his movement only as a feint, to draw Lincoln back from his expedition, emboldened by his success, resolved to push on to the capital of South Carolina. He accordingly marched in pursuit of the retreating militia, and coming up with Col. Laurens, who had been left with a party to defend a bridge, after a sharp conflict for some time, in which Laurens was wounded, compelled the Americans to retire, and continued his march. Gen. Lincoln, judging that the movement of Prevost was only a feint to draw him back, despatched Colonel Harris, with 300 continentals, to reinforce Moultrie, and continued his march towards the capital of Georgia; but three days after, being convinced that the British general meditated a serious attack upon Charleston, Lincoln turned

about and retraced his steps. Count Pulaski's legion of light troops, were immediately ordered on to join General Moultrie, who moved with such rapidity, that they came up with him before he reached Charleston, and in conjunction with parties of militia, made repeated stands on the retreat, and skirmished with the advance guard of the enemy, which seemed to check their march. General Moultrie and Colonel Harris reached Charleston on the 9th of May; and governor Rutledge, with a body of militia, which had been stationed at Orangeburg as a reserve, on the 10th; Pulaski arrived with his legion on the 11th; and on the same day, near one thousand of the enemy came up, crossed the ferry of Ashley River, and advanced towards the town.

Pulaski immediately conceived a plan to draw the enemy into an ambuscade; as soon as they approached, he marched at the head of a single company of infantry, and posted them behind a small breastwork which had previously been thrown up in a valley, with orders to remain concealed; he then returned, and placing himself at the head of a small party of horse, sallied out and advanced a mile beyond the concealed infantry, with a view to draw the enemy's cavalry into action, intending after a slight skirmish to retreat, and thus draw the enemy's cavalry within the reach of the concealed infantry. But the object was defeated by the ardor of the infantry; disregarding their orders, they rushed out from behind the breastwork, to join in the attack, in consequence of which, being inferior in numbers to the British, Pulaski was obliged to retreat. The enemy pressed hard upon them, but they were met and resisted in the most intrepid manner by Pulaski, whose example animated his men to deeds of heroism, worthy of their brave leader. After this, several skirmishes during the day and succeeding night occurred, between the cavalry of the two hostile parties, in all of which Pulaski's legion, led on by their intrepid chief, displayed a coolness and bravery which has seldom been surpassed, and which reflected great honour on their gallant commander, whose exertions and example stimulated his brave men to noble deeds. Perhaps a braver man than Pulaski never drew a sword; during

these various encounters, he was repeatedly engaged in single combat with individuals of the enemy, and sometimes with fearful odds. In the mean time, the troops within the town, and the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes, were actively employed in strengthening their defences.

On the next day, the 12th, the town was summoned to surrender, and although the conditions offered were considered favorable, they were not accepted, and the negotiation was protracted through the day, by which means further time was obtained for improving the means of defending the city. On the 13th, a most extraordinary proposition was submitted to the British commander, which was that the whole state would remain *neutral* during the war, and its ultimate destiny to depend on the peace. If any thing could exceed the pusillanimity and folly of this proposition, it was the conduct of General Prevost in refusing to accept it, and immediately breaking up his camp and retreating, without farther negotiation, or making any attempt upon the town.

General Lincoln pursued the enemy to Stono-Ferry, where on the 20th of June he attacked a part of Prevost's force, under Colonel Maitland, and sustained a sharp conflict for an hour and a half with great advantage, when the enemy receiving a reinforcement, the Americans were compelled to retire, and being hard pressed with fresh troops, considerable confusion ensued, at which juncture Pulaski's horse charged the enemy with such gallantry and spirit as checked their advance, and enabled Mason's Virginia brigade to move up and cover the retreat.

In the unfortunate siege of Savannah, Count Pulaski was engaged with his legion, and displayed his accustomed activity and valour, which however proved fatal, and terminated his military and earthly career. The unexpected appearance of the French fleet on the American coast alarmed the British forces in Georgia. On the 13th of September, 1779, the count D'Estaing landed 3,000 men at Beaulieu, which, on the 15th were joined by Count Pulaski with his legion; but the rest of the troops under General Lincoln, from the difficulties of the route, did not arrive until the 16th, when the allied armies united

in front of the town of Savannah. Previously to this, Count D'Estaing had appeared with his fleet before the town, and summoned the garrison to surrender. General Prevost artfully replied by requesting a truce for four and twenty hours to *adjust the terms of capitulation*; his only object, however, being to obtain time to strengthen his works and means of defence.— This request unfortunately was granted, and the time was employed by the besieged, in the most active exertions; and within the time, General Prevost was reinforced by the arrival of the outposts which increased his force one-third. At the close of the truce, Prevost informed the Count that he should defend himself to the last extremity. On the 23d the allied armies broke ground for the siege, and proceeded in their work with great activity. In ten days, more than fifty pieces of battering cannon and fourteen mortars were mounted; which were opposed by nearly one hundred of different sizes, and on the fourth of October, a tremendous fire was commenced upon the town. After the batteries had played on the town for several days without much effect, Count D'Estaing being anxious about the safety of his fleet, if the siege should be prolonged, proposed to change the plan of operations, and make an attempt upon the town by storm. This Lincoln was obliged to agree to, as otherwise the Count threatened to abandon the siege altogether.— Unfortunately, information of the intended assault was conveyed to Prevost, by an officer who deserted from the Charleston volunteers, which enabled him to prepare for it. Savannah is protected from an attack by land by the river on one side, and a deep morass on the other, extending parallel with the river in the rear of the town. The assault was made on the morning of the 9th, before daylight, by two columns on the enemies right; one commanded by Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln in concert, and the other by Count Dillon. The former moved along the margin of the morass, covered by the darkness, to within a short distance of the enemy's line, when their concealed batteries being unmasked, a destructive fire was opened upon them, which made great havoc. Undismayed by this slaughter, the column continued to advance, and D'Estaing and Lincoln

forced the abattis, and placed their standards on the parapet; at this time had the other column came up, the assault would have succeeded, and the possession of the enemy's works been certain; but Count Dillon unfortunately lost his way in the darkness, and failed in affording the expected co-operation.— At this crisis, Colonel Maitland made a vigorous attack on the brave soldiers who had planted their standards on the parapet, who were forced into the ditch, the flags torn down, and the whole column compelled to retire through the abattis. This disastrous result of the attack, would probably have been avoided, but for the fatal termination of the gallant career of the brave Pulaski. At the moment Colonel Maitland, with his own corps united with the marines and grenadiers, under Lieut. Colonel Grazier, pushed forward to attack the assailants, Pulaski perceiving the danger to which the allied column was placed, made a bold effort at the head of two hundred horse, to force his way through the enemy's works and gain the rear of Maitland, which would have placed that brave and skilful officer in a critical situation, and in all probability have changed the fate of the day; but whilst advancing at the head of his men, exposed to the most tremendous fire, the intrepid Pulaski received a mortal wound, and fell from his horse. The fall of their heroic leader stopped the progress of the squadron, and they immediately retreated. He lived two days, and expired on the 11th of October, 1779. Thus fell in a most bold and daring achievement, the distinguished Polish patriot and hero, in the cause of American liberty: his memory is entitled to our veneration as his life forms an item in the price of our independence. Soon after, Congress *resolved*, that a monument should be erected to his memory; but this *paper* statue, and the heroic deeds of a bold and adventurous life, constitute the only monument that has been erected to his memory, or which serves to perpetuate his fame.

BARON DE KALB.

BARON DE KALB was a native of Germany; but, having long been employed in the services of France, previous to the commencement of the American revolution, he possessed the character of a French officer, if not of a French citizen, when he came to the United States. He arrived here in 1777, and being an officer of great experience, and undoubted courage, he received the commission of major-general from Congress. Early in the year following, he was selected as one of the officers in the expedition, which had been planned against Cannada, and proceeded to Albany to engage in the enterprise, the command of which was entrusted to the young Marquis de la Fayette; but the preparations being wholly inadequate, the expedition was abandoned. Generals Conway and Stark were also to have joined in the enterprise.

In the summer of 1780, after the surrender of Charleston, and the submission of the whole of South Carolina to the royal authority, and all resistance in that quarter had nearly ceased, the Baron de Kalb was ordered by congress to the south, to revive a spirit of resistance and arrest, if possible, the prevailing fortunes of the victorious enemy. The situation of the southern states, at this time, was truly alarming; Georgia and South Carolina were conquered, and North Carolina was quiet, and apparently overawed; and congress felt the necessity of directing their attention, in a particular manner, to that quarter, and of making every possible effort to retrieve their fallen fortunes, in that department of the war. The ordering of Baron de Kalb, at this time to that station, is a strong evidence of the confidence congress reposed in his talents. General Gates, whose reputation at this time was perhaps second to that of no officer, except the commander-in-chief, was appointed to the chief command in the southern department; and great hopes were indulged from the exertions of two such distinguished generals. Baron de Kalb arrived at Hillsborough in North Carolina, at the head

of two thousand continentals, consisting of the Maryland and Delaware lines. His approach revived the despondent hopes, and animated the drooping spirits of the inhabitants; the militia flocked to his standard from North Carolina and Virginia, and were soon organized and prepared to join him on his march. He had not proceeded far, before he was overtaken by General Gates, who assumed the chief command; and this increased the joy which had already been excited, and produced sanguine hopes of a successful campaign. The aspect of affairs was at once changed; the gloom of despondency was succeeded by the brightening rays of high expectations; which counteracted the effects of the proclamations of Clinton and Cornwallis, and brought many to the American standard, who a short time before had exchanged their paroles for the oath of allegiance.

General Gates, relying on these favourable circumstances, and not sufficiently cautious, seemed only desirous of meeting the enemy. He changed the route, which the prudence of the Baron de Kalb had selected, leading through a district which afforded abundant supplies for the troops, and pursued a nearer route, but which led through a barren country scarcely settled, and where no provisions could be obtained, but green corn and unripe fruits. This occasioned a fatal sickness, of which many died, and more became unfit for duty; and the horses also suffered for want of forage, which rendered them of little use: General Gates moved to Lynch's Creek, which alone separated him from Lord Rawdon, when the latter immediately retreated to Camden and despatched intelligence of the approach of the American army to Cornwallis. General Gates moved on to Rudgley's Mills, where he halted and encamped. Here being informed by General Sumpter, that a party of the enemy were on their way, with stores for the army at Camden, and that with a detachment of artillery he could intercept them, Gates ordered Col. Woolford, with four hundred men and two field pieces to his aid. General Gates was joined here by General Stevens, with several hundred Virginia militia; and although he had weakened his force by detaching Colonel Woolford, he still prepared to march to Camden, and seemed to suppose that Lord Rawdon would

retreat at his approach, as he had done at Lynch's Creek; and he was entirely ignorant of Lord Cornwallis's arrival.

The very night that Gates moved from Rudgley's Mills, Cornwallis marched from Camden, with the intention of surprising him in his position. The advanced guards of the two armies met on the morning of the 16th, some hours before dawn of light. Armond's squadron of cavalry, which was in advance, was immediately thrown back in confusion on the Maryland regiment, which occasioned some disorder; but the light infantry, which flanked the army, opposed the advance of the enemy's van, and this first apprized the two generals of the proximity of their armies. Neither being willing to risk an action in the dark, both immediately halted and prepared for action. The situation, which was the result of accident, and not of choice on either side, was precisely what the enemy desired, as the deep swamps, on both sides, prevented the Americans from presenting a more extended line than the enemy, which, from their superior numbers, they might have done, would the ground have admitted of it. There were about 2,000 of the British, and about 3,700 Americans, of which, however, one thousand only were continentals. The enemy were drawn up in one line, extending across the whole ground, and flanked by the swamps on both sides. Colonel Webster was stationed on the right, and Lord Rawdon on the left: in front of the line, the artillery, with four field-pieces, were posted; the reserve were posted at two stations in the rear, near the centre of each wing, at each of which was one six pounder; and the cavalry occupied the road in the rear, which, with the reserve, formed the second line. General Gates changed the first disposition of his troops; the second Maryland brigade and the Delaware regiment were posted on the right, under General Gist: the centre was occupied by General Caswell, with the North Carolina militia; and the Virginia militia, commanded by General Stevens, were placed on the left, being opposed to the best troops of the enemy.—The artillery was divided among the several brigades; and the first Maryland brigade, under General Smallwood, formed the reserve. The line of battle was intrusted to the Baron de

Kalb, who was posted on the right, great reliance being placed on his experience and known intrepidity; he was to watch the movements of the whole line, and direct his exertions where circumstances might indicate. General Gates was stationed in the road, between the reserve and the front line.

The action was commenced by a vigorous attack on the American left, by the enemy's right, which were their best troops; this was immediately followed by the discharge of artillery from our centre, and the action was soon commenced along the whole line. The Virginia militia on our left, unable to stand the vigorous assault of the British veterans, after one fire threw down their arms and fled; and their pernicious example was immediately followed by the North Carolina brigade in our centre; and all the exertions of their officers, and of Gen. Gates in person, to rally them was ineffectual: filled with consternation, they continued their cowardly flight until they reached a place of safety. The centre of the American line being thus broken, the right, consisting of the Maryland brigade and Delaware regiment, led by the gallant De Kalb, had to sustain the whole force of the action. De Kalb and Gist were pushing on with decided advantage, at the time the militia gave way, which stopped their advance, and brought the whole fire of the enemy upon them; animated by their brave leader, they resolutely sustained this unequal contest for a considerable time, and until all the other troops had retreated: several times were the enemy's van driven in with loss. General Smallwood, with the first Maryland brigade, which had formed the reserve, advanced and took the place of the fugitives on the left, which exposed him to the whole corps of Webster's veterans, on the enemy's right. The shock was too heavy for militia; three times was General Smallwood compelled to give way, and with determined valour three times did he return to the charge, and would probably have maintained his ground had not the remaining regiment of North Carolina militia, which for some time seemed resolved to retrieve the disgrace of their countrymen, finally gave way, which compelled Smallwood's regiment to retire in some disorder from so unequal and destructive a

contest. This left the right the second time exposed to the whole force of the enemy. Few, but undismayed, the brave continentals, animated by the heroic conduct of their chief, made a determined effort to sustain the honour of the field alone. From the vast superiority of the enemy, their fire was heavy and destructive, and could not be returned with the same effect; De Kalb, therefore, placed his last hopes on the bayonet. and, making a desperate charge, drove the enemy before him with considerable advantage. But at this time, Cornwallis, perceiving that the American cavalry had left the field, ordered Col. Tarlton to charge with his cavalry; and, having concentrated his whole force, the charge was made with the usual impetuosity of that daring officer. This was decisive of the desperate conflict, and fatal to the gallant officer who is the subject of this brief notice. Fatigued from their long and arduous efforts, the heroic continentals, who had sustained almost the whole burden of the day, were unable to withstand the charge; and their gallant leader, who was himself a host, having fallen, they were compelled to leave a field which they had so honorably defended, and seek safety by flight. The victory, and the dispersion of the Americans, was complete; and the fugitives were pursued for more than twenty miles. The troops under De Kalb, on the right, suffered as might be supposed, most severely; the Delaware regiment was nearly destroyed, two companies only being left, and more than one third of the continentals were killed and wounded.

Perhaps no officer ever exerted himself more, in a single action, than did the Baron de Kalb on this occasion; he did all that man could do to retrieve the fortune of the day, exposing himself to constant and imminent danger. He received eleven wounds in the course of the action; but kept his post and continued his exertions until the last, which proved mortal. As he fell, his aid, Lieutenant-colonel de Buysson, caught him in his arms, to save him from the uplifted bayonets of the enemy, which he warded off by receiving them in his own body. In his last moments the Baron dictated a letter to General Smallwood, who succeeded to his command, expressing a warm affection for

the Americans and the cause in which they were engaged, and his admiration of the conduct of the troops under his immediate command, whose bravery and firmness, in so unequal a contest, he said, had called forth the commendation even of the enemy; and concluded by expressing the satisfaction he felt in having fallen in the defence of the independence and liberties of America, a cause so dear to the lovers of liberty and the friends of humanity, in Europe as well as America. He survived only a few days: an ornamental tree was planted at the head of his grave, near Camden, and congress duly sensible of his merits, passed a resolution directing a monument to be erected to his memory, with very honorable inscriptions, at Annapolis, in Maryland; but the resolution, it is believed, has never been carried into effect, and the gratitude and plighted faith of the nation both remain unredeemed. He was in the forty-eighth year of his age, most of his life had been spent in military employments, and the last three years in America, with distinguished reputation.

BARON DE STEUBEN,

Major-General in the American Army.

FREDERICK WILLIAM STEUBEN was a native of Prussia, and born in the year 1735. Being designed for the profession of arms, he received a military education, and was early engaged in military employments. His military science, undoubted bravery, and assiduous attention to duty, did not escape the penetration of the great Frederick, and soon procured for the young Baron the confidence of his sovereign, and the most honorable preferment. For many years, he served in the memorable campaigns of his sovereign, the greatest commander of the age, with distinguished reputation. This was a school, in which the dullest could hardly fail of acquiring experience and knowledge in the art of war; and at the same time opened a field, sufficiently capacious for the most ardent aspirant for military fame.

The war, which was terminated by the peace of 1763, in which France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Saxony were united against Prussia, and which was commenced on the part of the allies, for the conquest and spoliation of the dominions of his Prussian Majesty, afforded the boldest and most successful campaigns, and the most splendid victories, of any in modern times. The exertions of the king of Prussia, in sustaining himself, with the assistance of Great Britain, as his ally, against so many, and so powerful enemies, was truly astonishing. But his active genius overcame all difficulties, taught his enemies to respect him, and secured to him a military reputation, not second to any commander of the age. To have served with this great general, in his memorable campaigns, and taken a part in such great and splendid victories as those of Prague, Lissa, Crevelt, Zoondorff, Minden, and Torgau, was sufficient to confer experience, and establish a military character, of no ordinary distinction. But to have performed this service under a commander so severe, with success and honor, and to have secured his highest confidence, was a more conclusive proof of military genius and talents. And that Baron Steuben did this, is sufficiently evident, from the single fact, were there no other, of his having served as aid to his Prussian majesty; who would have no officer around his person, that did not sustain the first reputation for courage and capacity. The Baron rose to the high rank of lieutenant-general in the Prussian service.

At the breaking out of the American war, there was a general peace in Europe; which favored the wishes of those patriots and adventurers in that hemisphere, who desired to signalize their valor and patriotism, in assisting an infant people, struggling for their rights. Among the numerous foreigners, who honored the American cause, by crossing the Atlantic to serve it, some no doubt acted from no other motive, than those which usually govern the conduct of military adventurers. Many, however, without doubt, were influenced by more noble and exalted motives: a regard for liberty, and a sincere desire to establish it in the new world; which might serve both as an asylum, and an example for the old. And, notwithstanding the ar-

bitrary government of Prussia, under which he had lived, such were the sentiments and views of Baron de Steuben. His enlightened mind led him to esteem civil liberty, as the highest earthly good; and he was desirous of consecrating his attachment to it, by his services, if not by his blood. He sailed from France to the United States, and arrived at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire, in November, 1777. He brought with him strong recommendations from the American commissioners at Paris, and others, to congress. Notwithstanding which, however, he informed that body, that he wished for no rank, or compensation, and only requested permission, as a volunteer, to render what service he could to the American army, and the cause in which the country was engaged. The following winter he spent at Valley Forge, where the American army was in winter quarters, under Washington. As is well known, the army at this time was in a most suffering condition; being in want of provisions, clothing, and almost every thing which their comfort required. But, notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, Baron de Steuben exerted himself, with great assiduity to improve the discipline and manœuvres of the army. From his great military science and experience, his prudent conduct, and the interest he manifested in the cause he had espoused, he soon acquired the confidence of Washington. Early in the year 1778, General Conway resigned the office of inspector-general; and Washington, sensible of the great military skill and acquirements of Steuben, immediately recommended him to congress, for that important post; which was soon after conferred on him, with the rank of major-general.

Being clothed with authority, and it being now his particular duty to attend to the discipline of the troops, his distinguished talents as a tactician were soon rendered conspicuous in the improved discipline of the troops. He exerted himself to introduce a uniform and improved system of manœuvres, and by his skill, perseverance, and industry, effected, during the continuance of the troops at Valley Forge, a most important and advantageous improvement in the discipline of all ranks of the army.

After General Arnold had treacherously deserted his post at West Point, the Baron never failed to manifest his indignation and abhorrence of his name and character, and while inspecting Col. Sheldon's regiment of light-horse, the name of Arnold struck his ear. The soldier was ordered to the front; he was a fine looking fellow, his horse and equipments in excellent order—"Change your name brother soldier," said the Baron, "you are too respectable to bear the name of a traitor." "What name shall I take, General?" "Take any other name; mine is at your service." Most cheerfully was the offer accepted, and his name was entered on the roll as Steuben. He or his children now enjoy the land given to him in the town of Steuben, by the Baron. This brave soldier met him after the war. "I am well settled, General," said he, "and have a wife and son; I have called my son after you, Sir." "I thank you, my friend; what name have you given the boy?" "I called him Baron—what else could I call him?"

When Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia for New-York, and was pursued by Washington, Steuben accompanied the American army; and although he had no particular command, he volunteered in the action of Monmouth. He continued his exertions to improve the discipline of the army, and to introduce his system, and thus establish uniformity throughout the different corps of the army; and for this purpose, in 1779, an abstract of his system of discipline and tactics was published in compliance with the wishes of the commander-in-chief, and of congress. This being put into the hands of all the officers, had a wonderful influence in improving, and giving uniformity to the different corps of the army.

In October 1780, after the defeat and dispersion of the southern army at Camden, under General Gates, great anxiety was felt for the fate of the southern states: and congress, in a particular manner, directed their attention to the state of the war in that department. General Greene was appointed to supercede Gates; Major Lee was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and ordered to join the southern army, with his legionary corps; and Baron de Steuben was directed to proceed to Virgi-

nia, to organize, from the militia, and other elements which the state afforded, the means of defence against the forces of the enemy then in the state, and threatening the destruction of its principal towns.

While upon this duty, a regiment had been collected, and was paraded on the point of marching, when a well-looking man on horseback rode up and informed the Baron that he had brought him a recruit. "I thank you, Sir," said the Baron, "with all my heart—where is your man, Colonel?" for he was a colonel in the militia. "Here, Sir," ordering his boy to dismount. The Baron's countenance changed, for he was too honest to suffer an imposition to be practised on the public. A sergeant was ordered to measure the lad, whose shoes, when off, discovered something by which his stature had been increased. The Baron, patting the child's head, with his hands trembling with rage, asked him how old he was? He was very young, quite a child. "Sir," said he, to the militia colonel, "you must have supposed me to be a rascal." "Oh no! Baron, I did not." "Then, Sir, I suppose you to be a rascal, an infamous rascal, thus to attempt to cheat your country. Sergeant, take off this fellow's spurs and place him in the ranks, that we may have a man able to serve instead of an infant, whom he would basely have made his substitute! Go, my boy, take the colonel's spurs and horse to his wife; make my compliments, and say, her husband has gone to fight for the freedom of his country, as an honest man should do;" and instantly ordered—"Platoons! to the right wheel—forward march!"

Colonel Gaskins, who commanded the regiment, fearing the consequences, after marching some distance, allowed the man to escape, who immediately made application to the civil authority for redress; but Gov. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and others, not doubting the purity of the Baron's motive, and fully appreciating his honest zeal, prevented any disagreeable results attending this high-handed exertion of military power.

Great apprehensions were felt for the safety of Richmond, threatened by the British General Leslie, at Portsmouth; but about the time the Baron arrived at the capital of Virginia, the

enemy left Portsmouth, which prevented the necessity of those measures which had been planned for his expulsion, and Virginia, for a short time, remained tranquil. Early in January, '81, however, this repose was disturbed by the arrival of the traitor Arnold in the Chesapeake, who landed his forces on the James River, a few miles below Richmond. His ravages were immediately felt at Richmond, Smithfield, and other places. Baron de Steuben exerted himself to collect and organize a force of militia to oppose his destructive progress. This induced Arnold to retire to Portsmouth, and commence works of defence. But the militia came in slow, and a considerable portion of which being without arms, the Baron could do no more than protect the country from the predatory incursions of small parties. These movements in Virginia, induced congress to order La Fayette to the south, to oppose Arnold, with the expected co-operation of the French fleet. All the troops of the continental establishment of Virginia, being under General Greene, in South Carolina, the defence of the state, against the depredations of the enemy, rested on the militia, of which the Baron had collected about 2,000; one half were on the north side of James River, under General Nelson, and with the other half the Baron made an attempt to protect Petersburg, but his means being wholly inadequate to the object, he was obliged to retreat, and suffer the enemy to enter the town. Previous to this, Arnold had been reinforced by General Philips, who had taken the chief command. The Baron could do no more than watch the motions of the enemy, and check the predatory incursions of small parties.

On the arrival of the Marquis de La Fayette, with a small force of regulars, he joined Steuben, and took upon him the chief command. Their united force checked the progress of General Philips, and compelled him to turn his steps towards City-Point, where his fleet lay.

In the various marches and countermarches which characterized the operations between La Fayette and Lord Cornwallis, who soon after assumed the command of the British forces in Virginia, the Baron Steuben afforded the most prompt and

ready assistance to the young Marquis. He was stationed at Point Fork, with 500 new levies to protect the American stores, when Tarleton was ordered to destroy them; and as the enemy approached, being led into a belief that the whole British army was near, he deemed it advisable to make a rapid retreat during the night, leaving all the stores to fall a sacrifice to the enemy. But though he lost the stores, he saved his men, and succeeded in joining the Marquis, at the same time that he received a reinforcement of the rifle corps, under Colonel Clark, which enabled the Marquis to assume a more imposing attitude. The Baron continued to co-operate with La Fayette in the subsequent events of the campaign, which was terminated by the siege of Yorktown. He generally had the command of militia, or of new levies, and was improving their discipline whilst he was aiding the operations of the Marquis. He was present during the siege of Yorktown, and exerted himself with great ardor in the various operations, and commanded in the trenches on the day the enemy surrendered, and was entitled to a share in the honor of this memorable siege, which so gloriously terminated the great struggle in which the country was engaged.

“At the siege of Yorktown the Baron was in the trenches, at the head of his division, and received the first overture of Lord Cornwallis to capitulate. At the relieving hour, next morning, the Marquis de la Fayette approached at the head of his division to relieve him. The Baron refused to quit the trenches, assigning as a reason the etiquette in Europe, that the offer to capitulate had been made during his tour of duty, and that it was a point of honor of which he would not deprive his troops, to remain in the trenches till the capitulation was signed or hostilities recommenced. The dispute was referred to the commander-in-chief, and the Baron was permitted to remain till the British flag was struck. While on this duty, the Baron perceiving himself in danger from a shell thrown from the enemy, threw himself suddenly into the trench; General Wayne, in the jeopardy and hurry of the moment fell on him; the Baron turning his eyes, saw it was his brigadier, “I always knew you were a brave general,” said he, “but I did not know you were so perfect

in every point of duty, you cover your general's retreat in the best manner possible.' ”*

The Baron returned to the northward, and remained with the army, continually employed, till the peace, in perfecting its discipline.

“At the disbandment of the revolutionary army, when inmates of the same tent, or hut, for seven long years were separating, and probably for ever; grasping each other's hand in silent agony,” I saw, says Dr. Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, “the Baron's strong endeavors to throw some ray of sunshine on the gloom; to mix some drops of cordial with the painful draught. To go, they knew not whither; all recollection of the art to thrive by civil occupations lost, or to the youthful never known. Their hard earned military knowledge worse than useless, and with their badge of brotherhood, a mark at which to point the finger of suspicion—ignoble vile suspicion! to be cast out on a world, long since by them forgotten. Severed from friends, and all the joys and griefs which soldiers feel! Griefs, while hope remained—when shared by numbers, almost joys! To go in silence and alone, and poor and hopeless; it was too hard! On that sad day how many hearts were wrung? I saw it all, nor will the scene be ever blurred or blotted from my view. To a stern old officer, a Lieutenant-Colonel Cochran, from the Green Mountains, who had met danger and difficulty almost in every step from his youth, and from whose furrowed visage a tear till that moment had never fallen, the Baron said—what could be said, to lessen deep distress. ‘For myself,’ said Cochran, ‘I care not, I can stand it; but my wife and daughters are in the garret of that wretched tavern. I know not where to remove, nor have I means for their removal!’ ‘Come, my friend,’ said the Baron, ‘let us go—I will pay my respects to Mrs. Cochran and your daughters, if you please.’ I followed to the loft, the lower rooms being all filled with soldiers, with drunkenness, despair, and blasphemy. And when the Baron left the poor unhappy cast-aways, he left hope with them, and all he had to give.—A black man, with wounds unhealed, wept

* Thacher's *Military Journal*.

on the wharf—for it was at Newburgh where this tragedy was acting—there was a vessel in the stream, bound to the place where he once had friends. He had not a dollar to pay his passage, and he could not walk. Unused to tears, I saw them trickle down this good man's cheeks as he put into the hands of the black man the last dollar he possessed. The negro hailed the sloop, and cried, 'God Almighty bless you master Baron!'

"What good and honorable man, civil or military, before the party spirit murdered friendships, did not respect and love the Baron? Who most? Those who knew him best. After the peace the Baron retired to a farm in the vicinity of New-York, where, with forming a system for the organization and discipline of the militia, books, chess, and the frequent visits of his numerous friends, he passed his time as agreeably as a frequent want of funds would permit. The state of New-Jersey had given him a small improved farm, and the state of New-York gave him a tract of sixteen thousand acres of land in the county of Oneida. After the general government was in full operation, by the exertions of Colonel Hamilton, patronised and enforced by President Washington, a grant of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum was made to him for life. The summers were now chiefly spent on his land, and his winters in the city. His sixteen thousand acres of land were in the uncultivated wilderness; he built a convenient log-house, cleared sixty acres, parcelled out his land on easy terms to twenty or thirty tenants, distributed nearly a tenth of the tract in gifts to his aids-de-camp and servants, and sat himself down to a certain degree contented without society, except that of a young gentleman who read to and with him. He ate only at dinner, but he ate with a strong appetite. In drinking he was always temperate; indeed he was free from every vicious habit. His powers of mind and body were strong, and he received to a certain extent, a liberal education. His days were undoubtedly shortened by his sedentary mode of life. He was seized with an apoplexy, which in a few hours was fatal. Agreeably to his desire often expressed, he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a plain coffin, and hid in the earth, without a stone to tell where he lies. A few neigh-

ours, his servants, the young gentleman his late companion, and one on whom for fifteen years his countenance never ceased to beam with kindness, followed to the grave. It was in a thick, a lonely wood; but in a few years after a public highway was opened near or over the hallowed sod! Colonel Walker snatched the poor remains of his dear friend from a sacrilegious violation, and gave a bounty to protect the grave in which he laid them, from rude and impious intrusion. He died in 1795, in the 65th year of his age." *

Baron Steuben possessed profound and extensive professional knowledge, the result of much study and experience, which was united with a competent share of general science and intelligence, matured by great experience; he was accomplished in his manners, correct in his morals, and was sincerely attached to the dearest interest of humanity. His system of discipline and tactics, was adopted in the militia of the United States, and continued to be used for a great number of years; and had a very extensive and salutary influence in promoting discipline and knowledge of the use of arms.

* Thacher's Military Journal

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