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Catherine Willoughby

A GODCHILD OF WASHINGTON.

(Frontispiece.)

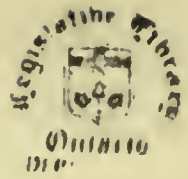


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A GODCHILD OF WASHINGTON

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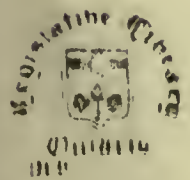
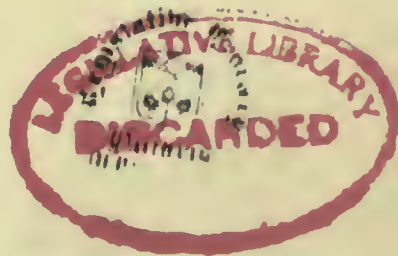
A Picture of the Past

By
KATHARINE SCHUYLER BAXTER

Profusely Illustrated.



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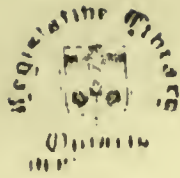
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KATHARINE SCHUYLER FAXTER.



TO THE
DESCENDANTS OF THOSE PATRIOTS
WHO FORMED
THIRTEEN SCATTERED AND DEPENDENT COLONIES
INTO A POWERFUL AND BENEFICENT STATE,
THIS VOLUME IS
LOYALLY DEDICATED

A GODCHILD OF WASHINGTON

On the parish register of the Reformed Dutch Church in Albany, N. Y., may be seen the following record of baptism on March 4th, 1781, by the Reverend Eilardus Westerlo :

OULDERS (Parents).

Philip Schuyler,
Catharine Van Rensselaer.

KINDEREN (Children).

Catharine Van Rensselaer.

GETUIGEN (Witnesses).

Geo. Washington,
James Van Rensselaer,
Mrs. Washington,
Margarita Schuyler.

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A GODCHILD OF WASHINGTON

CHAPTER I

THE DUTCH FAMILY OF SCHUYLER

PERIOD 1650-1733

A GRAND wave of patriotism has swept over the country in the past two decades, and Societies have been formed to honor those whose sacrifices of life and fortune laid the foundation of its prosperity and greatness. There are a few old landmarks left of the Colonial period, when nations and communities were as distant from each other as they were at the beginning of the Christian Era. Within the broad territory of New York State are memorable spots rich in historic interest.

Chancellor Kent in his biographical sketch of his close personal friend, Major-General Philip Schuyler, writes: "The Dutch family of Schuyler stands conspicuous in our colonial annals. Colonel Peter Schuyler was mayor of Albany and commander of the Northern militia in 1690. He was distinguished for his probity and activity in all the various duties of civic and military life. No man understood better the relation of the Colony with the Five Nations of Indians, or had more decided influence with the confederacy. He had frequently chastised the Canadian French for their destructive incursions upon the frontier settlements; his zeal and energy were rewarded by a seat in the Provincial Council; and the House of Assembly gave their testimony to the British Court of his faithful services and good reputation. It was this same vigilant officer who gave intelligence to the inhabitants of Deerfield, on the Connecticut river, of the designs of the French and Indians upon them, not long before the destruction of that village in 1704. In 1720, as President of the Council, he became acting Governor of the Colony for a short time previous to the accession of Governor Burnet. In 1743, his son, Colonel Philip Schuyler, was an active and efficient member of Assembly for the city and county of Albany." (Continued in chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, and 17.)

That exceedingly agreeable book "The American Lady" by Mrs. Grant¹ of

¹"Mrs. Grant was the daughter of Duncan McVickar, and was born in 1755. Her father came to this country in 1757, as an officer in the fifty-first regiment of the British army. In the following year, 1758, Mrs. McVickar and her daughter also arrived in New York; and

Laggan, Scotland, is in truth the best sketch thus far written descriptive of the society of New York state, and its local history for the stirring period between the French and Indian and the Revolutionary Wars.

“THE FLATTS”

The Residence of “The American Lady”

(“Aunt Schuyler”)

“On the banks of the Hudson river, between the cities of Albany and Troy, which are now almost united into one, stands an old house, still doing duty as a substantial and pretty farm villa, yet which has passed through much history. It is the ancient country seat of the Schuylers of Albany. In 1650, after the rougher work of founding Rensselaerwyck, as Albany was called, under Dutch rule, had been performed by the earlier colonists, there came out to the place a young man of Amsterdam, educated, arms-bearing, noble by birth, in the continental sense, and a friend of Van Rensselaer the Patron Lord of the seignory. In 1672, he purchased the land which, with some additions from the Indians and others, made up the estate, called ‘The Flatts,’ a possession having about two miles front on the river, and upon which he shortly built this country house. Following the original peace policy of Arent Van Corlear, it was the friendly and far-seeing policy of this man, Philip Pietersen Van Schuyler, commandant of the militia of Albany and Schenectady (under the Dutch he had been magistrate) which laid the foundation of the influence of the British over the Iroquois, which was later to play so momentous a part for the colonies against France, and, in fact, perhaps decided the event. In his time the house was

speedily after removed to Claverack, opposite Albany, where she resided while Mr. McVickar was absent on military service with his regiment. After which his family were first transferred to Albany, thence subsequently were stationed at Oswego.

“The description of that romantic journey, as given in the *American Lady*, from Schenectady to Oswego, in flat-bottomed boats, is one of Mrs. Grant’s most pleasing efforts; and excited great attention when the volume was first published in London, in 1808. Those youthful remembrances rendered her extensively known in this country, and were additionally interesting to Americans, because at that period it was the only work which delineated a faithful picture of the manners of the early settlers in the Province of New York. Indeed, without that narrative, there would be a complete chasm in our social history of the times anterior to the Revolution. Her anecdotes of the Cuylers, Schuylers, Van Rensselaers, and other distinguished Dutch families of Albany, and its vicinity, gave universal satisfaction.

“In 1810, Mrs. Grant removed from London to Edinburgh, where, during thirty years, her house was the resort of the best society of Scotland. American citizens always considered themselves obliged to pay their respects to her; and it was a privilege to have an interview with that lady, for she always received them with manifest attention and regard. Calm and resigned, she ceased to live in 1838, being then eighty-five years of age.”

A new edition of this valuable work has recently been published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Original
copy



PIETER SCHUYLER, 1st MAYOR OF ALBANY.

(Page 15)

considered, doubtless, a large and elegant one. To-day its proportions are comparatively modest, especially since the reduction of one story.

"Schuyler married, soon after his arrival, Margarita Van Schlichtenhorst, the daughter of the Director of the Colonie, a man of ancient family, whose daughter inherited, and passed down to her descendants, a prompt spirit of courage. In 1690, when the usurping Governor Leisler sent his son-in-law, Captain Milbourne, to take over the fort at Albany, in the absence of her son, who was its commander, she drove the Captain out of the fort and kept control herself till the return of the colonel. Their sons and daughters, who were



THE FLATTS.

numerous, intermarried with the chief families of Dutch seignors, such as the Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, and others, the possessors of immense manors, established by the policy of the crown, on the English system, for, as Parkman remarks, New York was 'aristocratic in both form and spirit.' It was a mild and inoppressive régime, however. There was little that was harmful about its feudality.

"The house next descended to Pieter, Philip's eldest son, following a custom of primogeniture, other property being apportioned to the rest. In 1688, Pieter, at the age of thirty-two, obtained a royal charter for Albany, and was

appointed its first mayor, an office equivalent to governor, being a crown appointment and having military and administrative powers over a large district, in fact equivalent to the lieutenant-governorship of the upper end of the province. He was also Indian Commissioner like his father. The Iroquois then formed a powerful confederacy, stretched throughout the northern region of New York, and were in nearly constant war with the French. In the winter of 1689, the latter attacked the English colonies by three expeditions sent without warning, and at midnight committed the massacre and sack of Schenectady, a small freeholder's village, near Albany. It was then the house of the Schuylers began its great public history. The mayor gathered volunteers and pursued the



VAN SCLICHTENHORST ARMS.

French, but it was too late. At the suggestion of the Schuylers, expressed through an embassy to Boston, consisting of the brother-in-law and the nephew of Mayor Pieter, the British colonies combined for an invasion of Canada the following summer,—by sea, under Phipps, and by land, by way of Albany and Lake Champlain, under General Winthrop, of Massachusetts. The Schuylers, looked to as the natural leaders of the people, actively arranged the local details. Difficulties proved too great, and the expedition fell through. Abraham, one of the brothers, had, however, in the spring penetrated, with eight Iroquois, into the Canadian settlements. Another brother, Captain John, then aged twenty-two years, grandfather of the General, volunteered to Winthrop to lead a band and strike at least some blow against the enemy. With twenty-nine whites, and one hundred and twenty Iroquois he penetrated to Laprairie, oppo-

site Montreal, burned the crops, took prisoners, and only did not attack the fort because his Indians refused to fight in the open. This daring raid was the earliest land invasion of New France. The house was fortified so that its palisades could garrison one hundred men, and became more than ever a place of Indian councils. Next year (1691) the warlike mayor started with a small but better expedition of two hundred and sixty-six men, determined to strike a blow. This was particularly necessary, inasmuch as the Iroquois had of late years come to despise the British for their inactivity against the French, and had grown tired of defending alone the common frontier. The story of Pieter's gallant attack on Fort Laprairie in this expedition, and of his second battle in the woods when he told his men to 'fight for their King and the honor of the Protestant Religion' is told in Parkman's 'Frontenac and Canada under Louis XIV.' It was, said Frontenac himself, 'the strongest and most vigorous doing which has taken place since the establishment of the colony.' John Nelson, an English gentleman, who had been taken prisoner, with three ships of his, by the French on the coast of Maine, arrived at Quebec about the time the news was received there. In his memorial to the English Government on the state of the colonies, he says: 'In an action performed by one Skyler, of Albanie, whilst I arrived at Quebec, in the year 1621, when he made one of the most vigorous and glorious attempts that had been made in those parts, with great slaughter on the enemy's part and loss on his own, in which, if he had not been discovered by accident, it is very probable he would have become master of Montreal. I have heard the thing so much reported in his honor by the French that, had the like been done by any other nation, he could never have missed of an acknowledgment and reward from the court.' This Nelson himself, by the by, though a prisoner, was lodged and entertained by Frontenac in his own house, 'because,' says the Baron La Hontan, in his letters, 'he was a very gallant man.'

"From that time forward no man's influence could weigh with the Iroquois against that of Pieter Schuyler. At times they would refuse to proceed with their councils till the governor had sent for his, and long after his death they regretfully recalled 'our brother Quidor (Pieter)—who always told the truth and never spoke without thinking.' Throughout the long period of his life he never ceased to plan an act for the protection of the whole of the colonies against the French. The French historian, Garneau, on this account calls him 'the bloodthirsty enemy of the French-Canadians.' Such a term, however, is unjust to a sincere and humane man. He did only his duty as an officer and active statesman, and no such accusation was leveled at him at the time. Indeed he did his best to arrange with the French governors for an agreement to cease the use of Indian auxiliaries in their wars, on account of the horrors and cruelties incident to the custom. His proposal was refused, and the wars continued under their traditional conditions. In 1710, he found the Iroquois so disheartened and so nearly on the verge of making a treaty of alliance with the French,—who told them their own king was a great monarch, but that the English were a nation of

shopkeepers, governed by a woman—that he urged the colonies to send a deputation of the chiefs to England. Five went across accompanied by himself (they insisted that their ‘brother Quidor’ should go also) and the tribes were charmed beyond expectation with their report. The chiefs themselves created a great sensation in London. They were styled ‘Indian Kings,’ and references to them are found in the *Spectator*.

“Schuyler became while there a favorite with Queen Anne. She urgently desired to knight him, and presented him with his portrait (life-size), and with plate and diamonds for his wife, which remain among his descendants. Handed down by primogeniture the portrait still exists upon the estate, and forms one of the heirlooms of the family. His reasons for refusing knighthood were quaint. At first he said he had brothers not so well off as himself who might feel humbled; afterward, he added that he feared it might make some of his ladies vain. In 1711, he organized another invasion of Canada with Captain Vetch, Governor of Annapolis, an able officer, who had married his niece, ‘a Livingston of the Manor;’ and with General Nicholson, who had been Governor of the Province, and also was Vetch’s uncle. They were to coöperate by land from Albany with the fleet of Sir Hovenden Walker which proceeded up the gulf, against Quebec. As the fleet was destroyed by storm, the army disbanded. It is generally overlooked that Vetch’s ideas, and the entire invasion,—came from the Schuylers. Pieter was twice Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. He died in 1724. Kingsford, the Canadian historian says of him and his brother John that ‘except the Schuylers, and perhaps Vetch,’ the British colonies produced no statesmen above mediocrity. Pieter and John were in fact, the two greatest and broadest-minded men of the colonial period.

“For the same reasons Bancroft styles Pieter ‘the Washington of his times.’

“Colonel John, the General’s grandfather, has been eclipsed by his brother. He was equally brave and his gallantry in the first land invasion of Canada, stands well beside Pieter’s. He, too, was Mayor of Albany. In 1697, he was an envoy to Count Frontenac, with the clergyman Dellius. The letter they bore from Earl Bellomont, the Governor of New York, stated that as a mark of special esteem to the Count he sent these two, who were ‘men of consideration and merit.’ He devoted his life to the service of the colonies, warning New-England of attacks like that upon Deerfield, and making journeys to Canada to rescue captives. The pathetic story of his attempts to recover the child of Eunice Williams from the Canadian Indians sheds great credit on his kindness of heart.

“Still another brother, Colonel Arent, distinguished himself as an officer on the frontier. He then retired to an estate obtained by him near Newark, New Jersey, where he became very rich through a copper mine discovered upon his property by a negro slave, and founded the New Jersey Schuylers or Schuylers of Newark. His sons and grandsons were noted as citizens or officers. His granddaughter married an Earl of Cassilis.

“To return to Albany, the next generation saw the manor house in the pos-

session of Colonel Philip, Jr., the Honorable Pieter's eldest son. He continued the influence over the Indians and, as his tombstone has it, 'was a Gentleman improved in several public employments,' but ill health made him cease these and suggest to the Government the appointment of a friend and connection of the family, the afterward celebrated Sir William Johnson, as Superintendent of Indian affairs. The Colonel's wife, who was also a Schuyler, being a daughter of John, continued their reputation for extraordinary energy. She is well-known in colonial history by the cognomen of 'The American Lady.' Under her régime the house became yet more the centre of military movements against Canada. There she constantly entertained the army officers, and informed them on the condition of the country and the necessities of forest warfare, how to treat the Indian allies, fight and march successfully in the woods, and deal with difficulties of transportation in the wild regions of the north. The unfortunate Lord Howe 'the earlier Wolfe' became in particular her favorite pupil, and introduced her reforms of dress, equipment and tactics into the army, in place of the ridiculous costumes and unsuitable movements which had brought such disaster on the army of the headstrong Braddock. It was to this house that poor Howe was brought back dead from Abercrombie's attack on Ticonderoga, which would have resulted very differently had he lived. Beside Howe, says Mrs. Grant (the Scottish authoress, whose father Captain McVickar, about this period occupied a farm on the estate) Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Lord Loudoun, General Bradstreet, Sir Thomas Gage, and every officer of distinction throughout North America, were intimate at the house, and no important public measure was taken without the governors of the province consulting the Schuylers.

"Among 'The American Lady's' favorite nephews were two who afterward became generals—one, Philip Schuyler, on the 'patriot' side of the Revolution, the other Brigadier-General Cuyler, on the Loyalists side. The latter was, in later times, Governor of Cape Breton. A niece, Miss Stephenson, married General Gabriel Christie, one of the heroes of Quebec, and Commander-in-Chief of Canada.

"The front portion of the house was burned in 1763. When the time came to restore it, General Bradstreet sent a force of men to assist the work, saying 'he considered that his men were on the King's service in rebuilding Mrs. Schuyler's house.' The present front seems to be a story lower than the old one, which was described as having two stories and an attic, beside a 'sunk story' or basement. The whole is of brick and hip-roofed in the Dutch manner. The front door is divided laterally into two halves, in place of vertically as with English doors. Before the fire, the building appears to have been somewhat more ornamented, but doubtless in her later years she cared little for looks.

"The American Lady remained during the Revolution a staunch Loyalist. A piece out of one of the front window shutters is still an evidence of the malice of a 'patriot' soldier on this account. At the fall of Montreal two of the family, Colonels of their regiment, were 'in at the death.' Another had fallen fighting

the French before St. Johns, Newfoundland. Another still, a son of John, died defending, single-handed, his fortified house at Saratoga against the force of Marin in 1748, refusing all quarter, and is styled in the French account 'a brave man, who, if he had twenty more like himself, would not have been seriously incommoded.' He well kept the family motto 'Semper Fidelis.'

"The house also frequently saw General Philip Schuyler, whose strategy, culminating in the battle of Saratoga, decided the war of the Revolution. The miserable intrigue of Gates which deprived him of command at the moment of fruition has not succeeded in detracting from his glory, and Daniel Webster deliberately adjudicates him the place next to Washington. A man of wealth



TEN EYCK SCHUYLER MANSION.

and honor, and a Major in the British army, he became a 'patriot' from conviction, threw everything into the scale and drew with him the families of Van Rensselaer, Van Cortlandt and Livingston, who, possessed, with his own, the preponderating influence in the Province; thus contributing the vitally necessary adhesion of New York to the cause. His manor house of Saratoga, together with his mills and other property, were uselessly burned by order of General Burgoyne in his advance from the north, an ill deed which he returned by kindly hospitality to the British general when a prisoner.

"The claim of the Schuylers in history is a large one. No family did more for the making of America. None were so imperial in their views and plans.

To have been such a factor in breaking, first the power of France and then the power of Britain on this continent is a record not easily matched and there is none therefore which can successfully dispute with them the right to be called 'the greatest family of the New World.'

"So much for the old house itself and the scenes connected with it. For two centuries and a quarter 'The Flatts' have been handed down from father to son. Within a few miles around it are scattered what may be styled its own descendants. Upon the estate in rear are the larger mansions of the eldest lines. At the other end of Albany is the grand old house of General Philip Schuyler. Its broad halls are fitting repository of the memorable scenes of Burgoyne's and Riedesel's stay, of Alexander Hamilton's wedding, which took place there to a daughter of the General, and of many other historical traditions. It appears as sound to-day as when first erected. Not so far away stood until recently the beautiful manor house of the Van Rensselaers, the Patroons of Albany, built in 1765, a gem of Renaissance architecture.

"Another 'child' of the house is the Ten Eyck Schuyler mansion, (sometimes called the 'Old Hoyle House,' or 'Lighthall House') which stands out prominent across the river. The building is in a dismantled state; the trees and gardens are gone; and the whole spot is now used as a railroad shunting ground. The wing behind was occupied by the slaves. It, though not so old, is the chief historic relic of the city of Troy.

"Such is the history of an ancient house and a brave line. The old problems are solved, the old passions have long since found peace, the old swords are rust; but such records do us no harm, but only good, to remember,—for is it not the silent homily of every honorable deed and life to fellow-men: Be thou, too, honorable."

By W. D. SCHUYLER-LIGHTHALL,
(A direct descendant of Philip Pieterse Van Schuyler.)

THE GANIATARECHO SILVER MEDAL AND CHAIN

"The Indians of New York state are divided into two families; the Algonquins, who resided on the east and west banks of the Hudson river, south of Albany, and the Iroquois, occupying the country north, east and west of Albany. The Iroquois confederation consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, the most powerful of the five tribes. In 1714-15 the confederacy received an accession of numbers and strength by the addition of the Tuscaroras, a kindred tribe of North Carolina, who had been badly treated by the Colonists, and emigrated to New York. Thenceforth the allies were known as the Six Nations. For aid rendered to the British Government in its wars with the French in Canada, five handsome medals and heavy chains were presented to prominent chiefs of the confederacy by King George the Second, through Lieutenant-Governor James de Lancey. One of these now lying before the writer, was given to Ganiatarecho, a war chief of the Mohawks. It is ob-



INDIAN MEDAL.

Robert Weir's painting of the Seneca chief, who was celebrated in verse by Fitz-Greene Halleck."

GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON.

(The Schuyler family had exercised great influence over the Indian tribes of New York state for more than a hundred years; General Schuyler had been in command of the Northern Department and was well-known and beloved by the Red men, and particularly by the Mohawks. After the death of the last chief of this tribe, who died without heirs, the medal was presented to the General as a token of their esteem, and has remained in the possession of the family to the present day.)

THE DUTCH CHURCH

"The Dutch church, to which reference has been made, stood at the junc-

long, and about twice the size of a silver dollar, with a heavy chain attached to it nearly three feet in length. The obverse of the medal bears a representation of the King and Queen of Great Britain, and a crown surrounded by the legend, 'George and Caroline, K. and Q. of England.' On the reverse is seen the names of the five chiefs, Ganiatarecho being second on the list, and the date, 1750. This interesting relic was recently found among the effects of General Schuyler, by his descendant, the late John Schuyler, for many years Secretary of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. General Ely S. Parker, who died August 31st, 1895, grandson of Red Jacket, usually described as the last of the Senecas, possessed a similar silver medal, presented to the great orator by General Washington. It is represented in



INDIAN MEDAL.

tion of State street and Broadway, commanding both thoroughfares as a security against Indians. The windows were high from the ground, as it was too far from Fort Orange to be protected by its guns, and hence must guard against sudden attack. The men carried their arms to service, and sat in the gallery, in order to be able to fire from the windows. The more venerable were seated on a raised platform against the walls, and the women sat out of danger's way in the centre. The church was replaced by a new one in 1715, and tradition says the new church was built around the old; and while the former was building, service was held in the latter and interrupted for only two Sabbaths. The new edifice was the exact counterpart of the old, except in size, and its being of



THE DUTCH CHURCH.

stone. There was the same arrangement and separation of the sexes. But now the congregation was a wealthier one, and several of the windows bore family arms in colored glass. There were the Schuyler, Douw, Van Rensselaer, and others. Each window had a heavy wooden shutter, fastened with a latch, and was never opened except on Sunday. The roof was very steep, and surmounted by a belfry and weathercock." Dominie Westerlo was the beloved preacher. He arrived in this country from Holland in the latter part of the year 1760, and entered upon the pastoral charge. He became one of the most eminent ministers of the Dutch Church in America, and died in 1790, at the early age of fifty-three years, in the thirty-first of his ministry, greatly beloved and lamented by his

people. The church was demolished in 1806, but the old pulpit still remains in existence, and is a very interesting relic. It was sent over from Holland in 1656, and was continued in service of the church for one hundred and fifty years. It is constructed of oak, octagonal in form; about four feet high and three feet in diameter. "Although in a dismantled state, and rather off at the hinges, it is otherwise in a very good state of preservation." The Dominie used the bracket on the front of this for his hour-glass.

THE SCHUYLER "ARMS"¹

"The coat-of-arms on the old church window (1656) is unquestionably correct. What was done about the window was this: The gentry of Albany were appealed to by the people as their traditional leaders, to build a church; and were asked to have their 'arms' put on the windows as ornaments, the windows being donated by each family. Then, orders and information where the proper arms could be learned, were sent to a proper glass firm in Holland, accustomed to the work and having a good draughtsman and heraldist employed. He was referred to relatives also for information. He asked for a copy of some old window or other authentic representation of the arms in Holland. This he designed properly, using his heraldic experience to keep it correct. I saw part of one of the arms myself, thus drawn on the glass of the old Albany church, and am certain some course was that followed, as the customs of old French Canada with which I am familiar, throw light on the manners of those days. Philip Pietersen Schuyler's uncle by marriage, the historian Van Schlichtenhorst possibly assisted in the matter. The bearing of coat armor in Holland proved at that time that the family were descended of a gentle stock, or as the continental nations termed it were noble, of ancient landed and presumably of chivalrous lineage. The antique and mediæval character of their falcon emblem confirms this beyond a doubt. Heraldry existed to show exactly that class of facts. One writer would take the poetry out of them and make Philip Pietersen Van Schuyler a mere trader. Trading, however, had nothing to do with rank in Holland—and even in England at that time. In France they then pretended to draw such a distinction and it later crept into England, but Holland retained its common sense, and its ancient families traded to their heart's content, turning back to fighting whenever desired. The manor of 'The Flatts' preserves to this

¹The arms of the Schuyler family are: Escutcheon argent, a falcon sable, hooded gules, beaked and membered or, perched upon the sinister hand of the falconer, issued from the dexter side of the shield. The arm clothed azure, surmounted by a helmet of steel, standing in profile, open-faced, three bars or, lined gules, bordered, flowered and studded or, ornamented with its lambrequins argent lined sable. Crest—out of a wreath, argent and sable, a falcon of the shield.

The noble lineage and opulence of the family, previous to the appearance in America of the first Colonist, is attested by ancient pieces of silver plate engraved with the family arms and date, still in the possession of the descendants of Philip Pietersen Van Schuyler.

day the traditions not alone of two centuries and more of New World antiquity but of immemorial chivalry as well as an unbroken line. As I have been brought up among the descendants of the French-Canadian seigneurs, I can interpret the Dutch Patroon feeling and institutions and notice where the average American fails to grasp the inner meaning or feeling of them. The Schuylers were a family of seigneurs, not of ordinary traders; they had in modest fashion the feelings of the English squirearchy and the French nobles; their leadership in affairs of state and war was taken as a matter of course by their neighbors; fighting and chivalry were bred in them, and came out in their conduct all through the French wars; during the Revolution these things were for the first time questioned by the miserable element among the New Englanders, which showed its head in the intrigue of Gates. In the meantime the old Dutch chivalry had been somewhat modified in New York into a branch of the squirearchy of Great Britain, and that remained still fairly strong until say about 1840, speaking roughly; feudal tenures being abolished about 1847. All the rubbish written about the Albany men being all traders pure and simple, is ignorance. As might be expected, the New York squirearchy had a fine military record. Its earlier feats were those to be expected of chivalry transplanted to the New World, such as the splendid raids of the Schuylers into New France toward the end of the 17th century. 'I told them,' says Pieter's journal (at the opening of the first battle) 'they must fight for their King and the honor of the Protestant Religion.' What could be more worthy of Froissart's days!"

W. D. S-L.



SCHUYLER ARMS.

JOHN BRADSTREET

AN ENGLISH GENERAL

“The struggle between the French and English for supremacy on the American continent, carried on with success for a century and a half culminated in a conflict that for dramatic qualities excelled even the more momentous strife that was soon to follow. A vast primeval forest, intersected by rivers and interspersed with lakes, formed the gigantic theatre. Scions of the French and English nobility, the regular troops in their resplendent uniform, the provincials in sombre and motley garb, and the Indians resplendent in feathers and war paint, constituted the *dramatis personæ*.

“A picturesque figure who played an important rôle in this conflict was John Bradstreet. His earliest ancestor of whom there is any record was the Reverend Simon Bradstreet of Horbling, Lincolnshire, at one time minister of a colony of non-conformists in Holland. Dying in 1680, the latter left three sons, one of whom, Samuel, was a graduate of Cambridge, and another, Simon, became the celebrated Governor of Massachusetts and the husband of the early American poetess, Anne Bradstreet. The third son, John, took part in the English Revolution, serving in Cromwell's army; and, receiving a grant of lands in County Kilkenny, Ireland, settled there. His grandson, the subject of this memoir, was born in 1711. Horbling, Lincolnshire, is usually given as the place of his birth. In 1735, he was commissioned ensign and sent by the British war office to America to join the regiment of Colonel Phillips. The first engagement of importance in which he took part was the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1745. That he had in the interval shown himself worthy of military trust is indicated by the fact that at this important siege he was given command of Pepperell's provincial regiment, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, ‘and contributed largely to the success of that expedition by his zeal, activity, and judgment, and his particular knowledge of the place.’ In the autumn of the same year he was made captain in the regular British army, and in the following year he became Lieutenant Governor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, a sinecure which he retained till the close of his life.

“As the final struggle with the French drew near, his military instincts seem to be again in evidence. In 1755, he served on the staff of General Braddock and subsequently was Adjutant General and Commissary of the provincial forces under General Abercrombie. It was not until 1756, however, that he was afforded another opportunity of displaying the spirit and address in military affairs for which he remains distinguished. In that year he undertook and carried to a successful issue a daring exploit against the Indians. An English garrison had been maintained at Oswego on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. For the purpose of keeping open future communication with it and of carrying

stores thither, Bradstreet, in command of two hundred provincial troops and about forty companies of boatmen, made his way to Oswego, suffering many hardships on the journey, and placed in the fort provisions and stores sufficient for five thousand men for six months. On their return march, Bradstreet and only seven of his men had reached a small island in the Oswego river when he was attacked by a party of thirty French and Indians. The latter were repulsed, only to renew the attack on being reinforced. Again the enemy were compelled to flee. More of Bradstreet's men having in the meantime joined him, the French and Indians, now numbering about seventy, made a third onset, but after a warm contest, were again driven from the island. Even then Bradstreet's men were not allowed to proceed unmolested, for on quitting the island he found himself confronted by about four hundred of the enemy. At the head of two hundred and fifty troops he marched boldly forward to meet them, drove the enemy from their skulking places with considerable loss on their side, and then proceeded to Albany.

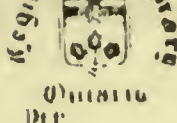
“ In the following year Bradstreet seems to have been actively engaged by his duties as Deputy Quartermaster General at Albany, but the year 1758 was marked by much military activity on his part. He took part in the formidable but disastrous expedition against Ticonderoga under Abercrombie. Through his energetic preparations, the bateaux for carrying the troops over Lake George were ready by the time the necessary stores arrived from England. In the majestic journey down the Lake on July 5th, he was in the same boat with Lord Howe, and he accompanied the popular young nobleman when the latter, at the dawn of the 6th, pushed forward to the attack in which he received the fatal bullet. When, after ineffectual sorties on the two following days, Abercrombie ordered a retreat on July 9th, the troops fled back to the landing place on Lake George and would have rushed pellmell into the boats but for Bradstreet's alertness and courage. At a council of war held the next day, burning with indignation at the thought of the defeat, he urged the execution of his long-cherished scheme of capturing Fort Frontenac, an important French post at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. This plan he had proposed during the preceding March and had been warmly supported by Howe. Now he renewed his appeals, offering to conduct the expedition himself, and finally wrung from the council a reluctant consent. Commissioned by Abercrombie to lead three thousand men against Frontenac, he marched rapidly to Albany and thence up the Mohawk river to the Oneida carrying place, where two thousand, seven hundred troops and forty Indian warriors were added to his command. By way of Wood creek, Oneida lake and the Oswego river, he pushed forward to Lake Ontario. There his army embarked in open boats and creeping along the southern and eastern shores landed within a mile of the fort. This rapidity of movement took the garrison entirely by surprise. Aid from Montreal was sent for, but did not arrive in time. Bradstreet's batteries opened at so short a range that almost every shot took effect. The Indian allies of the French fled in dismay and on the evening of the second day of the attack, the fort and all its dependencies

were surrounded. One hundred prisoners and nine armed vessels were taken, and a large quantity of cannon, mortars, stores and merchandise. Loading his boats with these spoils, Bradstreet returned with his whole army to Albany and thence to Lake George.

“The capture of Fort Frontenac was one of the most important events of the war. The practical value of it lay in the fact that the stores taken there had been intended for the supply of Fort Duquesne, and thus the fall of the latter garrison, which followed in the autumn, was greatly facilitated. This victory also secured to the English the dominion of Lake Ontario and paved the way for the possession of Niagara and the country beyond. Moreover the moral effect of this first distinct success for the English arms was considerable, for it inspired the army with confidence in a dark hour and carried corresponding discouragement to the French.

“The victorious movement thus inaugurated was continued the next year by General Amherst’s successful expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in which also Bradstreet took part ‘as full Quartermaster General, to which position he had been appointed during the preceding year.’

“In 1760, Amherst and his army set out on his successful expedition against Montreal by way of Oswego, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence river. Bradstreet, still holding the office of Quartermaster General, followed his commander as far as Oswego, but being overcome by the return of an illness that had smitten the camp during the previous year, he remained there in the exercise of his official duties and at the end of the campaign returned to Albany. By that time, the inter-colonial war had ceased and the dominion of all the French possessions in North America was surrendered to the English. But a few embers of the conflagration still lived, and, fanned by the sagacity and zeal of Pontiac, the treacherous chief of the Ottawas, broke out again in a blaze of Indian ferocity. Detroit, one of only three of the frontier posts that did not fall into the hands of the merciless foe, was besieged for fifteen months. In the summer of 1764, an army under the command of General Bradstreet was sent to its relief. Embarking at Oswego, this expedition proceeded over Lake Ontario and the Niagara river and coasted along the south shore of Lake Erie. Near Presque Isle, Bradstreet was approached by some chiefs of the Delawares and Shawanoes. With them he entered into a preliminary treaty of peace, which was to be consummated later at Sandusky. The army then proceeded to Detroit, where they were received with tumultuous joy by the beleaguered garrison. Here a council with the Indians was held, which resulted in their peaceful submission to the English. Detachments were also sent forward to the desolated posts of Michillimackinac, Green Bay and Sault St. Marie, and over these floated once more the red cross of St. George. On the return journey, Colonel Bradstreet and his army stopped at Sandusky in the expectation of receiving the prisoners that the Delawares and Shawanoes had promised to surrender there and of concluding a definitive treaty of peace. In this, however, he was disappointed. After waiting in vain for the Indians to keep their engagement and



deeming the season too far advanced to enforce the fulfillment of their pledges, he once more embarked on Lake Erie and so returned to Oswego, where the army disbanded.

“Bradstreet had been commissioned lieutenant colonel by Brevet in 1757 and in the following year colonel (in America only), but in 1762, he became full colonel in the British army and ten years later was promoted to the rank of major-general.

“One of the closest personal ties that Bradstreet formed during his career was his friendship for General Philip Schuyler, in spite of the difference of twenty-two years between their ages. When the latter was still a young man, he found employment under Bradstreet in the commissary department. Besides acting as deputy commissary, Schuyler twice went to England as Bradstreet's agent:—the first time before he was twenty-two years old, to negotiate some business with the Board of Trade, and again in 1761 to settle Bradstreet's accounts as commissary with the British Government. On the latter occasion General Schuyler, by power of attorney, constituted his ‘good friend, Colonel John Bradstreet,’ his agent for the management and disposition of his property during his absence or in the event of his death.

“These two friends were also companions in arms. Early in the history of their friendship, Schuyler accompanied Bradstreet on his expedition to Oswego in 1756, and the bravery and singular magnanimity that the former displayed toward a wounded enemy on that occasion may well be supposed to have cemented the attachment between them. Two years later Bradstreet was again assisted by Schuyler in the fateful exploit against Ticonderoga. The following letters written at the opening of the campaign of 1760, and relating to his private and public affairs respectively, indicate Bradstreet's confidence in his young friend:

“ALBANY, July 6th, 1760.

“DEAR SIR:

“As all my private affairs are in my leather portmanteau trunk, I hereby commit it to your care and protection, to the end that it may be delivered safe to my wife and children, now at Boston, in case of my decease this campaign, and by your own hand, in which you will ever oblige your faithful friend,

JOHN BRADSTREET.’

“Your zeal, punctuality and strict honesty in His Majesty's service, under my direction, for several years past, are sufficient proofs that I can't leave my public accounts and papers in a more faithful hand than yours to be settled, should any accident happen to me in this campaign; wherefore, that I may provide against it, and that a faithful account may be rendered to the public of all the public money that I have received since the war, I now deliver to you all my public accounts and vouchers, and do hereby empower you to settle with whomsoever may be appointed for that purpose, either in America or in England. And for your care and trouble therein, as well as for your faithful and useful services to the public, I am persuaded, on your producing this paper, you will be properly rewarded, if settled in America, by the Commander-in-Chief, if in England, by the administration. The accounts are clear, and vouchers clear and distinct and complete up to this time, except trifles.

“I am, sir, your faithful, humble servant,

“JOHN BRADSTREET.’

“Bradstreet and Schuyler were also jointly interested, together with Rutger Bleeker and General John Morin Scott, in the purchase of a tract of twenty-two thousand acres in the Mohawk Valley. It was known as Crosby’s Manor, having been granted by royal patent to William Crosby, Governor of the Province of New York. In 1772, default having been made in the payment of arrears of quit rent, the tract was sold by the Sheriff to General Schuyler, who took title in his own name, and on behalf of the other three purchasers as well as of himself. Subsequently the title was confirmed by conveyance from the Crosby’s heirs. The site of the present city of Utica is included within the bounds of this tract. General Bradstreet, however, did not live to enjoy the fruits of this purchase. Another tract of land in which General Bradstreet was interested (the benefit of which also he failed to enjoy and which became a bone of contention between his heirs and other claimants) was a vast territory measuring between one hundred and fifty thousand and two hundred acres, near the headwaters of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, conveyed to him by the Indians in 1768.

“Bradstreet’s family life was not without an unfortunate and unexplained cloud. His wife’s maiden name was Mary Aldridge, and at the time of their marriage she was the widow of his cousin, Sir Simon Bradstreet, Bart., of Kilmainham, Ireland, and sister of Christopher Aldridge, who was lieutenant in a company of the 40th Rifles, British Army, and who subsequently (in 1742) became captain, and in 1760 a major. Her father, whose name was also Christopher Aldridge, was captain of the same company, in which John Bradstreet was appointed ensign in 1735. It is interesting to note that the latter married the sister of his superior lieutenant and the daughter of his captain. Two daughters were born of this marriage,—Agatha, who became the wife of one Buttar, and in 1776, of Charles Evans (who for a time bore the name of Du Bellamy); and Martha, who never married. For several years toward the close of his life, Bradstreet was alienated from his family. During this period his friendship for General and Mrs. Schuyler proved particularly valuable. Their spacious and hospitable mansion at Albany was thrown open to him and he became a member of their household. General Schuyler frequently endeavored to effect a reconciliation between Bradstreet and his wife and not entirely without success, for in September, 1774, having been summoned to the bedside of his dying friend in New York, he obtained Bradstreet’s consent to destroy a will in which no provision for his family had been made, and to execute another by the terms of which his entire estate was divided between his two daughters. The later will was drawn by William Smith, the historian, who was by it appointed one of the executors, while General Schuyler was named as the other. The latter’s daughter, Margarita, who afterward married Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, had accompanied her father to New York at the special request of General Bradstreet, taking with her a faithful colored servant, in order to nurse her aged friend during his last illness; and it was in her arms that he died on September 25, 1774.

“The following letter written by General Schuyler to Mrs. Bradstreet, immediately after her husband’s death, throws an interesting light on the character of the writer as well as on the family relations of his deceased friend :

“DEAR MADAM :

“Such are the vicissitudes of human life, that a misfortune seldom occurs but what it is accompanied by some comfort. Such are the reflections which arise on the death of General Bradstreet, for whilst I mourn the departed friend, I rejoice the returned husband and parent. No characters, Madam, are free from blemish. The greatest and almost the only one in his was an unbecoming resentment against his family, for supposed faults of which I have often told him I feared he was too much the occasion. This, however, ought to be forever eradicated from your memory, as he died in perfect peace with all. Having set his heart at ease on this point, he seemed more cheerful than he had been for a long time before, and met his fate with all the fortitude becoming his character as a soldier, and with all the resignation inspired by a consciousness that the Supreme Being disposes all for the best.’

“Escorted by civil and military officers and the 47th Regiment, the remains of General Bradstreet were buried in Trinity churchyard.

“It is a matter of regret that this spirited officer died thus at the outbreak of the Revolution, and that his services in the cause of the mother country against the ferocious enemies of her offspring could not have availed in the latter conflict against the tyrannical parent herself. He seems not to have been deficient in the first requisite of the soldier—bravery, but more than that, he possessed many of the qualities that go to make a successful officer. His sagacity and foresight were illustrated by his recognition of the importance to the English of the capture of Fort Frontenac. The conception of the plan was as admirable as its execution was spirited. To his activity and splendid enterprise was due the success of the expedition. The exploit on the Oswego river serves to show his perseverance against successive obstacles. His spirit was of the kind that rises in proportion to adverse odds.

“Bradstreet possessed the force of personal influence. After the defeat of Ticonderoga in 1758, it was his alertness and self-possession that allayed the panic among the terror-stricken soldiers and prevented a precipitate flight in the boats. A small incident that occurred after the fall of Frontenac indicated a noble trait of character. When the fort was being stripped of all its contents by the conquerors, Bradstreet allowed the Romish chaplain of the garrison to carry away with him the sacred vessels of the chapel. This fact, in connection with his releasing on parole one hundred prisoners then taken, furnishes evidence at least of magnanimity toward a fallen foe.

“That portion of Bradstreet’s career that reflects least credit upon him was the expedition to relieve Detroit. He was severely censured by the commander-in-chief, General Gates, for his undue confidence in the slippery promises of the Delawares and Shawanoes. Certain it is that his judgment was inferior to his activity. To a man deficient in this essential quality of a commander, and at the same time impetuous and self-confident to the point of ignoring the counsel of his associates, this mistake was but natural. He was also censured for what

was considered unnecessarily harsh treatment of his men. How much of the bluffness of manner and temper he displayed on this expedition might be explained by physical ailments, is entirely a matter of conjecture; but it is noteworthy that in his exploits that preceded his illness of 1760, before mentioned, his detractors fail to find the same grounds for criticism.

“It is possible that the failing powers of his latter years also furnished the clue to the resentment toward his family, mentioned by General Schuyler. Whatever the true explanation, we have the testimony of the friend that knew him best to the effect that this hard feeling was ‘almost the only’ blemish on his character. Even if this was not proof against the softening reflection of separation from his family forever, and resentment at last gave place to ‘perfect peace with all.’ In the light of this assurance, it is not too much to hope that posterity will show the same indulgence that General Schuyler urged upon the widow of his deceased friend, and that Bradstreet’s failings will be forgotten in grateful remembrance of the substantial gains that resulted from his gallant services.”

By his great-great-grandson, SIDNEY RICHMOND TABER.



BRADSTREET ARMS.

(The two following letters have never before appeared in print.)

“By Orders of his Excellency, General Amherst.

“Whereas his Majesty’s Service in Generall and the Safety of this Province in particular depends much Upon the Army being in a Situation at all times to oppose the enemy, It becomes Necessary that you Receive and keep your proportion of the Working Oxen belonging to the Crow this Winter in perfect Heart and Good working order for which you will be paid fifty shillings York Currency pr. head and accordingly you will have herewith sent you one Ox.

“And you are to take Notice that it is Excepted By his Excellency General Amherst that you are Puntial in keeping the said Oxen fitt for constant service that no Dispointment to the King’s Service may happen for so sure you will Answer for it in a Severe manner.

“Given under my hand and Seal
at Albany, 4, Decem., 1759.

JNO. BRADSTREET.
D. Q. M. G.

“To Mr. JACOBUS PEEKE,”

“ALBANY, 16th, Feb., 1769.

“MY LORD:

“Although I have not the honor to be personally known to your Lordship, I nevertheless flatter myself my long services as an officer will induce your Lordship to pardon the liberty I take of enclosing a Deed of gift from the Indians to me for some Lands on the Frontier of this Province. In the late war the Indians were frequently employed under my command against His Majesty's Enemies; in consequence of which they thought proper, at the late Congress, at Fort Stanwix, to confer on me this mark of their esteem and approbation of my conduct toward them. As I was not at Fort Stanwix, I thought it necessary to take the first opportunity to see them and make a return agreeable to their custom; I therefore lately accom-

panied the Governor of the Province to Sir William Johnson's (who meets them there on business) for this purpose and gave them to the full as much as if purchased in the usual manner.

“Your Lordship will be pleased to observe, the Indians by this Deed made a particular reserve of their Lands for me before their signing the late Treaty, and do pray His Majesty would be graciously pleased to ratify and confirm to me in the same manner as may be of little expense from a desire to make this mark of their Friendship of some value to me; and permit me to mention to your Lordship, that from its distance, its being a Frontier and the little prospect of its being properly settled for some years to come it would be of little value if attended with the usual expense of Fees of this Province and Quit-rent; I therefore pray your Lordship to honor me with your countenance and to represent this affair to His Majesty agreeable to the wishes expressed by the Indians in the Deed.

“I have not seen the Lands, my Lord, nor do I know the quantity, but by the description the Indians give it may be from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand acres; but it appears they are bad judges, particularly not long since in two Tracts they disposed of that did not turn out on measurement more than half the quantity expected.

“I have the honor to be with great respect,

“Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

“JN. BRADSTREET.

“THE RIGHT HON. EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH, ETC., ETC.”

CHAPTER II

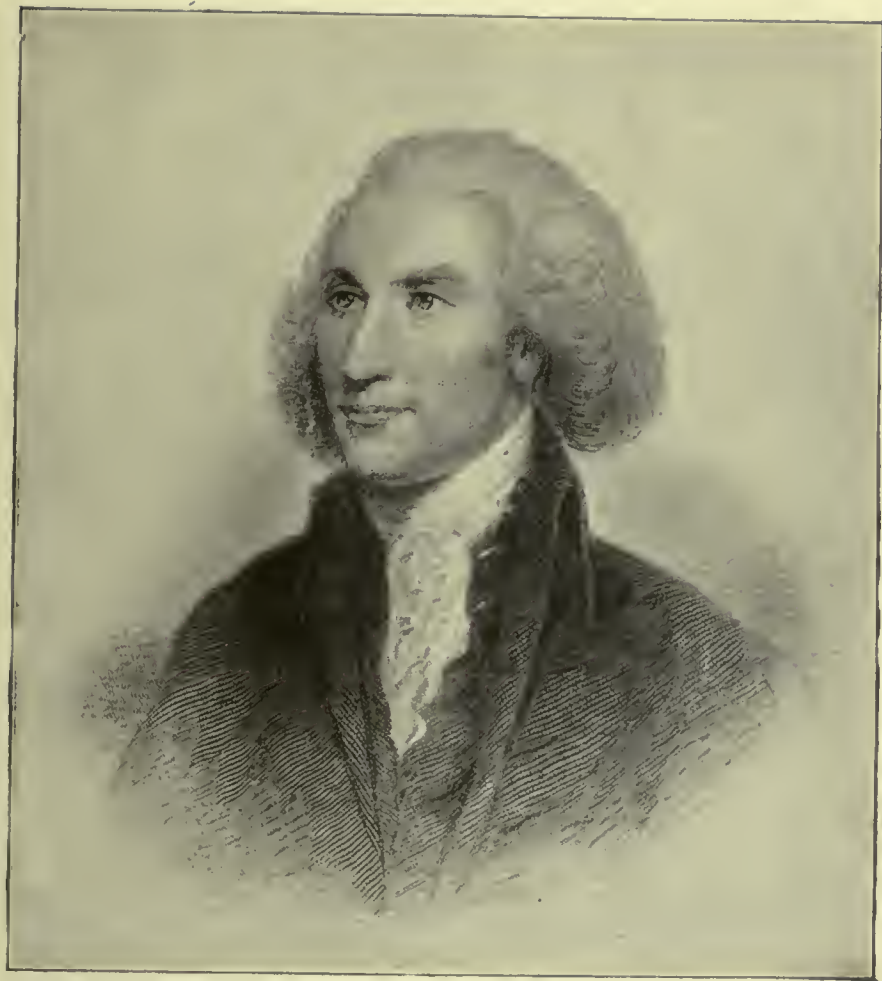
PHILIP SCHUYLER

PERIOD 1733-1768

"AMONG the patriots of the American Revolution," continues Kent, "who asserted the rights of their country in council and equally vindicated its cause in the field, the name of Philip Schuyler stands preëminent. In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, he had no superior; and it is to be regretted that the limits assigned to each portion of biography in the present work, will permit only a rapid sketch of his distinguished services.

"General Schuyler was born at Albany the 22d of November, 1733. His paternal grandfather, Peter Schuyler, was mayor of that city, and commander of the northern militia in 1690. He was also agent of Indian affairs and presiding member of the Provincial Council. John Schuyler, his father, left five children, and though as heir at law, his son Philip was entitled to the real estate, he generously shared the inheritance with his brothers and sisters. The Saratoga estate of which the British army, 1777, made such sad havoc, he inherited from his father's brother, Philip. Being deprived of his father while young, he was indebted to his mother, Cornelia Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt Manor, a lady of strong and cultivated mind, for his early education, and for those habits of business and that unshaken probity which never forsook him. At the age of sixteen, he was martyr to an hereditary gout, which confined him while at school at New Rochelle to his room for nearly a year. But he was still able to prosecute his studies, and to acquire in that period the use of the French language. His learning was of a solid and practical character. His favorite studies were mathematics, and the other exact sciences, and he was enabled in after life to display unusual skill in finance, and as a civil and military engineer, and in all the leading topics of political economy.

"He entered the army when the French war broke out in 1755, and commanded a company of New York levies, which attended Sir William Johnson to Fort Edward and Lake George. He was employed that year in rendering Fort Edward a safe spot of military stores. In 1758, his talents and activity attracted the attention of Lord Viscount Howe, who commanded at Albany the first division of the British army of four thousand men, then preparing for an expedition to Canada. Being in great difficulty in respect to supplies and to means of transportation, Lord Howe had the discernment to select and employ young Schuyler in the commissariat department. When it was suggested to him that he was confiding in too young a man for so important a service, he declared that he relied on the practical knowledge and activity of Schuyler, and was con-



Jh Schuyler

(Page 37)

vinced that he would be enabled to surmount all obstacles. The event justified the choice. The duty was discharged with that sound judgment and calculating precision, that were so often and signally displayed in his subsequent career. The army under the command of General Abercrombie arrived at the north end of Lake George, early in July, and when Lord Howe fell in conflict with the French advanced guard, Schuyler was directed to cause the body of that lamented young nobleman to be conveyed to Albany and buried there with appropriate honors. He continued afterward during the war to be employed in the commissary department.

"After the peace of 1763, Colonel Schuyler (for by that title he was then known), was called into the service of the Colony, in various civil employments. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the General Assembly in 1764, to manage the controversy on the part of New York, respecting the partition line between that colony and Massachusetts Bay; and he was actively engaged in that discussion in 1767, with associates and opponents of the first rank and character."

BIRTHPLACE OF PHILIP SCHUYLER

It is less than a decade since this quaint old dwelling, here represented, which stood on the corner of State and South Pearl streets, was torn down in the inexorable march of improvement. A glance at the steep roof, with its gable end on Pearl street, and at the general architectural features, at once makes the beholder aware that it had outlived many generations. The antiquarian could make from its unwritten records a volume of rare charms; but he would have a tiresome search through musty documents. It was erected in 1667, but many years ago the figures in wrought iron were removed from the bricks. When Albany was in its infancy and the streets were little more than alleys, the principal thoroughfare, Pearl street, was but half its present width. John Schuyler (grandson of the Hollander), lived in this house for many years and his son Philip grew to manhood in it; the latter resided in it after his marriage, and several of his children were born there.



BIRTHPLACE OF PHILIP SCHUYLER.

HIS MARRIAGE¹

Philip Schuyler and Catharine Van Rensselaer were married September 17th, 1755. The ceremony was performed by Dominie Theodorus Frielinghuysen, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Albany. She was the only daughter of Colonel John Van Rensselaer of the Claverack, or Lower Manor, at Greenbush. Her paternal grandfather was Hendrick, grandson of the first Patroon of Rensselaerwyck.

"THE CRAILO"

The Van Rensselaer Manor House at Greenbush

"It is now an established fact that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the first Patroon, never saw the vast domain that he possessed. His son, Jeremias, had married Maria Van Cortlandt, and their son Kiliaen, was the First Lord of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, or the third Patroon. He was a sharp, shrewd, far-seeing, business man, and quickly took the lead in the affairs of the family, as well as in those of the colony.

"Hendrick Van Rensselaer, the second son of Jeremias, according to the record in the ancient Bible, in the handwriting of his brother, Kiliaen, was born in Rensselaerwyck, on the 23d of October, 1667, O. S.

"He was known and reported to be of an amiable disposition, easy going and yielding, and I think it has been surmised that on this account he did not fare as well as he should have done in the disposition of his father's estate. Fennimore Cooper used to say he was firmly convinced that Hendrick's branch was the elder; but says the record 'June 1st, 1704, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer conveyed to his younger brother Hendrick, the Claverack or Lower Manor, together with one thousand acres from the Upper Manor, including Greenbush, from Mr. Douw's' (Jonas Douw's), 'called Jansen's path running back one mile, together with an island in the Hudson's river.'

"Hendrick, like his brother, was employed in public affairs and held several responsible positions. In 1705, he was a member of the tenth assembly which met at Fort Anne.

"He was one of the petitioners to rebuild the old Dutch church, and in 1698, is spoken of as carrying round the Koek Sackie, or collection bag.

¹ Eight children of this marriage reached maturity:

Angelica, born July 20th, 1756, m. John Barker Church.

Elizabeth, born August 9th, 1757, m. Alexander Hamilton.

Margarita, born Sept. 19th, 1758, m. Stephen Van Rensselaer. (Patroon.)

John B., born July 12th, 1763, m. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, (daughter of Patroon.)

Philip J., born Oct. 15th, 1768, m. 1st, Sarah Rutsen, m. 2d, Mary Anne Sawyer.

Rensselaer, born Jan. 25th, 1773, m. Elizabeth Ten Broeck.

Cornelia, born Dec. 22d, 1776, m. Washington Morton.

Catharine Van Rensselaer, born Feb. 20th, 1781, m. 1st, Samuel Bayard Malcoln, (son of Gen. M.), m. 2d, James Cochran, (son of Sur-Gen. C.)

“He was alderman of the city, as well as commissioner of Indian affairs. He did not suffer his official duties to interfere with his personal interests. He attended to his business affairs with assiduity and success. If he saw an opportunity for a safe speculation he did not let it pass unimproved. The Shaghticoke Indians had a larger tract of land than they required, and, being shiftless and poor, they offered a portion of it for sale. The city of Albany agreed to purchase a few hundred acres, but was not prepared to consummate the bargain. Hendrick Van Rensselaer saw his opportunity, and bought a tract, six miles square, lying on the Hoosac river, for which he procured a patent from the governor. The city saw its mistake, but sought to remedy it by



THE CRAILO.

the purchase of Van Rensselaer's interest and generously offered him what it cost him. The offer was declined with thanks, but he would sell for two hundred pounds. The city fathers were indignant and appealed to the governor. The controversy became a state affair, for Lord Bellamont reported it to his government for instructions; but before his letter was dispatched the matter was settled. Subsequently it was the cause of another flurry in the common council.

“Hendrick Van Rensselaer and Robert Livingston, of the manor, at one time waged a bitter war of words, and suits, as to the division line between their properties, but it was at length arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. After the grant from his brother, Hendrick built the Van Rensselaer mansion at Greenbush, and called the estate the Crailo, after the Van Rensselaer family seat

in the fatherland. 'The brick of which the house is built were manufactured in Holland and brought over as ballast. They bear the date 1630, but it is unknown at what time the building was completed. It still stands one of the oldest buildings in the state.' During the Albany bicentennial the readers of the *Argus* were given a picture and a sketch of the house as it now is, so I cannot do better than give the words of the writer then used.

"Viewed from the outside, this old house presents a study for the curious. Its style of architecture is not so very remarkable, though undoubtedly ancient. The main or oldest part is twenty by sixty feet, to this has been added a wing, erected in 1740, making of the whole a large building. It is three stories high, with a half story garret surmounting the whole. The windows of the ground floor are still very old, though not the original ones, which were probably diamond shaped. The windows opening from the topmost story are dormer windows, small and antique. The roof is pyramidal in shape with the apex cut off. Over the windows are cornices of brick, in the arch and keystone form. The old front door is interesting, the old door jambs and posts still remaining. The north door is of the old-fashioned double style. That is, it is divided into halves laterally. On this door are the original hinges and knocker of brass, handmade and of most peculiar shape. The brick of the house are worthy of mention. They vary in shape and are of extreme hardness. The color is a bright terra cotta.

"The old port holes are of great interest. These were made of a block of sandstone about a foot square each way. In one side was dug out a conical shaped hole extending nearly through the centre, then from the other side was pierced a hole about the shape of a modern keyhole. The whole thing was then set into the wall of the building, the keyhole shaped aperture on the outside. There are yet two of them seen in the front wall of the house. There were nine all told, beside one recently found in the cellar wall. The one seen shows the marks plainly, of the glancing bullets fired against it. This is said to be the only house in the United States that still retains these port holes.

"Within the house, the plan is peculiar and interesting. Entering the main hall, one mounts at once up a broad flight of the easiest stairs, part way to the next floor, where there is a small landing. From this one continues up six steps to the second floor. Another flight goes up to the top floor; above this again is the garret. The walls are panelled and wainscoted in the old English style and with considerable elegance. The rooms on the first floor, as indeed over the entire house, are large and spacious. In the cellar are found many interesting features, chief among which are the inscriptions on two stones in the foundation walls which read :

K. V. R. 1642.
Anno Domini.

D. G. Megapalensis.

“It has,” says tradition, “sustained several Indian sieges before the Revolution. The walls are of unusual thickness, heavy and well built. The cellar extends under the entire house. The timbers under the first floor are of massive size, nearly twenty inches square. The one under the fireplace in the large room (now occupied as the parlor) is still larger. The stone and brick come up in an arched form and extend over on this timber, making the fireplace rest securely. The cellar contains several recesses and alcoves, making it seem that at one time it had been occupied to live in. Over the cellar windows, iron gratings are found; these are of ornamental twisted irons. In the floor of the main hall there is a trapdoor, which opened downward into the cellar. Tradition says that this was used to entrap unfriendly Indians. They were lured into the house, and when they stepped on this trap down they went to the cellar where the men awaited them. There is one port hole opening from the cellar. This was but recently discovered.

“There is nothing special about any of the rooms to be seen now, they having all been modernized. The linen room is interesting from the fact connected with it. The aristocracy of the old manor were so dependent upon the mother country that they even had to have their linen washed there. For that purpose, once a year, it was all sent over and laundried. In the meantime the soiled linen was kept stored in this linen room. In the ‘tile room’ were formerly above fifty scenes from Scripture, in old Dutch tiles, on one of the walls. These have now all disappeared. These tiles, as were also the brick and timbers from which the house was built, were all brought from Holland. There have never been many relics found in or about the old house. One—and the only interesting one—is a weapon, evidently intended as an instrument of war. This is about five feet long, an inch wide at the handle and running out to a sharp point, of wrought iron. It was probably used in the same manner as swords are used now. There are many legends connected with the old mansion. One only will suffice: A Gertrude Van Twiller and her brother Walter were visiting the manor one time. At evening the young girl went down to the river bank and sat down. She was approached from behind by Indians and suddenly seized. She gave a scream, but was forcibly borne away, and never heard from again. This scream is said to have been heard for years about the halls of the house.

“It was in the rear of this mansion that ‘Yankee Doodle’ was composed. While Abercrombie’s army was encamped there by the old sweep well at the rear of the house, waiting for reinforcements, the country people came straggling in, in all manner of costumes and dress. Their ludicrous appearance so excited the humor of a British surgeon that he, while sitting by the bed (now to

be seen) composed the original version of 'Yankee Doodle,' words and music both. Altogether the house is one of the most interesting and best preserved of the remaining relics of our colonial aristocracy. This house is now in the hands of a stranger, and the vast estate is almost entirely owned by those who neither bear the Van Rensselaer name, nor are of the lineage.

"When twenty-two years of age, young Hendrick Van Rensselaer married in the old Dutch church, in the fort in Nieuw Amsterdam, Catrina Van Brugh, and in the old records we find it thus:

"DEN 8 March, 1689.

"Hendrick Rensselaer, j. m. van Rensselaerwyjck en Catrina Van Brugh, j. d. van N. York.
"Beyjde wonende alhier. Getrouwt den 19 Mart.'

"She was the daughter of Johannes Peterse Van Brugh and Catrina Rodenburg. Mrs. Van Brugh was the widow Rodenburg when Van Brugh married her, and was a daughter of the celebrated Anneke Jans. A recent genealogist tells us that Annetje Webber (Anneke Jans, as we know her) was born in Holland in the year 1605, and was the granddaughter of William, Prince of Orange. She married Roeloff Jansen in Holland, and came to this country in 1636.

"Mrs. Van Rensselaer died in the old mansion, December 6th, 1730; and her husband followed her just ten years later, July 2d, 1740, and together they are buried near their home.

"Mrs. Van Rensselaer was a wonderfully beautiful woman. The Sill family now have her portrait.

"MARY LANMAN DOUW FERRIS."

A Centennial Tablet was placed on the building in 1886. It reads as follows:

"Supposed to be the oldest building in the United States and to have been erected in the year 1642, as a Manor House and Place of Defence known as Fort Crailo Gen'l Abercrombie's Headquarters while marching to attack Ticonderoga in 1758 where it is said that at the cantonment East of this house near the old well the army surgeon R. Shuckburg composed the popular song of 'Yankee Doodle.'"

Famous men have been guests within the walls of the Crailo; and many important conferences have been held there. Washington and his generals were visitors in the old manor house during the Revolutionary War.



LORD HOWE.

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LORD HOWE

A BRITISH GENERAL

George Augustus, Lord Howe, was born in Ireland in 1724. He was sent to America in 1757 in command of five thousand British troops which landed at Halifax. In 1758 he accompanied General Abercrombie to Ticonderoga. The same year, while Lord Howe was encamped at Albany, he endeavored to provision his army and to provide boats and oars to transport it to the headwaters of the Hudson. As he could find no one who would undertake to furnish them, young Schuyler (then but twenty-two years of age) agreed to supply them at a stated time. "What Phil," said Lord Howe, (they were intimate friends) "can you carry out such a contract?" "If I did not think I could," he replied, "I would not propose it." The latter kept his engagement, and realized a handsome profit from the transaction.

Mrs. Grant, in "The American Lady," writes: "Many of the officers were quartered in the fort and town; but Lord Howe always lay in his tent, with the regiment which he commanded; and which he modelled in such a manner, that they were ever after considered as an example to the whole American army, who glorified in adopting all those rigid, yet salutary regulations to which the young hero readily submitted, to enforce his commands by his example.

"Above the pedantry of holding up standards of military rules where it is impossible to practice them, and the narrow spirit of preferring the modes of his own country, to those proved by experience to suit that in which he was to act, Lord Howe laid aside all pride and prejudice and gratefully accepted counsel from those whom he knew to be best qualified to direct him. Madame Schuyler was delighted with the calm steadiness with which he carried through the austere rules which he found it necessary to lay down. In the first place he forbade all displays of gold and scarlet, in the rugged march they were about to undertake, and to set the example by wearing himself an ammunition coat, that is to say, one of the surplus soldier's coats cut short. This was a necessary precaution; because in the woods the hostile Indians, who started from behind the trees, usually caught at the long and heavy skirts then worn by the soldiers; and for the same reason he ordered the muskets to be shortened, that they might not, as on former occasions, be snatched from behind by these agile foes. To prevent the march of his regiment from being descried at a distance by the glittering of their arms, the barrels of their guns were all blackened; and to save them from the tearing of bushes, the stings of insects, etc., he set them the example of wearing leggins, a kind of buskin made of strong woollen cloth, formerly described as part of the Indian dress. The greatest privation to the young and vain yet remained. Hair well dressed and in great quantity, was then considered as the greatest possible ornament, which those who had it took the

greatest possible care to display to advantage, and to wear in a bag or queue, whichever they fancied. Lord Howe's was fine; and very abundant; he, however, cropped it, and ordered every one to do the same. Every morning he rose very early, and, after giving his orders, rode out to the Flatts, (Madame Schuyler's) breakfasted, and spent some time in conversation with his friends there; and when in Albany received all manner of useful information from the worthy magistrate, Cornelius Cuyler. Another point which this young Lycurgus of the camp wished to establish, was that of not carrying anything that was not absolutely necessary. An apparatus of tables, chairs, and such other luggage, he thought highly absurd, where people had to force their way with unspeakable difficulty, to encounter an enemy free from all such encumbrances. The French had long learned how little convenience could be studied on such occasions as the present.

“When his lordship got matters arranged to his satisfaction, he invited his officers to dine with him in his tent. They gladly assembled at the appointed hour, but were surprised to see no chairs or tables; there were, however, bear skins spread like a carpet. His lordship welcomed them and sat down on a small log of wood; they followed his example; and presently the servants set down a large dish of pork and peas. His lordship, taking a sheath from his pocket, out of which he produced a knife and fork, began to cut and divide the meat. They sat in a kind of awkward suspense, which he interrupted by asking if it were possible that soldiers like them, who had been so long destined for such service, should not be provided with portable implements of this kind; and finally, relieved them from their embarrassment by distributing to each a case the same as his own, which he had provided for that purpose. The austere regulations and constant self-denial which he imposed upon the troops he commanded, were patiently borne, because he was not only gentle in his manners, but generous and humane in a very high degree, and exceedingly attentive to the health and real necessities of the soldiery. Among many instances of this, a quantity of powdered ginger was given to every man; and the sergeants were ordered to see, that when, in the course of marching, the soldiers arrived hot and tired at the banks of any stream, they should not be permitted to stoop to drink, as they generally inclined to do, but be obliged to dip water in their canteens and mix ginger with it. This became afterward a general practice; and in those aguish swamps, through which the soldiers were forced to march, was the means of saving many lives. Aunt Schuyler, as this amiable young officer familiarly styled his maternal friend, had the utmost esteem for him; and the greatest hope that he would at some future period redress all those evils that had formerly impeded the service; and perhaps plant the British standard on the walls of Quebec. But this honor another young hero was destined to achieve; whose virtues were to be illustrated by the splendor of victory, the only light by which the multitude can see the merits of a soldier.

“The Schuylers regarded this expedition with a mixture of doubt and dismay, knowing too well, from the sad retrospect of former failures, how little

valor and discipline availed where regular troops had to encounter with unseen foes, and with difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, for which military science afforded no remedy. Of General Abercrombie's worth and valor they had the highest opinion; but they were doubtful of attacking an enemy so subtle and experienced on their own ground, in intrenchments, and this they feared he would have the temerity to attempt. In the meantime preparations were making for the assault. The troops were marching in detachments past the "Flatts," and each detachment quartered for a single night on the common or in the offices. One of the first of these was commanded by Lee, of frantic celebrity, who afterward in the American war, joined the opponents of the government, and was then a captain in the British service. Captain Lee had neglected to bring the customary warrants for impressing horses and oxen, and procuring a supply of various necessaries, to be paid for by the agents of the government on showing the usual documents; he, however, seized everything he wanted where he could most readily find it, as if he were in a conquered country; and not content with this violence poured forth a volley of execrations on those who presumed to question his right of appropriating for his troops everything that could be serviceable to them; even Madame, accustomed to universal respect, and to be considered as the friend and benefactress of the army, was not spared; and the aids which she never failed to bestow on those whom she saw about to expose their lives for the general defence, were rudely demanded or violently seized. Never did the genuine Christianity of this exalted character shine more brightly than in this exigency; her countenance never altered, and she used every argument to restrain the rage of her domestics, and the clamor of her neighbors, who were treated in the same manner. Lee marched on after having done all the mischief in his power, and was on the next day succeeded by Lord Howe, who was indignant upon hearing what had happened, and astonished at the calmness with which Madame bore the treatment she had received. She soothed him by telling him that she knew too well the value of protection from a danger so imminent, to grow captious with her deliverers on account of a single instance of irregularity, and only regretted that they should have deprived her of her wonted pleasure in freely bestowing whatever could advance the service or refresh the exhausted troops. They had a long and very serious conversation that night. In the morning his lordship proposed setting out very early; but when he arose he was astonished to find Madame waiting, and breakfast ready; he smiled and said he would not disappoint her, as it was hard to say when he might again breakfast with a lady. Impressed with an unaccountable degree of concern about the fate of the enterprise in which he was embarked, she again repeated her counsels and her cautions; and when he was about to depart, embraced him with the affection of a mother, and shed many tears, a weakness she did not often give way to.

"Meantime, the best prepared and disciplined body of forces that had ever been assembled in America, were proceeding on an enterprise that, to the experience and sagacity of the Schuylers, appeared a hopeless, or at least, a very

desperate one. A general gloom overspread the family ; this, at all times large, was now augmented by several relations both of the Colonel and Madame, who had visited them at that time to be nearer the scene of action, and to get the readiest and most authentic intelligence ; for the apprehended consequence of a defeat was the pouring in of the French troops into the interior of the province ; in which case Albany might be abandoned to the enraged savages attending the French army. A few days after Lord Howe's departure, in the afternoon, a man was seen coming on horseback from the north, galloping violently without his hat. Pedrom, as he was familiarly called, the Colonel's only surviving brother, was with her, and ran instantly to inquire, well knowing he rode express. The man galloped on, crying out that Lord Howe was killed. The mind of our good aunt had been so engrossed by her anxiety and fears for the event impending, and so impressed by the merit and magnanimity of her favorite hero, that her wonted firmness sunk under this stroke, and she broke out into bitter lamentations. This had such an effect on her friends and domestics, that shrieks and sobs of anguish echoed through every part of the house. Even those who were too old or too young to enter into the public calamity, were affected by the violent grief of aunt, who, in general had too much self-command to let others witness her sorrows. Lord Howe was shot from behind a tree, probably by some Indians ; and the whole army were inconsolable for the loss they too well knew to be irreparable. This stroke, however, they soon found to be 'potent and pain, a menace and a blow' ; but this dark prospect was cheered for a moment by a deceitful gleam of hope, which only added to the bitterness of disappointment."

Lossing in his "Life and Times of Schuyler," says "The scheme of the campaign of 1758 was extensive. Shirley's plan of 1756 was revived, and its general outlines were adopted. Three points of assault—Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne—were designated, and ample preparations were made for the powerful operations against them. Upon Louisburg the first blow was to be struck, and General Jeffrey Amherst, a man of good judgment and discretion, was appointed to the command of a land force of more than twelve thousand men, destined for that enterprise. These were to be borne by the fleet of Admiral Boscawen. Abercrombie, assisted by Lord Howe, whom Pitt had chosen as 'the soul of the enterprise,' was to lead an army by the way of Albany to attack the French on Lake Champlain, while General Joseph Forbes was commissioned to lead another army over the Alleghany mountains to capture Fort Duquesne."



Wolcott G. Down
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VOLCKERT PETER DOUW

MAYOR OF ALBANY 1761-1770

“ Fifty years ago there stood on the east bank of the Hudson river, just below Albany, an ancient Bouwerie, known as Wolven Hoeck. Only a winding road edged by immense elms and sycamore trees, their ancient history written on their trunks, separated it from the river whose name is so historically interwoven with the Dutch settlement of New York.

“ Here lived Volckert Peter Douw, the lifelong friend and staunch upholder of General Schuyler, and of whom it was said: ‘ A true patriot, in civil and domestic relations, he was considered a pattern, and no man in Albany died more regretted.’

“ The eldest son of Captain Petrus Douw, he was born at Albany, N. Y., March 23d, 1720. His great-grandfather, Volckert Janszen Douw, was a captain in the Dutch army, who was driven from his home at Leeuwarden, in the Province of Friesland, by the persecutions waged against the Mennonites, and with the members of his family fled to Friedrichstadt, Denmark, where religious liberty was accorded to all. Later on, when the same feeling against the Mennonites began to prevail at Friedrichstadt, Volckert Janszen, as he was known, set sail for America, even then the home of liberty, and joined the Colony at Rensselaerwyck, becoming a large landholder and one of the prominent men of the Province.

“ Gorham A. Worth says in his ‘ Recollections ’: ‘ The Douws are mentioned as among the earliest settlers of Albany, and of an active and business-like character.’

“ Captain Petrus Douw was the only surviving son of Jonas Douw, and a member of the ‘ 27th Council and General Assembly of the Province of New York, begun and holden at the house of Jacob Dyckman in the Out Ward of the City of New York.’

“ In 1724, he built at Douw’s Point, Wolven Hoeck, so-called from the packs of wolves that, in 1717, frequented the place. Peter Douw’s wife was a daughter of Major Hendrick Van Rensselaer, and was born at Fort Crailo, the old Van Rensselaer mansion at Greenbush, and the birthplace of Yankee Doodle. Anna Van Rensselaer Douw was a woman of culture for those days, and she early trained her son Volckert in the branches of learning with which she was conversant. There was no familiarity in the early days between parent and child, it was then reverence and obey to the letter. The home education was supplemented by the meagre instruction furnished by the schoolmaster of the day.

“ In 1748, we find Volckert P. Douw made ‘ a freeman and citizen of the

City of Albany,' and the next year he was Alderman in the First Ward. His public promotion was rapid and rather unusual, even for a man of such sterling ability. He was elected Recorder in 1750; Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1757, and two years later he was member of Assembly, holding the office seven years. The year 1761 saw him Mayor of Albany and a Deacon of the Dutch Church, which latter office he filled with as much earnestness as he did the former. The records of his mayoralty give one or two items of interest; for instance, he certifies 'Ye nine negro men and women have been imported into ye county of Albany from New England, and according to an act of ye Governor, ye Council and the Generall Assembly, William Day has paid ye Duty for said negro men and women.'

"In 1764, 'Volckert P. Douw is allowed £5 10s 4d, being expenses for a suit of cloaths allowed the whipper as per agreement.' We find him paying Benjamin Ashley, of 'Casselton on the Delaware,' £100 for a negro woman named Phebe and her three children.

"Mr. Douw was mayor of the city in trying times, but proved himself equal to the occasion. Though so busily engaged in official life he conducted a large mercantile business, and was a most influential petitioner with the Lord Commissioners for Trade in the matter of needed reforms. He owned a large road house seven miles from Albany on the stage route to Niagara, known as Douw's Inn, and his glass factory at Douwsborough was said to manufacture glass superior to the English.

"By royal appointment he was Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; but, regardless of personal consideration, he took a decided stand in the cause of the Colonies in opposition to royalty. 'He served with ability and learning' down to May, 1775, when moved by his patriotic spirit, he declined to hold his office under the British Government General of New York and resigned.

"Owing to the unsettled state of the country, few courts were held under the Constitution of the State until after the close of the war; but in 1778 he was appointed first Judge of Albany by the Provincial Convention. 'Most of the men of mind and property in Albany were fully alive to the situation during the Revolution. Volckert P. Douw was full of the spirit of patriotism, ready for any sacrifice for the rights of the people, believing that he who maintains his country's laws alone is great.' He was always on the side of wise counsel, and when the hour of action came, he was prepared. In his opposition to the Stamp Act, he was closely affiliated with Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and Philip Schuyler, and their tactful speech did much to turn the tide of feeling on this subject in Albany.

"In 1774, he was appointed Indian commissioner, and a new bond of sympathy drew him to Philip Schuyler. For to the wisdom of Schuyler and his ancestors, more than to any others, do we owe the amicable settlements of differences during the entire colonial period that would have otherwise ended in blood and carnage.

“On May 5th, 1775, Douw was chosen a delegate to meet in General Congress in New York on the 22d of the month. On Tuesday, the 23d, about seventy of the eighty-one delegates elected, assembled at the Exchange in New York and organized a Provincial Congress by choosing Peter Van Brugh, President; Volckert P. Douw, Vice President, and John McKesson and Robert Benson, Secretaries. Douw was appointed one of the Committee of Safety, in 1775. On July 13, 1775, he was appointed one of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, his associates being General Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Turbot Francis and Oliver Wolcott. A month later he and Turbot Francis were the Commissioners sent to confer with the Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations at German Flatts. On September 1st, the Commissioners in their reply to little Abraham's speech acceded to the principal requests of the Indians, and informed them that General Schuyler and Mr. Douw had been appointed to keep the council fires burning, and to guard the tree of peace at Albany. Schuyler gave orders not to molest the Canadians or Indians, which orders were violated with serious consequences. On Schuyler's arrival in Albany, in the latter part of December of the same year, he found sixty of the Six Nations of Indians waiting for him. Mr. Douw was the only other Commissioner present, yet as the exigencies of the case demanded action, Schuyler and Douw opened business with them.

“In the spring of 1776, Mr. Douw writes General Schuyler: ‘Mr. Dean came down from Onondaga with the deputies from the seven tribes in Canada who have been to attend the meeting of the Six Nations at their council house at Onondaga. They told me that their clothes were worn out on their long journey on Public Business. I told them that I was much convinced of it, and have given them each 1 pr. shoes, 1 pr. buckles and a hat. I told them I would write to General Schuyler to provide them with some clothes as it would be troublesome to carry them from here to Canada. They were much pleased with it.’

“At the Council held at Johnstown in March, 1778, to secure the neutrality, if not the coöperation of all the Six Nations, Mr. Douw represented Congress. In 1779 he was appointed Commissary. He was nominated for Senator in 1785, and filled the office until 1793.

“Mr. Douw married, the 20th of May, 1742, Anna de Peyster, daughter of Captain de Peyster, at one time Mayor of Albany, and a granddaughter of Colonel Myndert Schuyler, who had also occupied the mayor's chair. Six children, of the nine born to them, lived to be the parents of families prominent in the State. Anna married Dirck Ten Broeck; Rachel married Colonel Henry Van Rensselaer of Revolutionary fame; Magdalena married John Stephenson, and they were the grandparents of the late Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, of Van Cortlandt Manor; Catrienna married Harmanus Hoffman; John de Peyster who married first, a daughter of Mayor Beekman, second, a daughter of Peter R. Livingston, and third, a daughter of Judge Leonard Gansevoort; Maria married John de Peyster Ten Eyck.

“ Mr. Douw had a house in Albany where he spent a month or so in the winter, but he was always happiest at his own fireside at Wolven Hoeck. Just a hundred years ago, Judge Gansevoort wrote :

“ ‘ The Wolvenhoeck, as named of old,
Quite famous was, as I am told,
For passing through a Douw Descent,
Who always were on duty bent,
They did their neighbors always good,
As honest persons ever should.’

“ The house was a story and a half high, and well spread out on the ground. It was built of wood and bricks, brought from Holland as ballast, and shingled



WOLVEN HOECK.

with white fir shingles. The top of the gable wall was notched into corbel steps, and the black fore bricks of the kiln were laid, alternating with yellow ones, to make checks on the gable fronts. The roof sloped from the ridge pole, and dormer windows broke its uniformity. The heavy, wooden, outside shutters swung upon massive hinges, with a crescent cut near the top to admit the early light, and they were held back by an iron somewhat like an S inserted in the wall. Over the front door was a free-stone slab with the initials

P. D. A. V. R.

cut in it, and the front wall was pierced for muskets in case of a sudden emergency.

“The front door was divided into two half doors. The upper half, which usually swung wide open in summer, had two bull’s eyes of glass to light the hall, and was graced with a heavy brass knocker, brought from Leeuwarden. The lower half had a heavy latch. The composure and coolness of the large hall was a delightful welcome. In the centre was the ‘hoist door,’ through which wheat was hoisted up by a crane, and stored in the loft. Every house of pretension had its cock-loft in the steep roof, where the house slaves slept, and where there was ample room for storage. A little to one side was a staircase, massive for those days. Over the front door was a shelf with steps leading up to it, where was placed the tobacco box, always well filled, and from which guest or master could help himself. The rooms were all wainscoted to a height of about three feet, except the dining-room which had a chair board, running about the same height from the floor. The windows were of small diamond-shaped panes of glass set in leaden frames. East India chintz calico formed the curtains, which were put up without cornices. The only carpet was in the parlor and was a Turkey carpet. The chairs were straight and high-backed, and covered with haircloth, as was the claw-footed sofa, ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails. All the furniture was of San Domingo mahogany, rich in color and delicately marked. There was a mahogany stand with a top which turned, and a small table with claw feet, holding each a ball, on which rested the old Dutch Bible. On the whitewashed walls were a few dim portraits of relatives in the Fatherland, with an occasional gem done by Frans Hals or Gerhard Douw. One picture was noticeable; it represented an old man making his will just prior to his death. It was painted on glass and burned in; an art now unknown. The family had lost everything by a terrible freshet about 1660, which inundated Papsknea island, their first home in the new settlement, a mile below Albany, and this was one of the few things not swept away. The tiles in the chimney jamb were laid in cement made from powdered clam shells; each showing a scriptural scene, and brought from Leeuwarden, Holland. The fireplace was large enough to stand in, and its hickory backlog was eight feet long; the shovel and tongs, keeping guard over the brass fire-dogs and fender, came from Haarlem. Over the mantel was a long glass, separated in three divisions by strips of narrow moulding, and a little to one side hung the bellows. On each side of the chimney was a sort of alcove with benches near the windows. The wainscoting, the paneling about the deep wooden seats, and the mantel were all carved. The alcoves and woodwork were painted a bluish-grey color. Between the front windows was a sconce, or oblong mirror, of grotesque shape, divided by a gilt moulding about a foot and a half from the top, and with branches for candles.

“The round Dutch tea table, supported on three claw-footed legs, stood a little to one side, invitingly laid for tea. The linen cloth in the centre once belonged to Annika Jans, Mrs. Duow’s great-grandmother, and in the linen was woven the illustrations of the parable of the loaves and fishes. The china was of most delicate texture, and was brought over by Captain Stewart Dean on the

return from the first trip made to China by an Albany sloop. As it was made to order, it had initials interwoven on it. The glass was all cut, and of simple design. There was the massive tankard with the Schuyler arms graven on it, the shell-shaped sugar bowl arranged for 'bite and stir,' and the ooma, or sifter for cinnamon and sugar, the slender-handled teaspoons, and the shell-handled knives. The napkins were all spun at home.

"Then came the living-room with its corner fireplace. This was where the family gathered, and here, when the duties of the short winter day were over, Judge Douw smoked his Holland pipe, and his good wife, by the aid of the glowing fire and the tallow dip, spun her linen.

"A large, square, mahogany table stood in the centre of the room, its leaves letting down for the day. In one corner was the old Dutch clock, telling the year, month, day, hour, minute and second, the rising and setting of the moon, and when each hour struck, sending forth in silvery tones some antique air. In still another corner was the Holland cupboard, set in the wall, with the glass doors displaying the exquisite old china, especially that of the favorite Lowestoffe and Chinese makes, and the fine cut goblets, with stems adorned with spiral threads of opaque glass.

"Pewter plates, platters, dishes and mugs, highly burnished, were in daily use, and were much valued. The old carved sideboard held the family silver, beakers, tankards, candlesticks and mugs. And it also had the inlaid mahogany boxes which contained the knives, forks and spoons. A cellaret of mahogany, bound in brass, and lined with metal, held the wine bottles. At one side was a huge decanter, always filled with the best of Jamaica, or Santa Cruz rum, and beside it a piece of cow's horn, smoothed on each end, hollow, and tipped with silver, with initials cut in the side. This was always used to take the morning 'horn,' and it was followed by a pinch of salt as an appetizer.

"In another corner stood the oaken, iron-bound chest, brimful of fine linen, all spun at home. Just above it hung a pipe case, with the drawer underneath for tobacco.

"Back of the living-room was 'the meister's bedroom.' The principal piece of furniture was the enormous bedstead, the high posts of which were handsomely carved, and supported a canopy, or tester, hung with dainty, or fringed chintz curtains and a fringed valence to match. A sacking bottom was pierced at intervals with large holes worked with coarse linen thread in buttonhole stitch. Through these openings a stout rope was inserted and drawn around the corresponding pegs in the bedstead, and, on this foundation, great feather beds of live geese feathers were placed. The sheets were of heavy homespun linen, the hemming being done with fine linen thread which defied the ravages of time. The white quilt was a work of art, so beautifully was it quilted, and so well were roses and tulips shown on its surface. The patch quilt, folded at the bottom of the bed, was a most marvelous affair. There was a trundle bed, only about a foot from the ground, which was rolled out from under the large bed at night, and in which the youngest children had always slept. When all

the children were at home the pallet on the floor, the 'Kerims bed' was an occasional resort. The general bed-sacks and pillows were filled sometimes with fibrous mistletoe, the down of the cat-tail flag, or pigeon feathers. Cotton from the milk weed, then called silk grass, was also used for pillows and cushions.

"The small washstand was three-cornered, and the ware on it was dark blue and white. There was a bountiful supply of homespun towels. A large barrel chair, covered with dimity, stood by the window, and a bright brass warming-pan hung on the wall, to warm the sheets on a cold winter's night. The large, heavy mahogany cradle, with a roof extending over the head to shield the child's eyes from the lights, stood in the corner, its last occupant now a grey-headed man.

"Just back of the master's room was a small library, or office, where was arranged on shelves the library, a good one for those days, when books were rarely seen in ordinary households. A large mahogany desk full of pigeonholes and secret drawers, and filled to overflowing with valuable papers, together with a wooden armchair, constituted the furnishing. There was a small room off the library with two narrow windows and a stone floor. 'This was the dood kamer—dead chamber—where the dead were placed until the time of the funeral.

"Back of the living-room was the pantry, and the kitchen and the slaves' quarters were in the rear. There were one or two half bedrooms upstairs.

"The house was surrounded by a circular stockade, twelve feet high, of white oak posts pointed and bolted to a transverse timber, having a gate pointed on the upper and lower sides and raised in a gallows frame by weights.

"The family burying ground was to the north of the house; the slaves' to the south.

"Many Indian treaties were executed inside the stockade; the Indian chiefs and their squaws sleeping on their buffalo robes inside, while their followers slept and cooked on the bank under the old trees.

"Until recently there could be seen some holes in the ground under the old elms on the bank of the river opposite to the old house. Lord Howe's regiment, the Fifty-sixth, encamped on the spot in 1758 on its way to the disastrous battle at Ticonderoga, just before which, Lord Howe was killed in a skirmish. At that time there was space enough between the road and the river to accommodate the whole regiment, and these holes marked the places where the soldiers boiled their camp kettles.

"Judge Douw was a tall, dignified man, six feet two inches in height, straight as an arrow, and very handsome, with a clean-shaven face, a firm mouth, and a piercing eye. He wore his hair in a queue, the front hair brushed straight back and powdered. His usual dress was a long-waisted coat with skirts reaching nearly to the ankles, adorned with large silver buttons made of Spanish coins, knee breeches, silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles set with Rhine stones. A large cocked hat completed the attire. He always carried a silver-headed cane. He wore a turnip-shaped silver watch with a heavy seal, and in his pocket was his tobacco box of embossed silver, on which was engraved his

coat-of-arms, surrounded by a scroll, and on the reverse was a representation of 'Susannah and the Elders in the Garden.' He also carried a tongue scraper, tooth, ear and nail pick, all shutting within a guard or handle.

"He was a famous horseman, even in his old age, and there was no horse so vicious that he was unable to subdue him. Munsell speaks of him as 'one of the most ancient and respectable merchant princes of the day.'

"He owned a large number of slaves who were devoted to him, and his family; remaining in his employ even when slavery was abolished in New York state. Judge Douw's slave Dinah was one of the girls who set fire to the barn of Leonard Gansevoort, starting the conflagration of 1793 in Albany, and was executed on Pinkster Hill; Bet, a slave of Philip S. Van Rensselaer being the other one implicated.

"Judge Douw was at one time captured by the British, and was confined as a prisoner of war in Quebec, where he acquired the French language, and ever after kept a body servant; three dying in his service. In his capacity as Commissary, he once set out to join the army at Saratoga, followed by his servant, 'King Charles,' on horseback. Suddenly Charles appeared at the stockade loudly calling for admittance, saying that his master had been captured, and he, after hard fighting, had appeared to tell the tale of woe. Before the family had recovered from the shock the master himself came thundering up to demand the cause of Charles' flight. It seems that the old negro saw some distance back of his master the sumac, or Indian salt, waving in the wind, and supposing it to be the red feather of the enemy, he fled in dismay and had told the tale of capture to clear himself from cowardice.

"As Mayor of Albany, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Member of Assembly, Senator, and Vice President of the First Provincial Congress, his circle of friends was large, and all the most prominent men of the day were visitors at the Hoeck.

"Well known for his successful negotiations with the Six Nations and other Indian tribes, he was an intimate friend of all the Indian chiefs, and perhaps knew Red Jacket as well as did any white man. The Six Nations, on the death of a favorite daughter, sent him a belt of condolence to show their sympathy.

"As Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he was brought into intimate relations with the various tribes, and the most friendly intercourse existed between them. The various chiefs and their retainers made two visits each year to the Hoeck to have a talk with 'the Heer and his friends and smoke the pipe of peace.' At one of these meetings, at a convivial supper, General Schuyler, who was present, offered to bet a large sum that the horse he rode in coming to the feast could outrun a famous horse named Sturgeon, belonging to Volckert P. Douw, which, in his day, had won many a purse for his master. It was in midwinter, but the ice was very slushy, owing to heavy rains. However, the Indians and negroes soon cleared a place on the ice, and stretched themselves, with lanterns, all across and down the centre of the river, and the race was run, old Sturgeon

coming out ahead amid the yells and shouts of white men, Indians and negroes, 'King Charles' of Pinkster fame being his rider.

"Mrs. Douw died June 14th, 1794, and the list of persons invited to her funeral shows all the prominent names of the day.

"Judge Douw died March 20th, 1801, and was laid by his wife's side at Wolven Hoeck. A keg of wine was spiced and prepared during his life and under his own direction, for this event, on the occasion of which the guests imbibed so freely that they had to be carried home on ox sleds.

"'An upright man, and a true patriot has this day gone to his rest, and his son has inherited all his father's virtues,' wrote an old resident of Albany, and it may be added that his life illustrated his belief that 'Our country's welfare is our first concern, and who proves that best proves his duty.'"

By his great-granddaughter, MARY LANMAN DOUW FERRIS.



DOUW ARMS.

CHAPTER III

PERIOD 1768-1774

“WE next find him,” continues Kent, “under the title of Colonel Schuyler in company with his compatriot, George Clinton, in the year 1768 on the floor of the House of Assembly, taking an active share in all their vehement discussions. He was elected a member for the city and county of Albany and he continued a member until the colonial legislature in April, 1775, terminated its existence forever. A seat in the Assembly at that day, was very important, and an evidence of character as well as influence, inasmuch as the members were few, and chosen exclusively by freeholders, and held their seats for seven years. The services which Colonel Schuyler rendered in that station and the talents, zeal, and intrepidity which he displayed in asserting the constitutional rights of the Colonies, and in resisting the claims of the British Parliament, and of the colonial governor and council, may be considered as having laid the solid foundation for those marks of distinguished honor and confidence which his countrymen were afterward so prompt to bestow. The majority of the Assembly were favorable to the interest of the crown, and they continually checked the bold measures of the whigs in their determined opposition to the claims of the parent power. A very difficult, arduous, and responsible duty was imposed upon Colonel Schuyler and his leading associates, which were in the minority. It was in the closing scenes of that body, in the winter and spring of 1775, amid the expiring struggles of that ministerial party to uphold the tottering fabric of the British colonial administration, that the zeal, talents and firmness of the minority shone with the brightest lustre. None of them were to be overawed or seduced from a bold and determined defence of the constitutional rights of the Colonies, and of an adherence to the letter and spirit of the councils of the union. The struggle in the House of the Assembly between the Ministerial and the Whig parties, was brought to a crisis in the months of February and March, and in that memorable contest Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, together with Nathaniel Woodhull of Long Island, and Colonel Philip Livingston, gained strength by defeat, and arose with increasing vigor suitable to the difficulties and solemnities of the crisis.

“On the 3d, of March, Colonel Schuyler moved declaratory resolutions that the act 4, George III., imposing duties for raising a revenue in America, and for ending the jurisdiction of the admiralty courts, and for depriving his majesty's subjects in America of trial by jury, and for holding up an injurious discrimination between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the Colonies, were great grievances. The government party seem to have fled the question, and to have left in the House only the scanty number of nine members, and the

resolutions were carried by a vote of seven to two; but their opponents immediately rallied, and eleven distinct divisions, on different motions were afterward taken in the course of that day, and entered on the journal, and they related to all the momentous points then in controversy between Great Britain and the United States. It was a sharp and hard-fought contest for fundamental principles; and a more solemn and eventful never happened on the floor of a deliberate assembly. The House consisted on that day of twenty-four members, and the ministerial majority exactly in the ratio of two to one. The resistance of the House was fairly broken down, and essentially controlled by the efforts of the minority and the energy of public opinion.

"These were the last proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, which now closed its existence forever. More perilous scenes, and new and brighter paths of glory, were opening upon the vision of those illustrious patriots."

UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

"ALBANY, March 7th, 1768.

"DEAR SIR :

"I thank you for your very friendly letter of the 22d, ult., and your kind offices.

"You do not tell me whether you intend to be in the House or send another for the Manor. I have a particular reason to wish the former. It will not be hard to guess when I tell you that Mr. Ten Eyck and myself have been unanimously elected. I could wish to borrow part of that knowledge in public affairs, which, in the course of many years' experience joined to a luxuriant genius you have acquired; in following such a guide I should be in no danger of losing myself in the political labyrinth. Mr. Jacobus Myndertse comes for Schenectady, Mr. Abram Ten Broeck for the Manor of Rensselaer, and Robert R. Livingston for Dutchess County. Should I not have the pleasure of seeing you at the Sessions, I shall do myself the pleasure to call on you at my return. The whole of this family join me in regards to you and yours. Col. Bradstreet begs his; he wishes with me to have the pleasure of your company the ensuing spring or summer.

"I am, Dear Sir, very affectionately,

"Your kinsman and obedient servant,

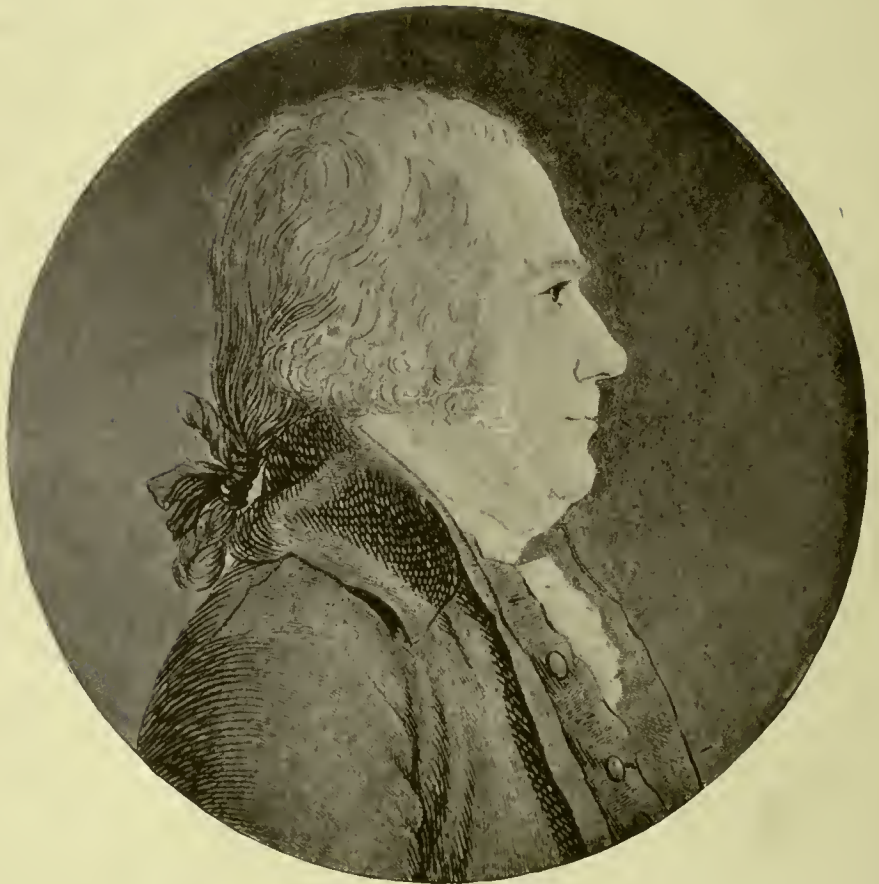
"PH. SCHUYLER.

"PHILIP VER PLANCK, ESQ.,

"*At his seat in the Manor of Cortlandt.*"

Colonel Schuyler's position in the Assembly during the closing years of the colonial period was a delicate one in respect to the representatives of the Crown. He was closely allied by blood with the rich and powerful family of De Lancey, and an intimate personal friend of both Governor Moore and Lieutenant-Governor Colden. B. J. Lossing writes in his life of Schuyler: "Yet in this as in all similar contingencies of his public life, Schuyler did not allow friendships to interfere with his duty to his country. At the beginning of the session of 1769, a long memorial from merchants, traders, and others concerned in or affected by the Indian trade addressed to Jacob Ten Eyck and

Philip Schuyler, representatives for the city and county of Albany, Jacobus Myndert, representative of the township of Schenectady, and Abraham Ten Broeck and Robert Livingston, representatives respectfully of the Manors of Rensselaer and Livingston, was presented, in which the memorialists after expressing their satisfaction because the governor had recommended the passage of an act for regulating the Indian trade, set forth their views, based upon stated facts and conclusions. This memorial was referred to a committee of the Assembly, of which Colonel Schuyler was chairman, and on the 10th of May he presented a report on the subject, carefully drawn by his own hand. That report from its completeness and valuable suggestions, excited a great deal of attention, and Colonel Schuyler and Mr. De Lancey were instructed to prepare and bring in a bill for the regulation of the Indian trade. That bill soon became a law, and the regulations adopted under it were in operation until the commencement of the Revolution, and the change in the relative position of all parties concerned was effected by the war."



GEORGE CLINTON.

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GEORGE CLINTON

First Governor of New York State

“George Clinton, Governor of New York and Vice President of the United States, was named after the Colonial governor, a friend of his father. He was the youngest son of Colonel Charles Clinton, and was born in Ulster County, now Orange, July 26, 1739. In his education his father was assisted by Daniel Thain, a minister from Scotland. In early life he evinced the enterprise which distinguished him afterward. He once left his father's house and sailed in a privateer. On his return he accompanied as a lieutenant, his brother James, in the expedition against Fort Frontenac, now Kingston. He afterward studied law under William Smith, and rose to some distinction in his native country. As a member of the Colonial Assembly in 1775, and afterward as a member of Congress, he was a zealous whig. He voted for the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776; but, being called away by his appointment as brigadier-general before the instrument was ready for the signature of the members, his name was not attached to it. March 25th, 1777, he was appointed brigadier-general of the United States. At the first election under the Constitution of New York, he was chosen, April 21st, 1777, both governor and lieutenant-governor. Accepting the former office, the latter was filled by Mr. Van Cortlandt. He was thus elected chief magistrate six successive periods, or for eighteen years, till 1795, when he was succeeded by Mr. Jay. Being at the head of a powerful State, and in the command of the militia, his patriotic services were of the highest importance to his country. On the advance of the enemy up the Hudson in October, 1777, he prorogued the Assembly and proceeded to take command of Fort Montgomery, where he and his brother James made a most gallant defence October 6th. He escaped under cover of the night. The next day Forts Independence and Constitution were evacuated. He presided in the convention at Poughkeepsie, June 17, 1778, for deliberating on the federal constitution, which he deemed not sufficiently guarded in favor of the sovereignty of each state. After being five years in private life, he was elected to the legislature. Again in 1801 was he chosen governor; but in 1804 was succeeded by Mr. Lewis. In that year he was elevated to the vice presidency of the United States, in which station he continued till his death. It was by his casting vote, that the bill for renewing the bank charter was negatived. He died at Washington, April 20th, 1812, aged seventy-two. In private life he was frank, amiable, and warm in friendship. By his wife Cornelia Tappan, of Kingston, he had one son and five daughters, of whom but one daughter (1838) is still living. His daughter, Maria, wife of Dr. S. D. Beekman, died in April, 1829; his second daughter, Cornelia, wife of E. C. Genet, died March, 1810, aged thirty-five; his third daughter, Elizabeth, widow of Matthias Talmadge, died

April, 1825, aged forty-five. Another daughter married Colonel Van Cortlandt and died in 1811. An oration on his death was delivered by Governor Morris. Of his energy and decision the following are instances. At conclusion of the war, when a British officer was placed on a cart in the city of New York, to be tarred and feathered, he rushed in among the mob and rescued the sufferer. During the raging of what was called the Doctor's mob, when in consequence of the disinterment of some bodies for dissection, the houses of the physicians were in danger of being pulled down, he called out the militia and quelled the turbulence. The following is an instance of the skill, with which he diverted attention from his growing infirmities. On a visit to Pittsfield, as he was rising from the table in his old age, he fell, but was caught by a lady sitting next to him. 'Thus,' said he, 'should I ever wish to fall into the hands of the ladies.' For many years he suffered much by the rheumatism."

By A. F. ALLEN.

General Pierre Van Cortlandt, born August 29th, 1762, married Catharine Clinton, the eldest daughter of George Clinton. The two portraits in crayons, here reproduced, of Governor Clinton and his wife, by St. Menon Valdevieux, are now hanging on the walls of the old Van Cortlandt manor house.

The two following letters have never before appeared in print.

"NEW WINDSOR, March 5th, 1781.

"MADAM

"Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Cochran, & your humble servant will do ourselves the Pleasure of dining with you to Day. The uncertainty of our setting out, with the Difficulty of crossing the River prevented an earlier notification. It is probable we shall not be able to reach Poughkeepsie before four o'clock & propose taking up our Quarters there for the Night.

"I am Madam Your most obedt

"& very humble sernt

"JOHN COCHRAN.

"MRS. CLINTON."

(John Cochran was at the time, Surgeon-General of the Army, and in 1760, had married the only sister of General Schuyler.)

"POKEEPSIE, Janry, 20, 1782.

"Reverend Sir

"I have been duly favored with your letter of the 3d instant and return you my warmest thanks for the Communication as the Intelligence it contains will help to unravel a Scene of Iniquity in the perfect Knowledge of which the Safety of the State is materially concerned. I shall be under the Necessity of making public use of the contents of it but will be particularly careful to conceal such Parts of it and use it in such a Manner as not to discover the Channel thro- which the Intelligence is derived. I have the honor to be

"with the most perfect Respect &

"Esteem your most obt sernt

"GEO. CLINTON.

"REV. DRICK, ROMEVNE."



MRS. CLINTON.

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THE HUGUENOT FAMILY OF DE LANCEY

“The name of this ancient family, anciently spelled ‘Lanci,’ and later ‘Lancy,’ in France, was anglicized by Etienne de Lancy on being denizenized a British subject in 1686, after which time he always wrote his name Stephen de Lancey—thus inserting an ‘e’ in the final syllable. The ‘de’ is the ordinary French prefix, denoting nobility.

“The Seigneur Jacques (James) de Lancey, above named, second son of Charles de Lancey, fifth Vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion, was the ancestor of the Huguenot branch, the only existing one of this family. His son, the Seigneur Jacques de Lancy of Caen, married Marguerite Bertrand, daughter of Pierre Bertrand of Caen, by his first wife, the Demoiselle Firel, and had two children, a son Etienne (or Stephen) de Lancey, born at Caen, October 24th, 1663, and a daughter, the wife of John Barbarie. On the Revocation of the edict of Nantes, Stephen de Lancey was one of these who, stripped of his estates, fled from persecution—leaving his aged mother, then a widow, in concealment at Caen, he escaped to Holland, where, remaining a short time, he proceeded to England, and taking out letters of denization as an English subject at London, on the 20th of March, 1686, he sailed for New York, where he arrived on the 7th of June following. Here with three hundred pounds sterling, the proceeds of the sale of some family jewels, the parting gift of his mother, he embarked in mercantile pursuits. By industry and strict application to business, he became a successful merchant and amassed a large fortune. He was a highly esteemed and influential man, and held, through all his life, honorable appointments in the councils of the city, as well as in the Representative Assembly of the Province. He was elected alderman of the west ward of the city, five years after his arrival, in 1691. He was representative from the city and county of New York in the Provincial Assembly, from 1702 to 1715, with the exception of 1709; and in 1725, on the decease of Mr. Provoost, he was elected again to that body. The following year he was reelected, and continued in office until 1737; a service of twenty-six years in all. In 1716, being a vestryman of Trinity Church, he contributed fifty pounds, the amount of his salary as Representative to the General Assembly, to buy a city clock for that church, the first ever erected in New York. To him and Mr. John Moore, his partner, the city is also indebted for the introduction of fire engines, in 1731. He was one of the principal benefactors of the French Church, Du St. Esprit, established in New York by the refugees who fled upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and a warm friend of the French Huguenots at New Rochelle. The following letter addressed by him, 1691, to his friend Alexander Allaire, is still preserved among the public records at New Rochelle.

“‘ NIEU YORK, le 27 Juliet, 1691.

“‘ MONS. ALLAIRE :

“‘ Monsieur Notre Amy Mons. Bonheiler, avant de partir me donnera ordre qu'en cas quil vinsse à mourir il soit fair donation de ses terres à sa filleule votre fille, Sy vous pouvez faire quelque Benefice des dits terres. Soit à Couper des arbres ou a faire des foins sur les prairies vous le poves a l'exclusion de qui que se soit, Je suis.

“‘ Mons. votre Irè humble serviteur,

“‘ ETIENNE DE LANCEY.

“‘ Ceu est la vèrètable coppie de l'original.'

“‘ He was a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York at the time of his death, in 1741. He married January 23d, 1700, Anne Van Cortlandt (whose mother was a Schuyler, and whose family was then one of the most opulent and extensive in the Province). Stephen de Lancey at his death in 1741, left issue surviving, James, Peter, Stephen, John, Oliver, Susan and Anne. Of these sons Stephen and John died bachelors. Susan married Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and Anne the Honorable John Watts of New York. The eldest son, James de Lancey, a man of great talent, was born in the City of New York, 27th of November, 1703, and received his education at the University of Cambridge, England. He was a fellow-commoner of Corpus Christi College (where he was styled the 'handsome American') and studied law in the temple. In 1725, he returned to New York, and on the decease of John Barbarie, his uncle by marriage, was appointed by George II. to succeed him in the Provincial Council. He took his seat at the board, January 29, 1729, and held it to April 9, 1733, when he was appointed Chief Justice of New York, and continued so the remainder of his life. In 1753, on the accession of Sir Danvers Osborne as Governor, in the place of George Clinton, he received the commission of lieutenant-governor, which had been conferred upon him in 1747 by George II. and had been kept back by Clinton until this time. The oath of office was administered October 10, 1753. The tragical death of Sir Danvers Osborne by suicide two days afterward, occasioned the elevation of Mr. de Lancey to the gubernatorial chair, which he occupied till the 2d of September, 1755, when the new governor, Admiral Sir Charles Hardy arrived, who administered the government till the 2d of July, 1757. Preferring a naval command Hardy resigned, and sailed in the expedition to Louisburgh, and Mr. de Lancey again took the reins of government.

“‘ The ministry of England wished to keep the command of New York in the hands of Mr. de Lancey, but it was then, as it is to this day, a rule of the English Government never to appoint a native colonist to the supreme command over his own colony. To effect their object in this case without violating their rule, they decided not to appoint any new governor as long as Mr. de Lancey lived; he therefore remained the Governor of New York under his commission of lieutenant-governor until his death, some three years afterward, on the 30th of July, 1760.

“‘ On the 19th of June, 1754, Governor de Lancey convened and presided over the celebrated Congress of Albany, the first Congress ever held in America, over

which he presided. This was a Congress of delegates from all the Colonies, which the home government directed the Governor of New York to hold, for the purpose of conciliating the Indian nations who were invited to attend it; of renewing the covenant chain and attaching them more closely to the British interest, and comprising all the provinces in one general treaty to be made with them in the King's name, and for no other purpose. Speeches and presents were made to the Indians who promised to do all that was asked of them, but no formal treaty whatever was concluded. The Congress voted instead, that the delegation from each colony except New York, should appoint one of their number, who together should be a committee to digest a plan for a general union of all the Colonies.

“The choice of the New York committeeman was left to Governor de Lancey, who, acting most impartially, appointed his political opponent, William Smith, Esq., the elder. This movement, which was not within the objects of the Congress as defined in the letter of the Board of Trade above mentioned, resulted in the adopting of a plan of union to be made by an act of Parliament, which, after the provisions were resolved on, was put into form by Benjamin Franklin, who was a delegate from Pennsylvania, and which was not decided upon, but merely sent to the different provinces for consideration.

“Before the motion for the appointment of this committee was made, Governor de Lancey, being in favor of the Colonies uniting for their own defence, proposed the building and maintaining, at the joint expense of the Colonies, of a chain of forts covering their whole exposed frontier, and some in the Indian country itself. But this plan, like the other, was without effect upon the Congress; for, as he tells us himself, ‘they seemed so fully persuaded of the backwardness of the several assemblies to come into joint and vigorous measures that they were unwilling to enter upon the consideration of the matters.’ His idea seems to have been for a practical union of the Colonies for their defence to be made by themselves; whilst that of the committees, who despaired of a voluntary union, was for a consolidation of the Colonies to be enforced by an act of Parliament. Neither plan, however, met with favor in any quarter, and the Congress effected little but the conciliation of the Indians.

“In the autumn of 1754, the governor suggested to the assembly the system of settling lands in townships instead of patents, a measure which, being passed by them, rapidly increased the population, and prosperity of the colony.

“On the 31st of October, 1754, Governor de Lancey signed and passed the charter of King's (now Columbia) college, in spite of the long and bitter opposition of the Presbyterians, led by Mr. William Livingston. So decided were they against the Episcopalians at this time, and so determined were the efforts of Mr. Livingston to break down the college, that, though signed and sealed, the charter was not delivered in consequence of the clamor, till May 7th, 1755, when, after an address, Governor de Lancey presented it to the trustees in form.

“No American had greater influence in the colonies than James de Lancey. Circumstances, it is true, aided in raising him to this elevation—such as educa-

tion, connections, wealth, and his high conservative principles; but he owed as much to personal qualities, perhaps, as to all other causes united. Gay, witty, easy of access, and frank, he was, personally, the most popular ruler the Province ever possessed, even when drawing tightest the reins of government.

“The death of Governor James de Lancey, which took place on the 30th of July, 1760, was an event which had a great influence in the affairs of the Province. He was found expiring upon that morning, seated in his chair in his library, too late for medical aid. His funeral took place on the evening of the 31st of July, 1760. The body was deposited in his family vault, in the middle aisle of Trinity Church, the funeral service being performed by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, in great magnificence; the building was splendidly illuminated. The accounts of the funeral and the procession from his house in the Bowery to the church, filled columns of the papers of the day.

* * * * *

“James de Lancey married as above stated, Anne, eldest daughter and coheirress of the Honorable Caleb Heathcote, Lord of the Manor of Scarsdale. By her, he had four sons; first, James; second, Stephen; third, Heathcote; fourth, John Peter; and four daughters; first, Mary, wife of William Walton, who died in 1767; second, Susannah, born 18th of November, 1737, died a spinster in 1815; third, Anne, born in 1746, and died in 1817, who married Thomas Jones, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, author of the History of New York during the Revolutionary War; and Martha, who died a spinster, aged nineteen, in 1769.

“James de Lancey, the eldest son of the Lieutenant-Governor, born in 1732, was the head of the political party, called by his name, from his father's death to the Revolution and its leader in the Assembly of the Province. He married August 17th, 1771, Margaret Allen, of Philadelphia, daughter of William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, whose sister was the wife of Governor John Penn of that province. The late Mrs. Harry Walter Livingston (born Mary Allen) who died in 1855, was a niece of these two sisters. James de Lancey had two sons, Charles, in early life a British naval officer, and James, Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Dragoon Guards; both died bachelors, the former May 6th, 1840, and the latter May 26th, 1857; and three daughters, Margaret, married July 17th, 1794, Sir Jukes Granville Clifton Jukes, Bart., and died June 11th, 1804, without leaving children; Anna and Susan, who both died spinsters, the first, August 10th, 1851, and the last April 7th, 1866.

“Stephen, the second son of Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey, was the proprietor of what is now the town of North Salem, in this county (Westchester) which came to his father as part of his share in the Manor of Cortlandt, which town Stephen de Lancey settled. He built a large double dwelling, which he subsequently gave to the town for an academy, which is still in existence. He married Hannah Sackett, of Crom Pond, and died without issue May 6th,

1795. Heathcote, the third son of the Lieutenant-Governor, died young, before his father.

“John Peter de Lancey, the fourth son of Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey, was born in the city of New York, July 15th, 1753, and died at Mamaroneck, January 30th, 1828. He was educated in Harrow School in England, and at the military school at Greenwich. In 1771 he entered the regular army as ensign, and served up to the rank of captain in the 18th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot. He was, also, for a time by special permission, major of the Pennsylvania Loyalists, commanded by Colonel William Allen.

“He received the Heathcote estates of his mother, in the Manor of Scarsdale; and having retired from a military life, in 1789 returned to America and resided at Mamaroneck. He built a new house, still standing on Heathcote Hill, the site of grandfather Heathcote's great brick manor house, which was accidentally burned several years prior to the Revolution. He married 28th of September, 1785, Elizabeth Floyd, daughter of Colonel Richard Floyd, of Mastic, Suffolk County, the head of that old Long Island family, and had three sons and five daughters.

“The third son of this marriage was William Heathcote, born 8th of October, 1797, at Mamaroneck, and died at Geneva, New York, April 5th, 1865, the late Bishop of Western New York.”

EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY.

THE DE LANCEY MANSION

Washington's Quarters, November, 1783, and the House in Which He Took Leave of His Officers

“In the oldest portion of the city of New York, at the southeast corner of Pearl and Broad streets, stands a stately old building, around which cluster many interesting historical and social memories. It was built at the beginning of the last century, by Stephen de Lanci, or de Lancey, the ancestor of that family in America. He was an active Huguenot, of noble blood, and when the tolerating Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV., in 1685, he fled from his home in Normandy, with no other fortune than his mother's blessing and some family jewels, which she quilted into his doublet. He was then twenty-three years of age, well educated, and full of energy and hope. He went to Rotterdam, in Holland, and thence to London, where he became a naturalized citizen of England; and, in the summer of 1686, he came to New York, where he was admitted a freeman under the seal of the city. With the capital of education, integrity, and the proceeds of the sale of his jewels, he entered into mercantile business, and very soon became a wealthy man, and highly esteemed citizen. In 1690 he was a member of the Court of Admiralty, and from 1691 to 1694 he was an alderman of the city.

“Mr. de Lancey married Anne, daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt; and,

on land conveyed to him by his father-in-law, he built the mansion above delineated, in the year 1700, when he was thirty-eight years of age. There he lived in sumptuous style as compared with his more modest and frugal Dutch neighbors, until his death, in 1741.

“Soon after his death, the de Lanceys seem to have left this residence, and it was occupied for a while by Colonel Joseph Robinson, who appears to have been a business partner with the elder de Lancey. In 1757 it ceased to be exclusively a dwelling, the lower part being then occupied, for the first time, by the mercantile firm of ‘de Lancey, Robinson & Company.’ Four years later the de Lanceys sold the property to Samuel Fraunces, a noted innkeeper—the Niblo or Delmonico of the last century—who, ‘at the sign of the Mason’s Arms,’ had sold ‘portable soup, catsup, bottled gooseberries, pickled walnuts, pickled or fried oysters, fit to go to the West Indies, pickled mushrooms, currant jelly, marmalade,’ etc. In 1761 he opened the de Lancey House as a house of enter-



DE LANCEY MANSION.

tainment, with the name of the ‘Queen’s Head Tavern,’ his sign being the effigy of Charlotte, the young queen of George III. He conducted business there for about four years, when he rented the house to John Jones, and opened ‘Vauxhall Gardens,’ in Greenwich street. Jones remained at the ‘Queen’s Head’ only about a year, when the following advertisement appeared in a New York newspaper, under the date of January 16th, 1767:

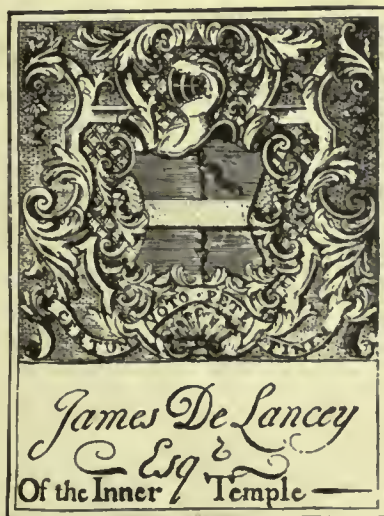
“Bolton and Sigell Take this Method to acquaint the publick that they propose to open, on Monday next, a Tavern and Coffee House at the House of Samuel Fraunces, near the Exchange, lately kept by Mr. John Jones, and known by the name of the “Queen’s Head Tavern,” where Gentlemen may depend upon receiving the best Usage. As Strangers, they are sensible

they can have no Pretension to the Favor of the Public but what results from their readiness upon all occasions to oblige. Dinners and Public Entertainments provided at the shortest notice. Breakfast in readiness from 9 to 11 o'clock. Jellies in great perfection; also Rich and Plain Cakes sold by the weight.'

"The firm was dissolved in February, 1770, and Bolton carried on the business until May of the same year, when Fraunces again appeared there as proprietor of the tavern. The good cookery and excellent wines at the 'Queen's Head' made it a favorite meeting place of the clubs in those days. Among the most noted of these were 'The Moot' and the 'Social Club.'

* * * * *

"Originally it was two stories and a high attic with a hipped roof with balustrades at the eaves, and remained so till late in this century (18th) when the roof was taken off and two brick stories put in its place. From Sam Fraunces' day (who was a mulatto) till now it has always been used as a hotel. The north-east corner of Broad and Pearl streets was given to Mr. Samuel Bayard who married the eldest daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, three months after Mr. and Mrs. de Lancey's wedding, and Mr. B. built a house on it, which has long since disappeared."¹



BOOK PLATE.

¹ "NEW YORK, April 1st, 1896.

"MY DEAR MRS. BAXTER :

"I send enclosed a steel plate engraving of my Father, which is a good likeness. As to James de Lancey, the Chief Justice and Governor, there is now no portrait. His portrait was burned with other family pictures in November, 1777, when General Oliver de Lancey's house at Bloomingdale (his brother's) now 86th-87th streets and North River was robbed, burned

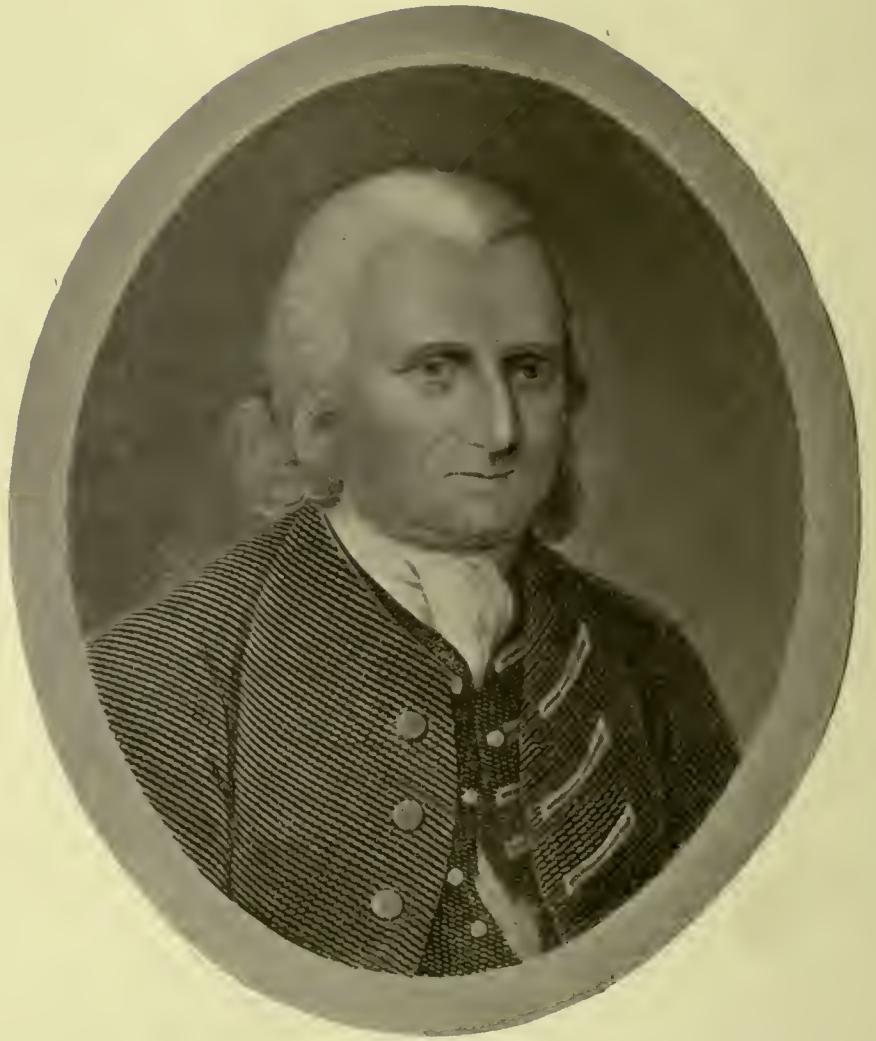
and the ladies of his family driven out in their night clothes into the woods of his estate (now the city's West side from middle of Central Park to the North River) by a detachment of the American Water-Guard from Tarrytown, by order of Governor George Clinton, of New York. Jones' 'History of New York during the Revolutionary War,' and other works have a full account of the affair.

"My father's mother, Mrs. John P. de Lancey, then Miss Elizabeth Floyd, was visiting the General's daughter Charlotte, afterward Lady Dundas of Beechwood, at the time, and was one of the ladies who had to spend the night after, running around in the woods; a not agreeable thing in the month of November. Lady Dundas lived till 1840, and told my father and myself all about it.

"General de Lancey was at the time on Long Island.

"I am, very truly yours,

"EDWARD F. DE LANCEY."



Caonalleider Corden

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CADWALLADER COLDEN

Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York

“Cadwallader Colden, known in the scientific and literary world as a physician, botanist, astronomer and historian, was born on the 17th of February, 1688, (N. S.) in Ireland where his mother happened to be temporarily on a visit. His father was the Rev. Alexander Colden, minister of Dunsie in Scotland. He graduated at the University of Edinburgh in 1705, but being disinclined to the Church for which he was intended, he proceeded to London where he embraced the profession of medicine. He emigrated to Philadelphia in 1710, ‘a mere scholar and stranger in the world.’ He returned, however, to London in 1715, where he formed an acquaintance with some of the most distinguished literary characters of the day, and in the course of the following year married Alice Christie, daughter of a clergyman of Kelso, Scotland. The troubles prevailing at this time could not but indispose him to remain in his native land, and he came back to Philadelphia in which city he practiced his profession for some time. In 1718, he visited New York, where he made the acquaintance of Governor Hunter, who was so favorably impressed by his conversation and solid acquirements that he became his patron, and invited him to settle in his government, and appointed him Surveyor-General of the Colony. In 1720, he procured a grant of two thousand acres of land, in what is now the town of Montgomery, Orange county, to which was added shortly after, another one thousand acres. He was called by his Majesty’s Provincial Council in 1732, by Governor Burnet, and in this position aided most efficiently in securing the Indian trade to New York. At this period the trade with the distant Indians was carried on through Canada which obtained its supplies from Great Britain through certain merchants at Albany. To exclude the French from this trade was a prominent part of Governor Burnet’s policy, and with that view he obtained a law from the legislature prohibiting the circuitous trade under the severest penalties. Through the influence of London merchants and the intrigues of other interested parties this act was repealed in England. Considerable and prolonged discussion was the consequence; Dr. Colden took a prominent part in the controversy which, however, is interesting at this late day only from the fact that to it we owe the well-known History of the Five Nations ‘which was published in 1727, on occasion of a dispute between the government of New York and some merchants.’ After Mr. Burnet’s administration, Mr. Colden removed to his country seat now known by the name of Coldenham, and there devoted all the leisure he could command from his official duties to his favorite studies, and in learned correspondence with the philosophers of the day, both in Europe and America. It was in the course of this correspondence that he first suggested the plan of the American Philosophical Society which was established at Philadelphia on account of the central and convenient situation of that city. Yet thus early he excited much jealousy among his contemporaries,

and we find him embroiled with the other members of the Council during Cosby's, Clarke's and some succeeding administrations. On the death of Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey in 1760, Mr. Colden being the senior member of the Council, was called to administer the government, and in August, 1761, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, which office he filled until November, 1765, with the exception of about fifteen months that General Monckton was at the head of affairs. The government again devolved on him in 1769, but he was superseded the following year by Lord Dunmore. He was called for the fourth and last time, in 1774, to the executive chair which he occupied until the 25th of June, 1775, but at this period his rule was not much more than nominal. One of his closing duties was to announce that 'Congress appointed George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the American Army.' He now retired to his country house at Spring-hill, near Flushing, L. I., after encountering with the greatest firmness all the odium attendant on the mad efforts of the British Ministry to tax through the Stamp and Tea acts, the people of the Colonies without their consent, and died on the 21st of September, 1776, in the 88th year of his age, having survived his wife, fourteen years. Like all men in high station his administration has been rigidly canvassed by his contemporaries. The bitterness of the political strifes of these days having now passed away, posterity will not fail to accord justice to the character and memory of a man to whom this country is most deeply indebted for much of its science and for very many of its most important institutions, and of whom the State of New York may well be proud. 'For the great variety and extent of his learning, his unwearied research, his talents, and the public sphere which he filled, Cadwallader Colden may be justly placed in a high rank among the distinguished men of his time,' and when it is considered how large a portion of his life was spent in the labors or the routine of public office, and that however great might have been his original stock of learning, he had in this country no reading public to excite him by their applauses, and few literary friends to assist or to stimulate his en-

quiries, his zeal and success in his scientific pursuits will appear (remarks Mr. Verplanck) deserving of the highest admiration. A mind thus powerful and active, concluded the same elegant writer, could not have failed to produce great effect on the character of that society in which he moved; and we doubtless now enjoy many beneficial, although remote, effects of his labors without being able to trace them to their true source."

DOC. HIST. OF NEW YORK.



COLDEN ARMS.

(The list of Dr. Colden's Works and MSS., is a long, and important one.)

CHAPTER IV

PERIOD 1774-1775

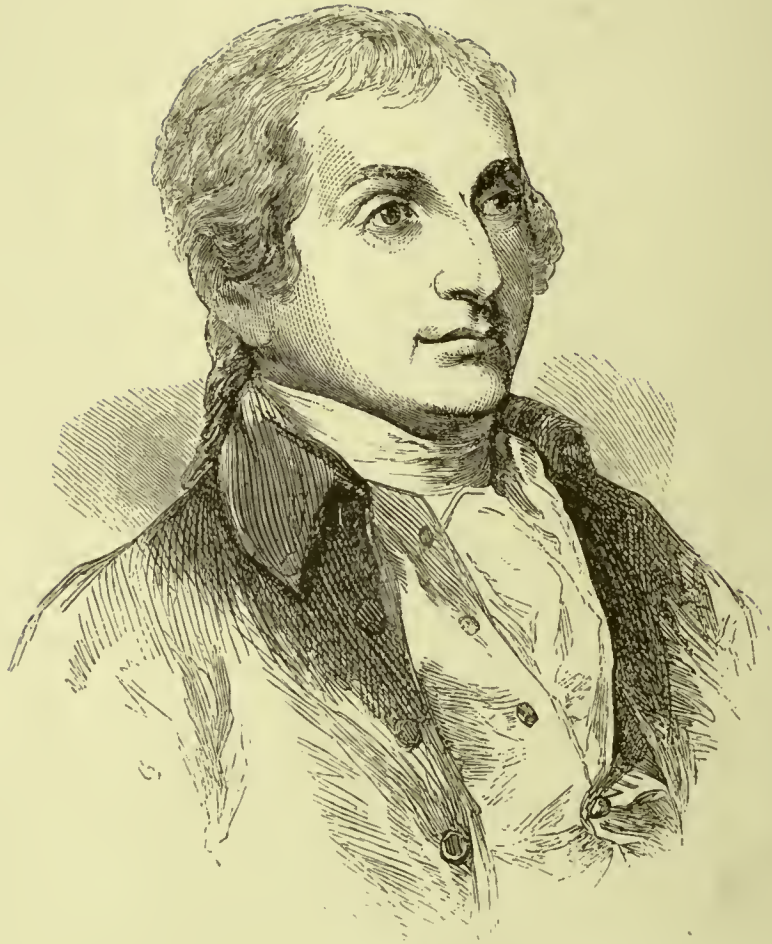
“THE delegates from the Colony of New York,” continues Chancellor Kent, “to the Continental Congress in 1774, were not chosen by the General Assembly, but by the suffrages of the people, manifested in some sufficiently authentic shape in the several counties.

“The delegates to the second constitutional Congress, which met in May, 1775, were chosen by a provincial congress, which the people of the colony had already created, and which was held in this city (Albany) in April of that year, and had virtually assumed the powers of government. The names of the delegates from this Colony in this second Congress, were John Jay, John Alsop, James Duane, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Lewis Morris and Robert R. Livingston; and the weight of their talents and character may be inferred from the fact, that Mr. Jay, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Schuyler were early placed upon committees charged with the most arduous and responsible duties. We find Washington and Schuyler associated together in the committee appointed on the 14th of June, 1775, to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the army. This association of these two great men commenced at such a critical moment, was the beginning of a mutual confidence, respect and admiration, which continued with uninterrupted and unabated vividness during the remainder of their lives. An allusion is made to this friendship in the memoir of a former president of the New York Historical Society and the allusion is remarkable for its strength and pathos. After mentioning General Schuyler, he adds, ‘I have placed thee, my friend, by the side of him who knew thee; thy intelligence to discern; thy zeal to promote thy country’s good; and, knowing thee, prized thee. Let this be thy eulogy. I add, and with truth peculiarly thine—content it should be mine to have expressed it.’

“The Congress of this Colony during the years 1775 and 1776, had to meet difficulties and dangers almost sufficient to subdue the firmest resolution. The population of the Colony was short 200,000 souls. It had a vast body of disaffected inhabitants within its own bosom. It had numerous tribes of hostile savages on its frontier. The bonds of society seemed to have been broken up, and society itself resolved into its primitive elements. It had no civil government but such as had been introduced by the provincial congress and county committees as temporary expedients. It had an enemy’s province in the rear, strengthened by large and well-appointed forces. It had an open and exposed seaport without any adequate means to defend it. In the summer of 1776, the state was actually invaded, not only upon our Canadian, but upon our

Atlantic frontier, by a formidable fleet and army, calculated by the power that sent them to be sufficient to annihilate at once all our infant republics.

“In the midst of this appalling storm, the virtue of our people animated by a host of intrepid patriots, the mention of whose names is enough to kindle enthusiasm in the breast of the present generation (1830), remained glowing, unmoved, and invincible. It would be difficult to find any other people who have been put to a severer test, or, on trial, gave higher proofs of courage and capacity.”



JOHN JAY.

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JOHN JAY

Statesman and First Chief Justice of the United States

John Jay, the subject of the following memoir, left behind him an unfinished history of his ancestors, written in the latter part of his life. Three extracts from it:

“When and where we were born, and who were our progenitors, are questions to which certain philosophers ascribe too little importance.

“Our family is of Poitou, in France, and the branch of it to which we belong removed from thence to Rochelle. Of our ancestors anterior to Pierre Jay, who left France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, I know nothing that is certain.

“As soon as Mr. Jay’s departure was known, his estate in France was seized; and no part of it afterward came to the use of either himself or his children.”

* * * * *

MEMOIR

“Peter Jay (the grandson of Pierre) had ten children; John was his eighth child, and was born in the city of New York the 12th of December, 1745. When eight years old he was sent to a grammar school kept by the Rev. Mr. Stoope, pastor of the French Church at New Rochelle. King’s (now Columbia) college was then in its infancy, and had but few students. The number of them has never been large, but there are few colleges in our country which have produced more good scholars in proportion to the number than this. To this college Mr. Jay was sent in 1760, being a little more than fourteen years old. The excellent Dr. Samuel Johnson was then President. On the 15th of May, 1764, he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and spoke the Latin Salutatory, which was then as at present, regarded as the highest collegiate honor. Two weeks after he had taken his degree, Mr. Jay entered the office of Benjamin Kissam, Esq., in the city of New York, as a student at law. On commencing practice, he entered into partnership with his relative, Robert R. Livingston, Esq., afterward Chancellor of the State of New York. In 1774, Mr. Jay was married to Sarah, the youngest daughter of William Livingston, Esq., afterward for many years Governor of New Jersey, and a zealous and distinguished patriot of the Revolution. Mr. Jay took his seat in Congress at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, being the first day of its session. He was in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and it is believed the youngest member of the House. On the 15th of June, Washington was chosen Commander-in-Chief, and a few days after, the subordinate generals were appointed. On the 6th of July, 1776, Congress published a very able declaration ‘setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking arms;’ Mr. Jay was a member of the committee by whom this

declaration was prepared, but it is not now known from whose pen it proceeded. In the month of April, 1777, Mr. Jay, while attending in Congress, was elected a representative from the city and county of New York, to the convention or Congress of the Colony. This convention assembled on the 14th of May. On the 29th of June, Lord Howe and his army arrived off the harbor of New York, and the convention, apprehending an attack upon the city, ordered all the leaden window sashes, which were then common in Dutch houses, to be taken out for the use of the troops; an order that strikingly shows how ill the Colony was prepared for the arduous conflict that ensued. The next day the convention adjourned to White Plains, about twenty-seven miles from the city. On the 1st of August, 1776, a committee was appointed to prepare and report a constitution. Of this committee he was chairman, and its duty appears to have been assigned to him. In 1777, Mr. Jay was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; and member of the Council of Safety. On the 1st of August, Congress recalled General Schuyler from the command of the Northern army, and soon after appointed General Gates in his room. By this measure, the suspicions that had attached to Schuyler were apparently countenanced by Congress; and he had moreover the mortification of seeing the laurels which had been reared by his care and labors, plucked by another. Congress, however, had themselves, no doubt of General Schuyler's patriotism and ability. The true but secret reason of his recall was stated at the time by a letter from James Duane, then in Congress, to Mr. Jay. 'General Schuyler to humor the Eastern people, who declare that their militia will not fight under his command is recalled.' On the 9th of September, 1777, the first term of the Supreme Court of the State of New York was held at Kingston, and the chief justice delivered the charge to the grand jury. In the autumn of this year, while at Fishkill, Mr. Jay received a visit from General Washington, whose headquarters were at the time in the adjoining county of Westchester. The object of this visit was a confidential conversation on a plan then before Congress, for the invasion of Canada the ensuing campaign, by the combined forces of the United States and of France. On the 7th of December Mr. Jay returned to Congress after an absence of more than two years. The state of public affairs allowed Congress no recess; and Mr. Jay probably thinking his prolonged residence at Philadelphia inconsistent with his duties as Chief Justice, sent his resignation of that office to the governor of New York.

"By a secret article annexed to the treaty between France and the United States, a right was reserved to Spain of acceding to the treaty, and participating in its stipulations whenever she might think proper. Congress, being desirous of strengthening their foreign alliances, deemed it advisable to invite his Catholic Majesty to avail himself of the provisions of this article; and for this purpose resolved to send a minister plenipotentiary to Spain. On the 27th of September, Mr. Jay was selected by Congress for this important mission. Congress having ordered their own frigate, the *Confederacy*, to carry Mr. Gerard the French minister home, it was agreed that Mr. Jay should proceed on his mission



MRS. JOHN JAY.

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on the same vessel. He received his instructions on the 16th of October, and four days after he left the country, to advocate her cause in Europe; nor did he again land on her shores till he had placed his signature to a treaty, securing to her the blessings of peace and independence. Mr. Jay returned to New York on the 24th of July, 1784. When we recollect the objects that called him abroad, the various and trying scenes through which he had passed, and the circumstances under which he now returned to his country, we can readily sympathize in the warmth with which he announced his arrival in a letter to a friend: 'At length, my good friend, I am arrived at the land of my nativity; and I bless God that it is also the land of light, liberty and plenty. My emotions cannot be described.' The feelings with which he was greeted by his fellow-citizens may be inferred from an address presented to him by the corporation of the city of New York, accompanied by the freedom of the city in a gold box. The same year he was made Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This office had been established in 1781, and was unquestionably the most responsible and important civil office under the confederation. Early in 1785, a society was founded in New York under the name of 'The Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated.' Of this society Mr. Jay was elected president, and notwithstanding the pressure of his public business he accepted the office, and actively discharged its duties. In 1787, Mr. Jay united with Mr. Madison and Colonel Hamilton in an attempt to enlighten and direct the public opinion, by a series of newspaper essays under the title of the *Federalist*. These papers were not only circulated throughout the Union by means of the periodical press, but were collected and published in two volumes, and have since passed through many editions; have been translated into French, and still form a valuable and standard commentary on the constitution of the United States. The Legislature of New York in 1788, called a convention to decide on adopting or rejecting the Constitution; Mr. Jay was almost unanimously elected to represent the city, and had for his colleagues the Chancellor of the State, the Chief Justice, and another judge of the Supreme Court, the Mayor of the City, and Alexander Hamilton. The time of the convention was occupied for more than three weeks in discussing the Constitution, and the final question on its ratification was taken on the 26th of July; the State of New York became a member of the new confederation by a majority of three votes. In September, 1789, Mr. Jay was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and the first circuit court was held in April, 1790. In 1794, Mr. Jay was appointed Envoy to Great Britain. The critical situation of the country urged his speedy departure, and on the 12th of May he embarked at New York. During his absence he was elected Governor of the State in 1796; and in 1798 reëlected by a large and greatly increased majority. In January, 1797, the Legislature again assembled and a bill was brought into the Senate for the gradual abolition of slavery, and became a law. In 1800 he was appointed by the President and Senate, Chief Justice of the United States; but his determination to retire from public life had been formed

with too much deliberation and sincerity, to be shaken by the honor now tendered to him, and the appointment was promptly and unequivocally declined. The Governor removed from Albany to his estate at Bedford, six weeks before the expiration of his term of office.

"Few statesmen had less reason to be disgusted with public life, or ever quitted it with more real satisfaction. For twenty-seven years he had been unremittingly engaged in the service of his country, and had filled many of her important offices with general approbation. Mr. Jay continued for many years actively engaged in the improvements of his farm. He died on May 17th, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age."

Extract from the "Life and Writings of John Jay" by his son William Jay.

"WEST POINT, October 7th, 1779.

"DEAR SIR :

"Among the number of your friends, permit me also to congratulate you, on your late honourable and important appointment. Be assured sir, that my pleasure on this occasion, though it may be equalled, cannot be exceeded by that of any other.

"I do most sincerely wish you a pleasant and agreeable passage, the most perfect and honourable accomplishment of your ministry, and a safe return to the bosom of a grateful country.

"With the greatest regard, and sincerest personal attachment,

"I have the honor to be, Your most obedient,

"Affectionate humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"To JOHN JAY.

"BEDFORD, 25th, July, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"The friendship and attachment which I have so long and so uniformly experienced from you, will not permit me to delay expressing how deeply and sincerely I participate with you in the afflicting event which the public are now lamenting, and which you have so many domestic and particular reasons to bewail.

"The philosophic topics of conversation are familiar to you, and we all know from experience how little relief is to be derived from them. May the Author and only Giver of consolation be and remain with you.

"With great esteem and affectionate regard,

"I am, my dear sir,

"Your obliged and obedient servant,

"JOHN JAY.

"To GENERAL SCHUVLER, on the death of GENERAL HAMILTON.

"MONTICELLO, Nov. 10th, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"As soon as I found myself once more on the happy shore of America, one of my first inquiries was after you, and the means to get to my old friend. The pleasure to see your son was great indeed ; but I regretted the distance, engagements, and duties which obliged me to postpone the high gratification to meet you after so long an absence. Since that time, I have been paying visits and receiving welcomes, where every sort of enjoyments and sights exceeding my own sanguine expectations, have mingled with the feelings of a lively and profound gratitude.

"From you, my dear sir, and in the name of Congress, I was last honoured with a benevolent farewell. Now, I am going to Washington City, the constitutional forms having changed, to await the arrival of the members of the Houses, and be introduced to each of them, with my thanks for their kind invitation to this our American land.

"Your letter reached me on my way through a part of the States; I wish I could myself bear the answer, or tell you when I can anticipate a visit to you; but waiting longer would not enable me to know it, at least, for some time. I therefore beg you to receive the grateful respects of my son, and the expression of most affectionate sentiments from your old Revolutionary companion and constant friend,

"LAFAYETTE.

"To JOHN JAY."



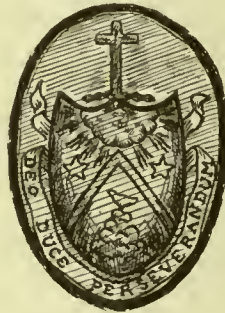
BEDFORD.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE HONORABLE JOHN JAY AT BEDFORD, N. Y.

"The estate of the Jay family is situated in the County of Westchester, near the post road leading to Rye, at no great distance from the river. Here the Honorable John Jay spent the latter part of his life. The building, a handsome structure of wood, presenting a lofty portico on the north, is delightfully seated on rising ground, backed with luxuriant woods. The south front commands a beautiful lawn, and charming views of the Sound and Long Island. Some highly interesting family portraits adorn the walls of the hall and dining-room: Honorable John Jay, first Chief Justice of the United States, and Governor of the state of New York. Head by Stuart, figure by Trumbull. The Honorable John Jay sat to Colonel Trumbull (his secretary) for this picture, whilst resident ambassador at the court of St. James, London. The artist subsequently presented it to Mr. Jay. Augustus Jay, who emigrated to this country in 1686, a copy from the original, by Waldo; Anna Maria Bayard, wife of Augustus Jay, by Waldo; Peter Augustus Jay, as a boy, artist unknown; an old painting upon

oak panel, supposed to represent Catharine, wife of the Honorable Stephen Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt, of South Holland. This lady appears habited in a plain black dress, wearing a high neck ruffle and in her right hand holds a clasped book. In one corner of the picture is inscribed 'aetat. 64, 1630.'

"Among other family relics we noticed the gold snuff box presented by the corporation of New York, with the freedom of the city, to his Excellency John Jay, on the 4th of October, 1784. Also a French Bible, containing the following memoranda. August Jay est né a la Rochelle dans le Royaume de France le $\frac{2}{13}$ Mrs, 1665. Laus Deo. N. York, July ye 10th, 1733, this day at four o'clock in ye morning dyed Eva van Cortlandt, was buried ye next day 12 en ye voute at Mr. Stuyvesant's about six and seven o'clock."



THE JAY SEAL.



JAMES DUANE.

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JAMES DUANE

An American Statesman

“ James Duane, was the son of Anthony Duane, an officer in the British Navy who came on his ship to this country, 1698, under the command of Captain, afterward Admiral Danners. Anthony Duane's portrait shows him at forty to have been a handsome man, with the brilliant blue eyes of his Irish ancestors. While stationed in New York, the officers partook of the gaieties the place had to offer, and the young officer, then in his nineteenth year, lost his heart to a young Dutch maiden, Eve Benson, whose father, Dirck Benson, was among the prominent merchants of that day. At the expiration of his three years' cruise, Anthony Duane returned to Ireland, and resigning from the Navy, bade farewell to his native place, Conn, County Galway and returned to New York, where he established himself, 1703, as a cloth merchant. He married a few years later. He had two sons, Anthony and Richard, who both entered the British Navy and died at Kingston, Jamaica, of yellow fever, Richard the 14th of March, 1740, and both unmarried. A very lovely portrait of Eve Benson Duane with her little son Anthony leaning against her knee, is in the possession of the family. On the 2d of March, 1730, Anthony Duane married his second wife, Althea Keteltas, daughter of Abraham Keteltas and his wife Anneke Coerten. Althea Keteltas was the sister of the celebrated clergyman and member of the Continental Congress, Rev. Abraham Keteltas and great-granddaughter of Rev. Evert Pieterse Keteltas 'consoler of the sick, and schoolmaster,' who assisted so materially at the settlements of the South River (Delaware) in 1650-1656. She was thirty-four years of age when she married Anthony Duane, and lived but five years. Their children were: Abraham, born 2d of March, 1731, died in infancy; Abraham, II., born 10th of March, 1732, died unmarried on board his ship at Jamaica, 1767; James, born 6th of February, 1733; John, born 17th of June, 1734, died an ensign in Colonel Abercrombie's Regiment, from exposure on the return from the defence of the Fort at Oswego, unmarried, aged twenty-one years; Cornelius, born 2d of March, 1735, who died in New York City during the Revolution, he having been permitted to remain and guard the property of his family. His letters during the occupation of New York, give a most interesting glimpse of the trials of a citizen, in a town under the control of an enemy, who despised the sentiments of their foes, and placed complete confidence in their own powers to force events. In May, 1741, Anthony Duane purchased land near Schenectady, six thousand acres in the present township of Duanesburgh. This—for his descendants—most unfortunate purchase induced his son James, to add more and more land to it, until he became the owner of all the town, except that part embraced in Brassie's patent, exchanging—after the Revolution—many pieces of valuable New York City property for this

scheme. James Duane brought over a great number of Scotch, Irish and German families, provided them with land and implements, built houses for them, and gave them all the privileges possible. The mass of letters from these tenants all show the same spirit, and it must have been a most trying, as well as dispiriting venture to a man of James Duane's temperament, energetic, sparing no pains to attain what he thought right and his duty, and generous to a fault. All the letters are written to induce the owner of the land to forego every right. The most polite and abject letters, when favors and improvements were desired, and rough and insolent replies to any request to fulfill their obligations. I have often thought that the publications of these letters and their replies would somewhat damp the ardor of our extreme Radicals. It is a great pity that this superb and lovely country, with its rich fields and rolling mountains should be so little known to those in search of the picturesque.

“Anthony Duane was a most earnest Churchman. His contributions toward the expenses of Trinity Church were among the most liberal on their records. He was vestryman of Trinity Church from 1732 to 1747.

“His third wife was Grietje Riker, widow of Thomas Linch, by whom he had no children.

“Anthony Duane left a very large property on his death, 1747; among other pieces of land the present site of Gramercy Park; New York. In a letter of James Duane to his wife, after the Revolution, he alludes to this farm and the beautiful grounds with the fish pond and fountains. The house having been occupied by British officers during the War the letter says ‘you will find the cellars in most excellent condition and the wine bins in good repair, the house has suffered but little.’ James Duane was but eleven years of age when his father died and Robert Livingston, the third Lord of the Manor, having been appointed by his father and grandfather executor and guardian, the young James was taken to Livingston Manor to reside. His elder brothers entering the Navy and his youngest daughter went to live with their stepmother.

“This accounts for the great intimacy between the Livingstons and James Duane which was further cemented by the marriage of James Duane to Maria Livingston, the eldest daughter of his guardian, on October 21st, 1759. There are but few of Maria Livingston's letters extant; they are written in a careful hand, state but few facts, but much affection and solicitude for her husband absent at the Congress in Philadelphia. The young couple occupied a house in New York City below Wall street and spent their summers at Duanesburgh or at the Manor, keeping the house at Gramercy Park for an occasional change of air.

“Their eldest daughter Maria was born November, 1761. She was afterward the wife of General William North, the aid of General Steuben. Letters from her teacher in New York show that no pains were spared on her education, toilet or deportment, and the many references to ‘the fair and charming Polly,’ ‘my best respects and compliments to Miss Polly if you are writing,’ as postscripts in many of the letters to her father from the officers and statesmen of the



MRS. JAMES DUANE.

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day, show the young lady to have profited by the efforts of her anxious governess.

“James Duane and Maria Livingston had ten children, five girls and five boys. Of the boys, only James Chatham Duane grew to manhood and married. Of the daughters besides ‘Miss Polly,’ Adelia married Alfred Pell and became the mother of Robert Livingstone Pell, James Duane Pell, John Augusts Pell, George Washington Pell, and Robert Montgomery Pell. Catharine died unmarried, at her sister’s, Mrs. Pell’s. Sarah Duane, whose beautiful miniature is in the possession of James Duane Featherstonehaugh of Duanesburgh, was a most exquisite young creature with delicate, regular features, clear brown eyes and dark hair fastened in the shape of a liberty cap—which hideous fashion does not at all destroy the wonderful charm of her earnest face. For her, General Washington had one of his best portraits painted by Sharpless—the animation of the eyes and smile about the mouth seeming to express the kind thought at the gratification of the young girl. This portrait hangs in the old house at Duanesburgh, now in the possession of her son James Duane Featherstonehaugh.

“Among the letters in the possession of the family are many from James Duane, while at Philadelphia, full of anxiety for the wife left behind in New York, and then a long letter from Robert Livingston to his son-in-law setting forth the advantages of having ‘Polly’ (Mrs. Duane) and the children remain with him at the manor during the dark and troublesome times. Other letters from the same, expressing his satisfaction at having secured two of the children at the manor, Polly and the other children to follow ‘as soon as they have recovered of the smallpox.’

“Between Robert Livingston and his former ward, the closest friendship seems to have existed and, in the twelve volumes of family letters their correspondence shows that every anxiety and interest was instantly shared. There are many letters also from the brothers of Mary. Peter Van Brugh Livingston always in trouble, always expecting to economize and live within his means, dreading the plans of his excellent father to make a country gentleman of him, always hoping his ‘dear brother James’ would find some means of clearing up his difficulties. A great many letters from the two young brothers at Cambridge, England, full of descriptions of their life and doings, urging their ‘dear brother’ to see if their father could not increase their allowance. In one letter Walter writes ‘my allowance of £400 is impossible, for I live at the rate of £600 per annum and should have at least £800 for my cousins, the Philip Livingston’s have that allowance—tho’ forsooth they spend £1,200.’ Robert ‘Cambridge’ Livingston writes bright amusing accounts; in many of them is written ‘I beg of you keep this from sister Polly.’ It may surprise the present generation to know that these great-grandfathers of ours spoke in their letters of their father Robert Livingston, constantly as ‘N. P.’ ‘noter pater,’ ‘the honored governor,’ ‘our esteemed pater,’ no wonder they begged so earnestly for ‘brother James’ to keep these letters from the eyes of sister Polly, who had since their mother’s death taken that place with the younger children. James

Duane's own brothers write also with many troubles to tell, and descriptions of their life in Jamaica or England. One letter from Captain Abraham Duane in London gives a curious idea of the 'wire-pulling influence to be obtained' they called it, needed for a commission and a ship, in the Navy of 1764. James Duane studied law in the office of the celebrated James Alexander. He was appointed Clerk of the Court of Chancery on the 20th of April, 1762. In 1767 to act as King's Attorney during the absence of William Kempe, the Attorney-General, in England. Boundary Commissioner in 1768 and 1784. The most important work for New York state being the settlement of the Connecticut claims and the long controversy between New York and New Hampshire in regard to the Vermont lands. James Duane was appointed by New York to defend the rights of New York from the aggressions of New Hampshire.

"Of James Duane as a patriot, the letters of his contemporaries show sufficient proof and the actions of New York state on his return from the Continental Congress show that the old proverb 'a prophet save in his own country' was false in his case. James Duane was a member of the committee of One Hundred.

"He was sent as first Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1774. A letter to his wife describes the state of the roads and the country and the departure from the city with the enthusiastic crowds, cheers and farewell speeches. In a history of New York, recently written, the bitter speech of Adams is repeated, with no attempt at proving or disproving the assertion that James Duane was as we should now say 'sitting on the fence.' After a very careful examination of many volumes of his letters to his most confidential friends and family—I have come to the conclusion that the attack of Adams was merely personal spite, for the opinion of men like Washington, Jay, Schuyler, Greene, Hamilton and Morris should outweigh this one assertion. The letters of his wife deprecating his absence are answered by 'in times like these a man must serve his country either in the council or in the field.'"

"He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1784. Appointed State Senator 1782 in the place of Sir James Jay and reelected until 1785, when other duties rendered this impossible. On his return to New York the people by a unanimous vote appointed James Duane first Mayor of the City of New York and a charming letter of congratulation from General Washington on the appointment is amongst his papers in the possession of his great-granddaughter Mrs. John Bleecker Miller. In 1789 General Washington created the First District Court of the United States and appointed James Duane first District Judge of the Court. Hamilton gives an interesting account of this appointment, great influence having been brought for Lewis Morris and, but the president declaring his intention that he knew a better choice than either of these and then asking Hamilton to request of James Duane acceptance of the same. That this was quite unexpected by James Duane, a long letter to 'dear Polly' testifies describing the scene and what had been told him by Hamilton and craving her forgiveness for having decided on so important a matter without at first consulting her wishes by saying that he had only six hours to decide

and that he felt sure that so flattering a message from the President demanded compliance.

“James Duane was vestryman of Trinity Church from 1772 to 1777, and warden of Trinity Church from 1784 to 1794.

“He built a pretty little church at Duanesburgh, which he well endowed and gave a glebe farm for the use of the clergyman. The vestry of Trinity Church in New York presented the church at Duanesburgh with two large, heavy silver chalices and plates for the communion table as a testimony of James Duane’s devotion to his duties as warden and vestryman. The church celebrated its centennial August, 1894, when the descendants presented the church with a font, ewer and bracket and the people of Duanesburgh gave a beautiful bronze bell to hang in the tower. James Duane and his wife and several of his children are buried in the vault under the church and handsome mural tablets commem-



VIEW OF "OLD HAND ORGAN."

orate their names on the walls. The old square family pew still exists with its crimson damask curtains and the pulpit a real 'three decker' with crimson cushions and place for the clerk, the reader and the preacher one above the other.

“In 1794, James Duane’s failing health obliged him to give up his judgeship and a very beautiful letter from General Washington testifies to the faithfulness of the fulfilment of his duties. He went to his new house at Duanesburgh, but before it was in order it was completely destroyed by fire. He then went to live

in Schenectady with his only son James Chatham Duane who had married 6th of December, 1792, Marianne Bowers, daughter of Henry Bowers, of New York city. Here he died very suddenly on the 1st of February, 1797. His wife survived him until 1821, dying at Hyde Park, the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Alfred Pell."

By his great-great-granddaughter, MARIA DUANE BLEECKER MILLER-COX.

THE DUANE HOUSES

"The house on Gramercy Park was pulled down before photography was invented, and the one James Duane lived in at Duanesburgh, N. Y., was burned down and no sketch left. I can send you a photograph of the house James Duane built for his daughter Catharine, who lived there many years, and the picture shows where the portrait of General Washington hangs, and some of the old furniture from the old house; especially an old hand organ, beautifully inlaid, which plays all the old airs fashionable in my great-grandmother's day. To this old organ have danced four generations. I will try and send you Sallie Duane's picture and the Duane coat-of-arms. The latter is copied from an old seal—in the possession of my brother John Bleecker Miller—belonging to Anthony Duane, the father of James Duane."

The following letter has never appeared in print.

"SARATOGA, December 16th, 1779.

"DEAR SIR:

"When on my journey from Philadelphia I came to the Manor, the sliding was already heavy, the mild weather threatened it with instant destruction, and my cattle were so weak and fatigued that I dared not venture a visit. When I arrived at Congress, I proposed for the sense of the House whether we should give War to the Indians or not, and on what terms the committee, who had been appointed on a letter of mine on that subject were ordered to report, which was done, and I inclose copies of the resolutions as agreed to by the house. An additional one was moved 'That the Indians should be required to cede part of their Country for the benefit and behoof of the United States in general to be disposed of by Congress.' This produced an animated debate but was after some management rejected; happily for us not a member of the House in favor of the resolution recollected, or seemed to recollect, the Act passed, by our Legislature in those last sessions for making a similar demand in favor of the State. I verily believed had it occurred that the resolution would have been carried, and we should at least have had much trouble in a future day. The motions however are not given up, for before I left Congress I saw a motion in Mr. Sherman's hand which he intended to introduce, purporting 'That all lands heretofore grantable by the King of Great Britain whilst sovereign of this Country, in whatever State they might lay, and of Grants that had not already been made, should be considered as the property of the United States and grantable by Congress.' He insisted strenuously on the equity of the measure, as did the gentleman from Maryland and some others, the interest of whose constituents lay, or appeared to lay the other way; but they added that 'if New York, and such other States, whose western bounds were indefinite or were pretended to extend to the southward would be contented with a reasonable Western extent, it would afford satisfaction, prevent disturbances, and complete the

Union.' I answered that out of mere curiosity I would wish to know their idea of a reasonable western extent, as they might widely differ from others. I was then carried to the map, and Mr. Sherman explained himself by drawing a line from the North-West corner of Pennsylvania which is Lake Erie as laid down on the map, through the Straight which leads to Lake Ontario, and through that lake and down the St. Lawrence to the 45th degree of latitude for the bounds of New York. In that quarter, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, he proposed to bound by the Alleghany Mountains, or at furthest by the Ohio to where it enters the Mississippi and by that river below the junction; and he proposed that all the territory beyond the bounds mentioned and within the United States should become the joint property of the United States, and to be at the disposal of Congress. The gentlemen from North Carolina, I found had already requested instructions from their Constituents on the subject. Permit me to entreat your attention to this matter against the meeting of the Legislature, when I hope for the pleasure of seeing you; and when I shall strive to convince you that it would be impolitic and injurious to the State in the present conjunction to insist on a session of territory to the Indians.

"This disarrangement of our Finances, and the ill-policied system under which the Civil department of the Army is conducted, are a fruitful source of distress. I have ventured to hand over the outline of a plan to remedy the evils occasioned by the depreciating state of our Currency. If it meets with your approbation I shall judge it feasible. New arrangements are to take place in the Civil Departments. I was much pressed to take the direction of one or both, and from the attention which was paid me I have every reason to believe they would have restored me to my rank in the Army if I had acceded to their proposals; but as the Civil offices are deemed lucrative, I declined accepting. I hope you will judge that I decided with propriety. Some gentlemen have proposed the office of the Secretary of War as the objection I had against the other did not hold now; I desired time for consideration and have concluded to adopt it, if offered and restored to my rank in the army. After what I have experienced in public life, you will be surprised at this determination—but the considerations which induced me I trust you will approve of. I defer giving them until I have the pleasure of a *121e-d-121e* with you.

"Your Bed, your Bottle, and your Pipe, you know where to find when you arrive at Albany; but these are no considerations with you, who increase your happiness by making your friends so, when you favor them with your company.

"Intreat Mrs. Duane, your family, and all where you are, to accept my best wishes.

"I am dear Sir,

"with every friendly and affectionate

"sentiment, Yours etc., etc.,

"Pfr. SCHUYLER.

"HON. JAMES DUANE. ESQ.

"NEW YORK, 7th February, 1784.

"GENTLEMEN:

"It is my duty to inform you that the Honorable Council of Appointment have been pleased to confer upon me the Mayoralty of this City—an honor which I hold the more estimable as it has on my part been unsolicited. I am no stranger to your earnest wishes and friendly Interposition on this occasion; and I beg you to believe that this Mark of your confidence and Esteem hath impressed me with sentiments of Gratitude which can never be effaced.

"It has I believe been usual with my Predecessors to give a Public Entertainment on the Investiture of the Mayoralty; But when I reflect on the Want and distress which are so prevalent at this severe Season I flatter myself that my declining it will be Justified by your Approbation. Rather permit me Gentlemen to entreat you to take the trouble of distributing for

me twenty guineas towards the Relief of my suffering Fellow-citizens in your respective Wards. My liberality on so laudable an occasion is limited by the Shock which has depleted my private Fortune in the progress of the War, but I beg you to be assured that my utmost efforts to promote the Prosperity of my Native City and the Happiness of its Worthy Inhabitants will be prosecuted with unremitting zeal.

“ I have the Honor to be—Worthy Gentlemen

“ with the utmost Regard,

“ Your most obliged &

“ most obedient servant

“ JAS. DUANE.

“ To the

“ Worthy Aldermen and Common Council

“ of the City of New York.”

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

“ NEW YORK, 30th September, 1789.

“ You may remember, my dearest Polly, that I could not see you set sail on account of the common council which was then assembling. I had hardly taken my seat at the board when I received a message that Col. Hamilton wished to speak with me. He asked me to walk into a private room, and then to my great surprise informed me that he was sent by the President of the United States to know whether I would accept the office of District Judge. I told him as I never had solicited, expected, or even wished for any office from the President, knowing that he was hard pressed by numberless applicants who stood more in need than myself, I could not on a sudden give him an answer. He told me that it was not necessary, and that I might take that day to consider of it. On enquiring from him I found these were the circumstances attending the affair: very great interest had been made for the Chief Justice Morris, for Judge Yates and Mr. Harrison. When the point was to be decided Col. Hamilton and Mr. Jay were present. The President observed that he conceived a more respectable appointment than either of the Gentlemen recommended could be made, and named me. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jay declared that they were of the same sentiments: On which the President replied that he was pleased to find that his opinion was confirmed by theirs, and Col. Hamilton was requested to deliver the above message to me. After the common Council adjourned, I found I was to decide on a question of great moment which greatly concerned my family without an opportunity of consulting with you or any of the children. I communicated it to the Baron (Steuben) alone, who was very earnest that I should accept it. Both offices I consider as highly honorable. They are equally profitable. The Judge's place is held under the commission of the President of the United States during good behavior: the Mayor's annually renewed at the whim of a council of appointment. The Judge's office permits him to reside in any part of the State, and affords a sufficient portion of leisure for his private affairs, and recreation and study. The Mayor's demands the most slavish confinement and a waste of time on insignificant matters, as well as care and assiduity on those which are important. In short if he is upright, and, as he ought to be easy of access, he cannot call an hour of his time his own. These are the chief considerations, which with the honorable manner the office was conferred on me induced me to return an answer in the evening that I accepted it. As soon as it was known that the Senate approved of my nomination, I sent a resignation of the Mayoralty to the Governour. The Council of appointment met the day after and appointed Col. Varick, who relinquished the place of States Attorney, as my successor. The 14th inst. he will be qualified, and I clear of it. Till then I *must* administer it. While I am writing this letter, I receive an invitation to dine with the President to-morrow. I presume I shall then receive my

commission, which I owe solely to his regard for and good opinion of me. If I am not flattered, my promotion gives satisfaction. At the same time the citizens express their applause of my conduct as their chief Magistrate. My district court will be opened on the first Tuesday in November, and held every three months. Besides which I am associated with the Judges of the Supreme Court in the circuit of this State, to be held the beginning of April and October yearly at New York and Albany alternately.

* * * * *

"Your affectionate and faithful husband,

" JAMES DUANE.

"For MRS. DUANE."



DUANE ARMS.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

Minister to France 1801-1804

This portrait of Robert R. Livingston, first Chancellor of the State of New York, was the work of John Vanderlyn, the noted painter, and was presented to the New York Historical Society by Mrs. Thompson Livingston. It represents that distinguished gentleman in the court dress worn by him as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Court of France, during the Consulate of the First Napoleon.

“The common ancestor of the Livingstons in this country was John Livingston, a direct descendant from the first Earl of Culloden (1329 to 1390), and an energetic preacher of the Reformed Church in Scotland, who was banished from that country in 1663, for non-conformity with prelatical rule. He fled for refuge to Holland, that glorious land where civil liberty and the rights of conscience are universally enjoyed, respected, and maintained, and settled in Rotterdam, in which city he died in 1672.

“Of the seven children of the worthy clergyman, one, a son named Robert, who was born in Roxburgshire, in Scotland, in 1654, emigrated from Holland to New York about 1675. In 1686 he secured, by purchase from the Indians, a large tract of land for which he subsequently received a grant from Governor Dongan of the Province of New York, by which the same was made the Manor and Lordship of Livingston, with the privilege to its owner of holding a Court-leet and a Court-baron, and with the right of advowson to all the churches within its boundaries.

“By a Royal Charter issued by George I., in 1715, this grant was confirmed, and the additional privileges of selecting a representative to the General Assembly of the Colony, and two constables, were conferred upon the tenants of the manor. The original manor covered an area computed at from one hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand acres, and included very nearly the whole of the present counties of Dutchess and Columbia in this state. Of this vast estate much has passed out of the possession of the family by sale and otherwise, but a large portion still retains the name of, and is comprised in the Manor of Livingston, as originally created.

“The wife of this Robert Livingston was of the Schuyler family, another prominent race in this state, many of whom have also been greatly distinguished in history. There were three sons from this union—Philip, Gilbert, and Robert—who became the heads of different branches of this celebrated family.

“The eldest of these three sons, Philip, the second proprietor of the manor and Lordship of Livingston, had a son who bore his name, and who inherited the spirit of his great-grandfather, the reverend gentleman who fled to Holland rather than violate principle. This Philip was born in Albany in 1716, and



Mr. R. Livingston

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died in York, Pennsylvania, in 1778. Although a merchant by profession, and one of the most distinguished of his time, he was a man of liberal education, having been graduated at Yale College in 1737, and held many offices of honor and trust in his native colony. He represented the city of New York in the Colonial House of Assembly in 1758, and continued a member of that body until 1769. He was the speaker during his latter term of office; was a member of the first and second Continental Congresses, and while acting in this representative capacity, affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence, an act which secured immortality to his name and memory.

“William Livingston, brother of the Philip whose life has just been briefly sketched, also deserves a passing notice for his great distinction at the bar, for his services as a Representative in Congress from New Jersey, and as Governor of the state of New Jersey; this latter position he held till the close of his active public life.

“His name and fame survived in his son, Brockholst Livingston, born in the city of New York, November 25th, 1757. This gentleman took an active and important part in the War for Independence, shared in the capture of Burgoyne, and was promoted to the rank of colonel. He held many important public positions, and in 1806 was raised to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. His death took place on the 18th of March, 1823. Following this assemblage of distinguished men, many others of this celebrated family of Livingston attained distinction at the bar and in the various walks of civil life; but of these time will not allow even brief mention.

“Robert Livingston, first Lord and Patentee of the Manor of Livingston, gave to his youngest son Robert thirteen thousand acres of land, the same being the town of Clermont. This grant was in reward for discovering and frustrating a plot formed among the Indians to massacre the white population of the province. His only son and child, Robert R. Livingston, became at his father's death the owner of this large estate, and a person of much distinction in the state, receiving the appointment of judge from the English Crown. He was chosen a delegate to the Colonial Congress, which met in New York, October 7th, 1765, ‘to consider the means of a general and united, dutiful, loyal and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty, George III., and the English Parliament, and to implore relief from the recent enactments of that body, levying duties and taxes on the Colonies. This body is known in history as the Stamp Act Congress. Robert R. Livingston married Miss Margaret Beekman, only daughter and child, then living, of Colonel Henry Beekman, of Rhinebeck. They had a numerous family of children, of whom the eldest was Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, whose portrait is before you. He was born in the city of New York on the 27th of November, 1746, and at the age of eighteen was graduated from King's, now Columbia College, then under the presidency of Myles Cooper. He next studied law under William Smith, the historian, and later in the office of his kinsman, Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey.

“In 1773, he was admitted to the bar, and for a short time was a business partner of John Jay. He met with great success in the practice of law, and was appointed Recorder of the city of New York, under the Crown, in 1773; this office he retained but two years, losing it through his attachment to liberty and his active sympathy with the revolutionary spirit of his countrymen, which took form in deeds in 1775.

“He was sent a delegate from New York to the Congress of 1776, and had the honor of being chosen one of a committee of five to draft the Declaration of Independence; which, owing to absence, he was prevented from signing, being called away to New York to attend the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member.

“On the 8th of July, 1776, he took his seat in the Provincial Convention—which on the same day changed the title of the Province to that of the State of New York—and was appointed on the committee to draw up a state constitution.

“During the Revolution he signalized himself by his zeal and efficiency in the cause of independence, and he ranks with the most illustrious characters of that notable period.

“He was the first Chancellor of the State of New York, and held that high position from 1777 until February, 1801. In this official capacity he had the honor to administer the oath of office to Washington, on his inauguration as first President of the United States. The ceremony took place at the City Hall, then fronting on Wall street, in New York city, which had been specially fitted up for the reception of Congress. On this memorable occasion, Chancellor Livingston, after having administered the oath, exclaimed in deep and impressive tones, ‘Long live George Washington, President of the United States.’

“From August, 1781, to August, 1783, he ably filled the important office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the United States. In 1788, he was made Chairman of the New York Convention to consider the United States Constitution, and was principally instrumental in procuring its adoption.

“Chancellor Livingston was tendered the post of Minister to France by President Washington, but saw fit to decline its acceptance; at a later period, however, after refusing a position as Secretary of the Navy, in the cabinet of President Jefferson, he was prevailed upon to undertake the mission to France, and was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to that government in 1801, resigning the Chancellorship of New York, to accept the post abroad. Upon his arrival in France, he was received by Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, with marked respect and cordiality; and enjoyed the warm friendship of that remarkable personage, during a residence of several years in the French capital, where, as is stated in an encyclopedia of the day, ‘he appeared to be the favorite foreign envoy.’ His ministry was signalized by the cession of Louisiana to the United States, which through his negotiations took place in 1803. Although, Mr. Monroe was also a member of the commission appointed to arrange this matter with the French government, he did not arrive in Paris until Mr. Livingston had nearly perfected and definitely settled the terms of the cession.



MRS. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.—(Mother of Chancellor Livingston.)
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The share of Monroe, in the transaction, was principally, in affixing his signature as one of the commission to the contract between the two governments. Minister Livingston was also successful in procuring a settlement for the numerous spoliations by the French on our commerce; but the Congress of the United States, to this day, has failed to distribute to its rightful owners, the money received under that settlement. Having resigned his position at the French Capital, he traveled extensively in Europe. After his return to Paris, in 1804, on his journey homeward, he took leave of Napoleon, then Emperor, who, in token of his friendship and esteem, presented Livingston with a splendid snuff box, containing a miniature likeness of himself, painted by the celebrated Isabey.

“While in Paris he made the acquaintance of Fulton and a warm friendship grew up between them, and together they successfully developed a plan of steam navigation, the particulars of which invention, though generally known, I shall briefly recount. Toward the close of the last century, Mr. Livingston became deeply impressed with the great advantages which must occur to commerce from the application of steam to navigation. He obtained from the Legislature of the State of New York, the exclusive right to navigate its waters by steam power for a period of twenty years, and then constructed a boat of thirty tons' burden, with which he succeeded in making three miles an hour. The concession from the Legislature was made on condition of attaining a speed of four miles, and this, Livingston might have accomplished, had his public duties permitted him the time to devote to further experiments. When at a later day, as has been mentioned, he made the acquaintance of Fulton—who, though young, was possessed of great practical as well as theoretical ability—he acquainted him with what had been done in America, and advised him earnestly to turn his attention to the subject. Together they made numerous experiments, and finally launched a boat on the Seine, which, however, did not fully realize their expectations.

“Upon the return of Livingston and Fulton to America, their experiments were continued, and in 1807, the “Clermont” was built and launched upon the Hudson river, where it accomplished five miles an hour. This success clearly demonstrated the feasibility of the propulsion of vessels by the aid of steam, and effected a complete revolution in the art of navigation.

“Mr. Livingston, it will be seen, was both an originator and inventor before his meeting with Fulton; and though Fulton is considered the actual inventor of the successful steamboat, it must be acknowledged that he was greatly indebted to Livingston, not merely for material aid and encouragement, but likewise for much practical and valuable suggestion and assistance.

“An enumeration of the public services of this eminent citizen would scarcely be complete without a reference to the prominent part taken by him in establishing the great system of inland navigation by canals, which has made New York the chief commercial state of the Union.

“Another important service rendered by Livingston was in determining and adjusting the eastern boundary line of New York state. In company with several other distinguished citizens, he served on the commission appointed for this

purpose between New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and which may be said to have given the state of Vermont to the Union.

“The retirement of Mr. Livingston from public service was but the beginning of a new era of usefulness in his memorable career. During the remainder of his life he devoted much time and attention to the subject of agriculture, and was actively engaged in introducing a number of valuable improvements in that art into the state of New York. Through his endeavors the use of gypsum for fertilizing purposes became quite general, and he was the first to introduce the celebrated breed of merino sheep to the farming community west of the Hudson river.

“While a resident of Paris, which then, as now, was a great art centre, and the resort of the refined and intelligent from all parts of the civilized world, Mr. Livingston found time, aside from his official duties, to cultivate those tastes which afterward he sought to encourage among his countrymen at home.

“He was the principal founder of the American Academy of fine arts, established in New York in 1801, and upon his return to America became its President, continued for many years its chief officer, and through life was devoted to its interests. He added a fine collection of busts and statuary to that institution, many of which now grace the National Academy of Design in this city, and are included among its most precious treasures.

“Through the liberality of Napoleon, who was a warm friend and supporter of the arts and sciences, Mr. Livingston was enabled to increase the possessions of the American Academy, by the addition of many valuable paintings and rare prints. Mr. Livingston did not, however, restrict his attention to the fine arts. Having truly at heart the best interests of his countrymen, he, like Washington, took a deep interest in all that pertained to their welfare, but in an especial manner in agriculture. He contributed largely to the literature of the day on this subject, and among his published works are an ‘Essay on Agriculture’ and an ‘Essay on Sheep.’ His last work, written a few days previous to his death, was devoted to agriculture, and was published in Brewster’s Encyclopedia.

“Among the men of our common country, who by their deeds and fame have added to the national glory and to the substantial welfare of the land, a preëminently conspicuous place will ever be assigned to Robert R. Livingston. Eminent in the profession of the law, he occupied several of the highest positions in the State and nation, in which positions his legal talents were of great benefit to his fellow-citizens, and met with the universal acknowledgment they so richly deserved.

“As an orator he possessed a marked degree of persuasive eloquence, which was frequently successful in overcoming the most deeply rooted prejudices. His well-known patriotism and acknowledged integrity of character lent an almost irresistible force to his utterances, and enabled him to rivet the attention of his auditors. So distinguished a person as Franklin termed him the Cicero of America. As an author his works show an intimate acquaintance with the sub-

jects of which they treat, and give evidence of careful preparation and sound judgment.

“In his career as diplomatist, he evinced a masterly ability and a keen insight of character, which rendered every negotiation upon which he entered in that capacity a brilliant as well as honest success for his country; and he not only won the appreciation of his countrymen, but also the esteem of the foreign officials with whom he was thrown in contact. As an earnest worker in science, to whose inventive genius the world is in part indebted for the early and successful solution of the problem of steam navigation, he takes rank among the benefactors of mankind.

“A lover of the beautiful, he was among the earliest and most liberal patrons of art in America, and by his influence, benefactions, and labors, aided greatly in the development of a pure taste among his countrymen. His mental activity was of the most remarkable nature, leading him to find sufficient relaxation in change of employment, where others demand amusements and pleasure. He found agreeable employment in the study of science, history, and the classics, and up to the last days of his active and useful life, gave evidence of the possession of undiminished mental energy and unclouded intellect.

“Possessed of a recognized integrity of character, amiable disposition, and refined tastes, coupled with a broad culture, which he was assiduous in developing, he won hosts of admirers, and in his circle of friends counted many of the most learned and distinguished men, both at home and abroad. With an unbounded love for his country, his wealth as well as his talents were ever employed in serving her best interests.

“Connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church from an enlightened preference for its doctrines, he continued through life a devoted member of it. Wholly destitute of hostile feeling toward those who entertained other and opposing religious views, he furnishes a notable example of the freedom from prejudice on these subjects which is a characteristic of the purely enlightened man.

“Under the provisions of an Act of Congress, each State was entitled to place the statues of two of its most prominent citizens in the Capitol at Washington. The state of New York having made but one selection, that of George Clinton, whose name was suggested by Governor Hoffman—at that time the incumbent of the gubernatorial office—and this nomination having received the approval of the Legislature, it devolved upon his successor in office, Governor Dix, to make the second nomination. With discriminating judgment, this cultured gentleman selected Chancellor Livingston for this high honor. The nomination receiving the approval of the legislative body, Mr. E. D. Palmer, a sculptor of note residing at Albany, was selected to execute the statue, which, upon being finished, was placed in the old Representatives' Hall in the Capitol at Washington, where it now stands in company with those of Hamilton, Clinton, Jefferson, Trumbull, and other of the most celebrated men of the nation. This statue, which has been pronounced by competent judges one of the finest

in the collection, is in bronze, and of colossal size. The Chancellor is represented standing erect, his form mantled by his robe of office, which falls in graceful folds from his broad shoulders. The right hand bears a scroll inscribed 'Louisiana,' suggestive of his great diplomatic achievement, which secured for the United States the immense area of territory now comprised within the boundaries of the six states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas.

"Few men have enjoyed in so large a degree the confidence of their countrymen, and fewer still have been more actively engaged in events of greater importance to the world at large. His well-poised judgment furnished him an unerring guide in both public and private affairs, lifting him above the ordinary weaknesses of the multitude, and he was alike distinguished for his probity and his wisdom.

"After a most useful, active and patriotic career, he passed from this life on the 26th of February, 1813, at his seat at Clermont, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. The memory of such a life is in itself a priceless legacy.

"FREDERICK DE PEYSTER, LL. D."

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

"PARIS, 15^e Brumaire, 10th, Nob. r.

"SIR:

"The enclosed letter was committed to my care by Mr. Pichon. I am mortified that your absence prevents my having the honor to deliver it into your hands personally. But as it may possibly contain something interesting either to yourself or Mr. Pichon, I do not think I should be justifiable in destroying it till your arrival.

"I have the honor to be Sir

"With the highest respect

"Your most ob. & hum. Serv.t.

"ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

"Citizen

"Joseph Bonaparte

"Counsellor of State.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

"U. S. FRIGATE CHESAPEAKE.

"BOSTON, April 23d, 1813.

"DEAR BROTHER:

"We arrived in Boston on the 9th. I beg you will forgive me my not writing to you before. I have written to Mother & got an Answer. I have only to state that I am well. I hope these few lines will find you well and your family. I think Capt. Evans will take the Constitution; if he does I will try to come home. The Chesapeake will be ready for sea in 40 days. The Constitution wont be ready for sea this Three Months. We have had a cruise

of 115 days. We have taken five prizes in All, which will amount to four hundred thousand dollars—for my Part I shall have 500 dollars. You must write to me as soon as Possibly you can. I want to hear from you All——

“ I remain your affectionate
 “ brother
 “ LIVINGSTON.

“ To MR. JAMES LIVINGSTON
 “ Bath
 “ County of Rensselaer.
 “ New York.

Philip Cortlandt Livingston born Nov. 17th, 1790, a midshipman U. S. Navy was killed on the Chesapeake in the action with the Shannon, June 1st, 1813. He was the son of Lieutenant Gilbert James Livingston and Susannah Lewis.



CLERMONT.

CLERMONT'

The Livingston Manor House

Clermont, the manor house of the Livingston family stands upon a plateau of very fertile land on the bank of the Hudson river, high above the great stream. “ Historic events consecrate it in the heart of the American patriot, for here the feet of marauding British soldiers trampled down the late autumn flowers, and their hands applied the torch that laid the old manor house in ashes, in October, 1777, because the Livingston family were prominent and earnest advocates of the independence of the United States.

“ These soldiers were a part of an expedition sent up the Hudson river by

Sir Henry Clinton, after he had captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery, in the Highlands, under the command of General Vaughan, to make a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, who was then closely and fatally pressed by the American army at Saratoga. The troops, more than three thousand in number, had been conveyed up the river in a flying squadron of light frigates, under Sir James Wallace, and Vaughan had been instructed to scatter desolation in his path. He had fired a round shot through the house of Philip Livingston (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), near Poughkeepsie, where the ball and the hole it made may still be seen; and small parties landing from the vessels, scourged whole neighborhoods with fire and sword. The village of Kingston was laid in ashes, and a party crossed the river, burned several houses in the hamlet of Rhinebeck Flats, and, pushing on northward to Clermont, destroyed the manor house and that of Robert R. Livingston (one of a committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence), near by.

“The manor house at Clermont was immediately rebuilt by the widowed mother of Robert R. Livingston, who had lately been made the first Chancellor of the state of New York, then lately organized. The old stone walls which stood firmly after the fire, were used in the rebuilding, and the house delineated in the engraving is the one then construed upon the ruins. It is the youngest of the manor houses on the Hudson.”



LIVINGSTON ARMS.



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

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THE MORRIS FAMILY

“The Morrisses are of Welsh origin, they owned and bore their ‘ap’ for generations. The first one can really grasp, without the study only members of the family and historians would understand, was Mory’s ap Morgan, an offshoot of whose stock, about the middle of the fifteenth century, settled in Monmouthshire, and acquired large estates at Tintern, Denham and Ponterry. Here the three-brother story, which is true history, formed an important factor in all that was to follow in succeeding generations. These possessions were represented in 1635 by Lewis, William and Richard Morris. Lewis, the eldest son, was a man of power and great organization. Inheriting the estate at Tintern, he threw himself heart and soul into all matters of public interest. With him there were no halfway measures. At all hazards he must follow the direction of his own mind, let the results be adverse or no. One of his acts, which for a while at least put him out of active connection with events, was to raise and head a troop of horse in support of Parliament, for which act Charles I. confiscated his estates.

“His leisure for thinking over his affairs was curtailed by the execution of Charles, and subsequent power of Oliver Cromwell, who in return for his losses indemnified him, and in 1654, he was sent by Cromwell to the Spanish West Indies, with orders to make himself masters of the seas. The mantle of Drake and Hawkins was wanted for his shoulders. Much of opportunity was his. He had the aid of his nephew, Captain John Morris, who had long been settled in the Barbados, and Richard, his youngest brother, held a captain’s commission in his regiment.

“On the restoration Richard Morris retired to the Barbados, where his interests were largely increased by his marriage with a wealthy lady by the name of Pole. In 1670, in pursuance of his peripatetic instincts, he transferred himself to New York, purchased a large estate in Westchester county, beautifully situated on the Harlem river. Soon after, with the natural grasp of what was his due, he obtained a grant of Governor Fletcher, which made his domain of more than three thousand acres into a manor, under the name of Morrisania, devoting himself with the instinct which seems to follow all military men, whether their service is by sea or land, when their time of leisure comes, to farming.

“The results are often disastrous, but no experience or precedent will warn them from the experiment. Sad to relate, his years of this anticipated pleasure were very short, for he died in 1673, leaving an only son, the young Lewis, born in 1672, to inherit his vast possessions, and he naturally hoped his tastes.

“The Governor appointed him a guardian, but the loving father, with a regard for his orphan son, who was early bereft of his mother, had made a compact with his brother Lewis, still living in Barbados, to come to New York and settle on part of the manor, assuming the care of his young son. He arrived soon

after Richard's death, settled in Morrisania, according to agreement, and eventually made Lewis his heir.

"Lewis Morris entered early into political life, an impulse he had no power of resisting had he so willed it, but it was the 'very breath of his nostrils,' and he passed on by this same impelling force to being a member of the Council of New Jersey, Judge of the Superior Court and Chief Justice of New York.

"When New Jersey was made a separate province he was naturally appointed Governor, and giving the best of himself to the office, he held it until his death, in 1746.

"Man of letters he was, and grave of mind. How could it be otherwise to a man who never knew a mother, and grew up, although surrounded by every creature comfort, without the knowledge of those personal endearments found on a mother's knee, those sympathies childhood claims of a mother's heart? His 'whimsical disposition,' too, may have been for the same cause, but the world knew him to be great. His penetrating, incisive mind, and wonderful legal knowledge, traits accorded him by his peers, rendered him a 'bright and shining light' through all his span of life.

"He had many places for a local habitation (the name was his), for as well as his inherited patrimony, he had acquired large estates in Monmouth, New Jersey, named Tintern, after his ancestral halls in Monmouthshire.

"His marriage license in the Surrogate's office of the city of New York shows that on November 3, 1691, he married Isabella Graham, daughter of James Graham, Attorney-General of the Province of New York, by whom he had four sons and eight daughters.

"His eldest son, Colonel Lewis Morris, was Judge of Admiralty, and his Bible, in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Robert Rutherford, of New York (1876), which is a 'Dutch folio, bound in embossed pigskin and brass clasps and corner pieces,' tells us in the Colonel's own handwriting :

"'I was born at Trinton in New Jersie in the year 1698 the 23d of September,' and not to neglect his wife, her birth record follows his :

"'My Wife was born at New York the 4th of April in the year 1697.'

"In natural sequence comes the marriage :

"'I was married by William Vesey the 17th day of March 1723 to Mrs. Trintie Staats daughter of Dr. Samuel Staats.'

"To this father and mother, surrounded by everything prosperity and affection could give them, there came a blessing when——

"'My son Lewis was born the 8th day of April 1726 at half an hour after ten o'clock at night was christened by Robert Jenny, Mr. Coeymans and Captain Vincent Pearse godfathers, Sister Gouverneur godmother.'

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION

"This Lewis Morris, the signer, was born in Morrisania, in his paternal mansion, the welcome first son, who by right of primogeniture, inherited the mano-

rial estate. No horoscope had foretold his future, and given his young parents a knowledge of what awaited them. The mother, content in her enjoyment of her son as he grew in beauty day by day, left this boy to the care of others, and this same Bible adds to its records: 'My Wife departed this life the Eleventh Day of March 1731 aged 36 years after a violent illness for nine Days.'

"Having completed his preparatory studies, Lewis Morris entered Yale College and graduated there with honors when only twenty years of age. Popular, educated, with a strong love of home and agricultural pursuits, surrounded by friends who loved and appreciated him, he looked out on the vista of circumstances and saw the 'clouds no bigger than a man's hand' converging from all sides toward the bursting centre, when love of country should rise paramount, to all personal considerations and evoke that final step, the 'Declaration of Independence,' which could only rest when freedom and a Republican government was secured.

"Strong in his convictions, deliberate in action, his mind satisfied, his hand put to the plow, his was not the spirit to turn back. Every circumstance of his life, his daily birthright of ease and luxury, his student habits, all were against his espousing the cause of freedom actively. There was everything to give up. To be sure, much to hope for in the spirit with which he translated duty and honor, but his heart had turned to his 'elegant mansion, fine estate and valuable time,' as only a lover of nature and nature's God can appreciate.

"Generations of regard had made all of this infinitely dear to him, and yet with unwavering purpose, and the knowledge of the devastation following an army's march, he never quailed, but pressed on to the acquirement of a history personal to himself, which to-day places those of his descent in a position nothing can deprive them of, and which no money can purchase for other aspirants. His mind was at rest, the first self-communing finished story and placed the end on record, when he bade the voice of interest be still.

"Onward he went, counting life of no value if his country needed him, though his home was wrecked, his family in exile. He died in 1798, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was buried at Morrisania with military honors, as befitted a hero.

"Colonel Lewis Morris, Judge of the Admiralty, records his second marriage in his family Bible: 'The 3d Day of Novbr. 1746 I was Married To Mrs. Sarah Gouverneur by Thomas Standard, Minister of the parish of Westchester.' Why both of his wives' names are written with the prefix Mrs., I cannot understand from comparison with other family records; neither of them was a widow. The second wife was a daughter of Isaac Gouverneur, a merchant of New York, and his wife, Sara Staats (daughter of Samuel), so granddaughter of Nicolas Gouverneur, who was son of Abraham Gouverneur and Maria Milborne, widow of Jacob Milborne, and daughter of Jacob Leisler.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

“ Of this marriage came Gouverneur Morris, a man celebrated in all respects. Minister to France at the time of the French Revolution, a person who at home and abroad won the esteem of contemporaries and successors, his birth in the family Bible tells his early history.

“ ‘The 30th of January about half an hour after one of the Clock in the morning in the year 1754, according to the alteration of the stile by act of Parliament my wife was delivered of a son. He was christened the 4th of May, 1752 and named Gouverneur, after my wife’s father. Nicholas Gouverneur and my son Staats were his godfathers, and my sister Antil his godmother. Parson Auchmuty christened him.’ Parson Auchmuty was then the pastor of Trinity Church.

“ Gouverneur Morris stands out in history as one of the headlights of the period. A brilliant patriot of the constitutional times, from whose pen the final draft of the Constitution is said to have come; an intimate friend of Washington’s, a business partner of Robert Morris, the financier, also the signer and the great bulwark of the Colonies when the new world was darkest America indeed, still, nurtured as he was in the lap of luxury, he did his duty in the spirit of his trust to the end with the simplicity of his great nature.

“ Gouverneur Morris, wealthy, handsome, a hero and a statesman, took the enjoyments of life as they came to him as a result of his life’s record. He had it all, and yet the great thing wanting to the Morris mind in their love of home only came to him when, at fifty-eight years of age, he married Annie Carey, daughter of Thomas Randolph, of Virginia, a descendant of Pocahontas, and left one son, also Gouverneur.

JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY

“ Colonel Lewis Morris, Judge of the Admiralty, gave and received honor through his three sons, Lewis, Richard and Gouverneur, but his peculiar will in regard to two of them shows the bigotry and one-sidedness of the epoch.

“ Lewis, whether through the influence of his mother or no, history does not confide to us, was educated at Yale, but in the father’s will, for some cause unknown, after expressly stating that Gouverneur, the Benjamin of his flock, should have the best education to be had in England or America, continues, ‘but my express will and directions are that he be never sent for that purpose to the colony of Connecticut, lest he should imbibe in his youth that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country, which is so interwoven in their constitutions that all their art cannot disguise it from the world, tho’ many of them under the sanctified Garb of Religion have endeavored to Impose themselves on the World for honest men.’

“ To have one son, a signer, Richard, who was born ‘15th day of August, 1730,’ Chief Justice of New York, the one who administered the second inauguration oath to Washington, and Gouverneur, Minister to France, was glory

enough for one parent, and the world will forgive him for any peculiar views, without his asking. Lewis Morris, the signer, married Mary, daughter of Jacob Walton, and Maria, daughter of William Beekman, Mayor of New Amsterdam, and of this marriage came the well-known General Jacob Morris, of Otsego county, who at the breaking out of the Revolution was only nineteen years of age.

ONE OF "THE SIGNERS'" SONS

"That General Jacob Morris should fight his country's battles, goes without saying. He came of what well might be called a loyal and patriotic stock, as his father, with all of his six sons, were in service during the war for independence. As I find history, I can only place Hopkins and McCook names by the side of this record. Think of it, ye descendants of the sturdy home guard! General Jacob Morris served through the war, favorably mentioned by General Charles Lee and other commanders; was at the battle of Monmouth, N. J., on General Lee's staff, whose devoted friend he was, and distinguished himself at Fort Moultrie in 1776. General Jacob Morris was married during the Revolution to Mary Cox, and had twelve children by the marriage, most of whom lived to advanced age.

"One of his daughters married Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State under General Grant, a woman gracious of heart and manner, who never demanded for her position more than she bestowed as a private citizen. She was endeared to every one during her life in Washington, and with that rare courtesy which follows the good breeding of generations she always returned the first call made upon her in person, claiming herself exempt from a continuance by reason of the pressure of social duties she was always surrounded by. Considering the infinite variety of people she came in contact with, it is a wonderful record to give, 'that she left Washington without having made an enemy.'

"Another daughter married a brother of Fenimore Cooper, and branches of this family have spread out through all sections of the state.

"General Jacob Morris married a second time, when he was over seventy, and had one son by this marriage, Mr. A. P. Morris. Mrs. Sidney Webster, a daughter of Hamilton Fish, has two beautiful miniatures of General Jacob Morris and his wife, taken when they were young."

LETTERS PATENT

"The state of New York, by letters patent, granted to Lewis Morris and Richard, his brother, the tract of land known as the Morris Patent, consisting of three thousand acres in Montgomery county, to indemnify them for their loss and damage sustained through the occupation of their property in Morrisania by the British.

"General Jacob Morris was the pioneer of the Morris Patent, which is situated in the Valley of the Butternuts, establishing his home on the one thousand acres which was apportioned in the trust to his father. Here he took Mary

Cox to share with him in all the self-denial and hardships attending breaking ground for a home in the unknown land of this new acquisition of the Morris.

“She bore her trial bravely, forming a little ‘Lend a Hand’ society of her own, where no one interfered with this willingness to be and to do.

“Her mother-in-law, Mary Walton Morris, must have appreciated her endeavors and the contrasts of her life, for though perhaps as was the custom of the day, she indulged very little in correspondence, she summoned up her courage and indited an epistle to her son Jacob, telling him: ‘I am glad Polly is learning how to spin, and that she is taking an interest in the chickens.’

“It seems a very modern connection with events to know that within the past few years ‘several Indian tumuli have been accidentally opened in the vicinity of Gouverneur Morris’s residence, and found to contain skeletons of the aborigines under whom the first grantee was Jonas Bronk in 1639, whence came the river named Bronx, and the ancient appellation of Bronk’s Land.’

“History locates the descendants in the vicinity of Cossackie, Greene county. The records of longevity are left us, but the Manor of Morrisania in 1791 was annexed by special statute to the ancient borough town of the county name, and in 1846 lost its identity to the ‘new people,’ as it was added to the township which now perpetuates the name.

MORRIS PATENT

“In the old Morris Manor House, at Morris, Otsego county, there is in possession of the great-great-granddaughter of Lewis Morris, the signer, a fine old mahogany table with claw feet, quaint drawers and brass trimmings, which belonged to him.

“What tales these drawers could tell us of the secrets they have been the repository of, letters of hope, letters of sorrow and trial, as it was handed from one to another. But there is another table owned by Louis Morris Machado, which has a story one likes to relate, and the public to hear, as it recalls memories of the loved and departed, men of high estate. Think of a card table owned by Lewis Morris who holds the patent of nobility which belongs to a signer, on which played Washington and himself, and when they were willing to enlarge their borders, they called in for spirits like unto themselves, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton.

“Royalty never receives a regret for an invitation sent. These were the royal four. Men whose lives are spoken with the respect they won by lives recorded in the history of the world.

GENERAL MORRIS’S DEATH

“General Jacob Morris died in 1844, at the age of eighty-eight. He is buried in the cemetery attached to ‘Morris Memorial Chapel of All Saints,’ which was erected in 1866 by contributions from the various members of the Morris family.

“So Jacob Morris, with all his experience and honor, has come to his own. New Jersey has not lost her Morrisises, though many have wandered from her fold, but they bear other names, and under that of Rutherford, they go on their way rejoicing, glad of their own birthright to position equally happy, that their descendants can shine with greater lustre from the name into which they have merged their own. Other states, too, could they honor them have done so.



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

The De Peysters, the Newbolds, the Edgars, Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, and hosts of others, given the opportunity, have eagerly availed of it, and transplanted to their hearts and home, scions of the Morris family from whichever branch they came.

ANNIE A. HAXTUN."

A HISTORIC BATTLE

The battle of Harlem Heights, was one of the most important during the Revolutionary War.

“Washington had fallen back to New York, after the battle of Long Island, executing on August 30, 1776, the movement that has been recorded as one of the most brilliant in military history. He attempted to restore order and confidence in New York by a reorganization, but he found disaffection everywhere, and despair taking the place of hope. He quickly decided to evacuate.

“On Sunday morning, September 15, the command was given for the patriot troops to march to the upper part of Manhattan Island. The commander-in-

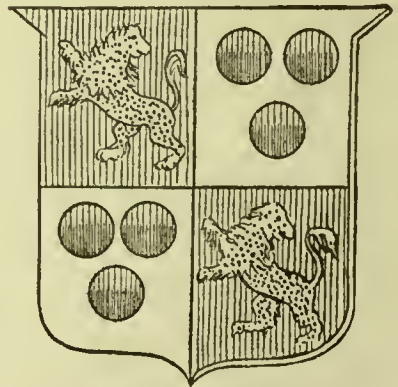
chief remained at the Apthorp mansion until the troops appeared. Then he galloped to the Morris house on Harlem Heights and made it his headquarters.

"At sunrise on Monday morning, September 16, the first battle of Harlem Heights was fought. It occupied but a few minutes, and was disastrous to the British. The second engagement began September 16, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, and continued for four hours. No fortifications had been erected at that time. Preparations had been made near the mansion, and there were three small redoubts down at what is now 145th street. The British started to drive the Americans from Manhattan Island before they could have time to construct defenses. With that wonderful prescience which distinguished him throughout the war, General Washington divined their purpose and made preparations to defeat it. In this he was aided by a fatal blunder on the part of the enemy. They began the battle too soon and in the wrong place, and were easily repulsed and driven off. This inspired a spirit of self-confidence in the Americans which materially assisted them to final victory. They realized then that the British had been making a false show of strength and of confidence, and that it required simply a bold and aggressive movement to turn the tide.

"Washington's army on Harlem Heights numbered scarcely 8,000 men on the 16th, and of this number only 4,900 were actually engaged. The British had a far superior force, not less than 6,000 of their best-drilled troops and seven field pieces. Behind them was an army of nearly 10,000 men sustaining their rear and ready to push on at the word of command. The battle, from the character of the ground, was irregular. The wooded heights, with their rough and rocky sides, were almost inaccessible.

"The English soldiery were compelled to break their solid fronts and dash in wherever there appeared to be an opening. Both sides fought single-handed, in squads, and regiments and battalions. The battle raged from 155th street to Manhattanville, and was fought behind trees, houses and rocks. On the evening of the 16th, the armies occupied the same relative position as before they met, the pickets being almost within speaking distance. Washington occupied the Morris house as his headquarters until the latter part of October, 1776.

"The troops engaged on the side of the patriots were from the North and South. Colonel Knowlton of the Connecticut Rangers, and Major Leitch, of the Virginia Riflemen, were both killed in the action."



MORRIS ARMS.



Francis Lightfoot Lee

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FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence

Among the many eminent representatives from the other Colonies that General Schuyler came into contact with during this session of Congress was one for whom he ever after had a sincere attachment. This gentleman was Francis Lightfoot Lee, a member of the distinguished Lee family of Virginia.

“ Francis Lightfoot Lee was born at Stratford-on-Potomac, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the fourteenth day of October, 1734. He was of distinguished lineage. His paternal ancestors had been noted in the old country and celebrated in the new. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had held positions of trust and influence in the Colony of Virginia for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Nor were his maternal ancestors—the Corbins, Harrisons, and Ludwells—less distinguished. He and his five brothers were worthy sons of such sires. Of them, Mr. Campbell, the historian of Virginia, has written: ‘As Westmoreland, their native county, is distinguished above all others in Virginia, as the birthplace of genius, so perhaps no other Virginian could boast of so many distinguished sons as President Lee.’ Thomas Lee had acquired the title of ‘president’ from the fact that he had been president of the Colonial Council and practically Governor of the Colony at his death.

“ In May, 1722, Thomas Lee was married to Hannah Ludwell, a granddaughter of Philip Ludwell, governor of the Carolinas; from this union six sons and one daughter were born. These sons are worthy of brief mention. Philip Ludwell, the eldest, a member of the Colonial Council, died in 1775, too early to take part in the Revolutionary struggle. Thomas Ludwell, the second son, died in 1778, having been a member of the house of Burgesses, of the Virginia conventions of 1775–76; of the committee of safety, and one of the five judges of the general court. John Adams has recorded in his diary that Thomas Ludwell Lee was ‘the most popular man in Virginia, and the delight of the eyes of every Virginian.’ The third son was the distinguished orator and patriot, Richard Henry, too well known to need further mention. Francis Lightfoot, the subject of this sketch, was the fourth son. William the fifth, was an alderman and sheriff of London, and later commercial agent for Congress in Europe, and also their representative at Berlin, Vienna, and The Hague. The youngest was Dr. Arthur, a graduate of Edinburgh University, who ‘as a scholar, writer, philosopher, politician, and diplomatist, was surpassed by none and equaled by few of his contemporaries.’

“ These brothers were all ardent patriots; so favorably known as such, that John Adams in after life paid them this glowing tribute; ‘That band of brothers, intrepid and unchangeable, who, like the Greeks at Thermopylæ, stood in the gap in the defence of their country, from the first glimmering of the Revolution in the horizon through all its rising light to its perfect day.’

“Although it was the common custom for the well-to-do planters to send their sons home to the old country for collegiate and professional training, Francis Lightfoot Lee had not this privilege. His father died when he was only sixteen, which probably accounts for this neglect. His education was acquired entirely in Virginia, and chiefly by a tutor at home. This tutor was the Rev. Mr. Craig, a Scotch clergyman, who not only made him a good scholar, but imbued him with a genuine love for the classics and for literature in general. Throughout life, Mr. Lee was a student, and no place had for him the fascination of a well stocked library. The return of his brothers from study and travel in the old country probably stirred within him a desire to acquire fully the education and polish of Europeans. In this he was eminently successful, for it is recorded that his manners were easy, graceful and agreeable; his wit and humor most entertaining; his disposition was kind, gentle and affectionate; his voice was sweet and well modulated; his knowledge, select, varied, and his taste refined. His society was eagerly sought by both sexes, and highly prized by all. To this gentle country gentleman, the farm and the social circle ever possessed greater charms than public life and the political arena. Only the call of stern duty ever forced him to engage in public life.



STRATFORD HALL.—(Birthplace of the Lee Family.)

“On arriving at manhood, Mr. Lee settled in Loudoun county, the lands left to him by his father being chiefly in that county. He and his brother, Philip Ludwell, are mentioned among the founders of the town of Leesburg in that county. As early as 1765, he appeared in the house of Burgesses as a rep-

representative from Loudoun. A few years later on his marriage, he located in Richmond county, and built a home, which he named 'Menokin' from the neighboring Indian town, Manakin. Being chosen a burgess from Richmond county, he was acting in that position when the first rumblings of the coming storm were heard in the political sky, and seems to have promptly taken his stand beside his brothers as an earnest patriot.

"When in August, 1775, Colonel Bland resigned his position as a representative from Virginia in the Continental Congress, George Mason himself refusing an election, recommended Mr. Lee for the office and he was chosen. It is not recorded that he held any position as a speaker; his usefulness, therefore, lay in less ostentatious forms of public service. It may be safely assumed that he was a useful member of Congress for he was successively reelected in 1776-77-78; in 1779, he retired from Congress, hoping to live henceforth a quiet country life. But not so: he was soon called again to the front, this time to serve in the senate chamber of the Virginia Assembly.

"Mr. Lee's chief public services, while in Congress, were to assist in framing the articles of the old confederation, and later in vigorously demanding that no treaty of peace should be made with Great Britain, which did not guarantee to Americans the freedom of the northern fisheries, and the free navigation of the Mississippi river. Subsequent events have amply proven the wisdom of his foresight in making this demand. Mr. Lee was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

"Mr. Lee was an ardent supporter of Washington, as well as a personal friend. An anecdote is told, which illustrates his admiration for Washington. Being one day at the county courthouse, just after the new federal constitution had been adopted at Philadelphia, and was, of course, the subject of general interest, some one asked his opinion of it. He replied that he did not pretend to be a good judge of such important affairs, but that one circumstance satisfied him in its favor. This was 'that General Washington was in favor of it, and John Warden was against it.' Warden was a Scotch lawyer of the county, who had been speaking against a ratification of the new Constitution. Washington, too, seems to have entertained the kindest feelings for Mr. Lee, and to have thought highly of his sound judgment. In a letter to James Madison he says the family placed 'much reliance upon the judgment of Francis L. Lee.'

"Mr. Lee's sentiments on the war are well set forth in a letter to a relative in Virginia. He writes from Philadelphia, the 19th of March, 1776. '* * * Our late King and his Parliament having declared us Rebels and Enemies, confiscated our property, as far as they are likely to lay hands on it,—have effectually decided the question for us whether or now we sh'd be independent. All we now have to do is to endeavor to reconcile ourselves to the state it has pleased Providence to put us into; and indeed upon taking a near and full look at the thing, it does not frighten so much, as when viewed at a distance. I can't think we shall be injured by having free trade to all the world, instead of its being confined to one place, whose riches might always be used to our ruin; nor does

it appear to me that we shall suffer any disadvantage by having our Legislature uncontrolled by a power so far removed from us that our circumstances can't be known; whose interests are often directly contrary to ours, and over which we have no manner of control. Indeed great part of that power being at present lodged in the hands of a most gracious prince, whose tender mercies we have often experienced, it must wring the hearts of all good men to part; but I suppose we shall have Christian fortitude enough to bear with patience and even cheerfulness the decrees of a really most gracious king! The danger of anarchy and confusion, I think altogether chimerical; the good behavior of the Americans with no government at all, proves them very capable of good government. But my dear colonel, I am so fond of peace that I wish to see an end of these distractions upon any terms that will secure America from future outrages.

"A biographical writer on 'The signers of the Declaration of Independence,' says of Mr. Lee: 'In the spring of 1779, Mr. Lee retired from Congress and returned to the home to which both his temper and inclination led him, with delight. He was not, however, long permitted to enjoy the satisfaction it conferred; for the internal affairs of his native state were in a situation of so much agitation and perplexity that his fellow-citizens insisted on his representing them in the Senate of Virginia. He carried into that body all the integrity, sound judgment and love of country for which he had ever been conspicuous, and his labors were alike honorable to himself and useful to his state. He did not long remain in this situation. His love of ease, and fondness for domestic occupations now gained the entire ascendancy over him, and he retired from public life with the firm determination of never again engaging in its busy and wearisome scenes; and to this determination he strictly adhered. In his retirement, his character was most conspicuous. He always possessed more of the gay, good humor and pleasing wit of Atticus, than the sternness of Cato, or the eloquence of Cicero. To the young, the old, the grave, the gay, he was alike a pleasing and interesting companion. None approached him with diffidence; no one left him but with regret. To the poor around him, he was a counsellor, physician and friend; to others, his conversation was at once agreeable and instructive, and his life a fine example for imitation. Like the great founder of our republic, Washington, he was much attached to agriculture, and retained from his estate a small farm for experiment and amusement.

"Having no children, Mr. Lee lived an easy, quiet life. Reading, farming and the company of his friends and relatives, filled up the remaining portion of his days. A pleurisy, caught in one of the coldest winters ever felt in Virginia, terminated the existence of both his wife and himself within a few days of each other, April, 1797. His last moments were those of a Christian, a good, honest, and virtuous man; and those who witnessed the scene were all ready to exclaim: "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my end be like his."

"In conclusion, it may be said that Francis Lightfoot Lee was not a brilliant man; was not one to dazzle by his genius or to fire enthusiasm by his eloquence. He was simply a cultivated Christian gentleman of sound judgment and disin-

terested patriotism. A noble character whose personality was a potent force. He was honored and respected by his associates ; was admired and loved by his friends. He was, in short, a typical gentleman of his day and generation. One of the grand patriots of the Revolution.'"


By his great-great-nephew, EDMUND J. LEE, M. D.



LEE ARMS.

THE UNITED COLONIES
 No. 3974 Thirty Dollars.
 This BILL entitles the Bearer to receive THIRTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the Congress held at Philadelphia, May 30, 1775.

SI. RECTE. FACIES



XXX DOLLARS
 Geo: Fuhl & Movis Jr.

XXX DOLLARS
 Continental Currency

The United Colonies
 TWO DOLLARS
 No. 3957

THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive TWO SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver according to A Resolution of CONGRESS passed at Philadelphia Nov. 2 1776.

TRIBULATIO DITAT




B. Levy
 The United Colonies

TWO DOLLARS
 Continental Currency

NEW YORK
 TWO SHILLINGS
 No. 23942

ONE QUARTER OF A DOLLAR



THIS BILL shall pass current in all Payments in this Colony, for TWO SHILLINGS, (being equal to One Quarter of a Spanish Milled Dollar) or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver; according to the Resolution of the Provincial Congress of New-York, on the fifth Day of March, 1776.



Two Shillings.
 J. M. F. R. Ray

ONE QUARTER OF A DOLLAR
 Continental Currency

THIRTY DOLLARS.

Philadelphia: Printed by Hall and Sellers.

TWO DOLLARS



Printed by HALL and SELLERS 1776.

COLONY

TWO SHILLINGS,
NEW YORK Currency.
One Quarter of a Dollar.

NEW YORK:

Printed by Samuel Loudon, in the Year M.DCC.LXXVI.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD 1775-1776

“ON the nineteenth of June, 1775,” continues Chancellor Kent, “Philip Schuyler was appointed by Congress the third major-general in the armies of the United Colonies; and such was his singular promptitude, that, in eleven days from his appointment, we find him in actual service, corresponding with Congress from a distance on business that required and received immediate attention. He was charged by General Washington with the command of the army in the province of New York, and in his first general orders announcing the command, he at once enjoined order, discipline, neatness, economy, exactness, sobriety, obedience; and that the troops must show to the world that ‘in contending for liberty, they abhor licentiousness—that in resisting the misrule of tyrants, they will support government honestly administered.’ He directed his attention specially to the northern frontiers, and called upon the commanding officer there for exact information and specific details, on every subject connected with his command. In July, 1775, he was placed at the head of a Board of Commissioners for the Northern Department, and empowered to employ all the troops in that department at his discretion, subject to the future orders of the commander-in-chief.

“He was directed by Congress, as early as the 1st of July, to repair to the fort of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and make preparations to secure the command of the lake, and, ‘if practicable and expedient to take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and Quebec, and to pursue any other measure in Canada, having a tendency in his judgment, to promote the peace and security of the United States.’ He at once communicated vigor and rapid motion to every part of his command; but the difficulties in an expedition to Canada without the materials, the equipments, and the habits of war, were clearly perceived by him, and strongly felt, and he surmounted them with a rapidity and success that no other individual could at that period have performed. Before the end of August four regiments moved down the lake from Ticonderoga, under the command of Brigadier-General Montgomery. To add to his other distresses, General Schuyler at this crisis was taken down with sickness and confined in bed with a fever. He nevertheless followed his friend Montgomery, and was carried in a batteau to the Isle aux Noix, where he established his headquarters on the 8th of September. He was there reduced to a skeleton by a complication of disorders, and was obliged in ten days to return and leave Montgomery, much to the regret of the latter, to command the Canadian expedition. ‘All my ambition,’ said that excellent man, and chivalric hero, ‘is to do my duty in

a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening the merits so justly your due.' General Schuyler's services were not lost on his return to Ticonderoga. They were invaluable on the all-important subject of supplies. General Montgomery declared in his letters of the 6th and 9th of October, that Schuyler's foresight and diligence after his return, had saved the expedition, so wisely and promptly did he exert his feeble health, but vigorous mind, to restore order and accelerate supplies of food and clothing to the army, then estimated at three thousand five hundred men, and occupied before St. Johns.

"His very impaired health rendered General Schuyler's situation oppressive. He was charged with the duty of supplying the Canadian army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms and money, and to do it adequately was beyond his power. He was obliged to apply to Congress for leave to retire. But his application was not listened to, and on the 30th of November, Congress resolved that his conduct, attention and perseverance, merited the thanks of the United Colonies. They expressed, through President Hancock, their 'greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist on a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honor of completing the glorious work which he had so happily and successfully begun.' General Washington, who always maintained a close and constant correspondence with Schuyler, expressed the same regret and desire, and in his letters of the 5th and 24th of December, conjured both him and Montgomery to lay aside all such thoughts of retirement, 'alike injurious to themselves and excessively so to the country. They had not a difficulty to contend with, that he had not in an eminent degree experienced.' Who can withhold his unqualified admiration of the man, who gave such advice at such a crisis. To his incomparable fortitude and inflexible firmness America owes her national existence.

"General Schuyler determined to continue in the service, and especially, as he said, after the fall of his 'amiable friend Montgomery, who had given him so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he greatly fell in his country's cause, was more to be envied than lamented.' The distressed condition of the northern army in the winter and spring of 1776, was quite unparalleled in the history of the revolution. General Schuyler was roused to the utmost limit of exertion in his endeavors to relieve it, by collecting and dispatching men, provisions and arms, and military and naval equipments to the northern posts, and to the army. His attention was directed to every quarter, exacting vigilance, order, economy and prompt attention in all the complicated concerns of the department. His duty was more than arduous and difficult; it was inexpressibly vexatious; and could not be sternly and effectually performed without collusions, provoking jealous and angry feelings, and requiring large sacrifices of transient popularity. With his exhausted and debilitated frame of body, every person who saw him, concluded that he must soon sink under the pressure of his duties. His incessant correspondence with Congress was full of

the best practical advice. At that crisis Congress multiplied his concerns to an overwhelming degree. On the 8th of January, he was required to cause the river St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, to be well explored. He was to fill up blank commissions for the Canada regiments at his discretion. He was to establish an accountability for the waste to public supplies. He was to put Ticonderoga in a defensible position. But the army in Canada engrossed his attention. After the death of Montgomery, the command devolved on Brigadier-General Wooster. The most alarming and next to the want of provisions, the most distressing deficiency in the northern army was in muskets, ammunition and cannon. The call was loud also and incessant for specie, and General Schuyler went so far, as to raise on his own personal security, two thousand, one hundred pounds York currency, in gold and silver for that service. Nothing shows more strikingly the want of arms than the fact that even General Washington in his camp at Cambridge, applied to Schuyler for assistance in that particular. 'Your letters and mine,' said the former, 'seem echoes of each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties.'

"His activity, skill, and zeal shone conspicuously throughout that arduous campaign; and his unremitting correspondence received the most prompt and marked consideration.

"Great apprehension was entertained at this eventful moment, for the disaffected inhabitants in the Mohawk country under the influence of Sir John Johnson, and Congress directed General Schuyler to cause the Tories in that quarter to be disarmed, and their leaders secured. He accordingly marched into that country in the month of January, and executed the service with such zeal, despatch, and discretion, as to receive the special approbation of Congress.

"On the 17th of February, Major General Lee was appointed to the command of the northern army, and Schuyler was to take his place at New York. This alteration was made, as the president of Congress assured him, from the conviction that his infirm state of health was not equal to a winter's campaign in the severe climate of Canada. But the wants of the northern army, with the supply of which Schuyler was still charged, were so varied and urgent, that he was obliged to confine his headquarters to Albany; and they were again established there by a resolution of Congress of the 6th of March, and that resolution continued in force until May, 1777. The arduous business of supplying an army with food, clothing, and military equipments, though less captivating in its results, is often much more conducive to the safety and success of a campaign, than prowess in the field. General Schuyler, by his thorough business habits, his exactness in detail, his keen foresight, his calculating skill, and his fiery vehemence in action, was admirably fitted for either branch of military service; and no person who has studied these campaigns thoroughly, can fail to be convinced, that his versatile talents were fitted equally for investigation and action.

"General Lee being sent to the south, Major General Thomas was on the

6th of March, appointed to the command of the army in Canada, but with a reliance, as Congress declared, on the efforts of General Schuyler 'for perfecting the work so conspicuously begun, and so well directed under his orders, the last campaign.' Congress, throughout the winter and spring of 1776, continued to consider the possession of Canada and the command of the lake as objects of the first necessity.

"On the death of General Thomas, on the 2d of June, Brigadier-General Sullivan succeeded to the command, and the distress and disorganization of the army had then arrived at its utmost height. All hopes of retaining Canada were gone, and no alternative was left but to make the safest and most expeditious retreat. Regiments were reduced to skeletons. The soldiers became desperate, and deserted. 'Upwards of forty officers,' said Sullivan, 'begged leave to resign on the most frivolous pretenses.' General Schuyler gave directions, on the 20th of June, to abandon Canada, and return up the lake. This was accordingly done. General Sullivan left the Sorel with only two thousand five hundred and thirty-three men, and on the 1st of July, he reached Crown Point with the remains of the army, broken down by sickness, disorder, and discord. The retreat, says Schuyler, was conducted with prudence and discernment, and reflected honor upon that commander. At Crown Point, Sullivan met General Gates, who, though a junior officer, was appointed to that command, and Sullivan retired from the department in disgust.

"The expedition to Canada having been miserably terminated, the next great object of Schuyler's attention, was to secure the forts on the lake, and to command its waters, as well as to attend to other pressing objects in his widely extended department. On the 14th of June, he had been required by Congress to hold a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians—to fortify Fort Stanwix—to open a military road from Fort Edward—to clear Wood Creek—to establish a canal lock at Skeensborough—to equip a flotilla on Lake Champlain, and to fortify Crown Point or Mount Independence at his discretion. Though he was again visited with the return of the fever of the last season, which served to annoy and dishearten him, his exertions continued unremitting. Crown Point was abandoned by the unanimous advice of a council of his general officers as not tenable with their present force and means. The act was at first inconsiderately censured, but his clear and skillful reasons for the measure, satisfied the mind of Washington. A flotilla of sixteen vessels was created and equipped for service on the lake by the latter end of August, after infinite embarrassments, and he assigned the command of it to General Arnold, who was active and intrepid. That officer was met, on the 16th of October, by a much superior and better manned squadron, and after brave and unavailing resistance, his little fleet was defeated and totally destroyed. This put an end to the northern campaign, for the garrison at Ticonderoga and its dependencies consisting of nine thousand men, was left by General Schuyler under the subordinate command of Gates, and they were not disturbed."

MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

“One summer evening, when a primeval forest covered almost the entire surface of the now glorious Union, a young British officer, in rich uniform, stood on the shore of Lake Champlain, and looked off on that beautiful sheet of water. He was only twenty-two years of age, and but for his manly, almost perfect form, he would have seemed even younger. His skin was fair, and his countenance beautiful as a Grecian warrior's. As he stood and gazed on the forest-girdled lake, studded with islands, his dark eye kindled with the poetry of the scene, and he little thought of the destiny before him. In the full strength and pride of ripened manhood, he was yet to lead over those very waters a band of freemen against the country under whose banner he now fought, and fall foremost in freedom's battle. That handsome young officer was Richard Montgomery, a lieutenant in the British army. A native of Ireland, he was born in 1736, on his father's estate near the town of Raphoe. Educated as became the son of a gentleman, he, at the age of eighteen, received a commission in the English army. Joined to the British expedition sent against Louisburg, he, in the attack and capture of that place, showed such heroism, and performed such good service, that he was promoted to a lieutenantancy. In the meantime Abercrombie having met with a severe repulse before Ticonderoga, Amherst was sent to his relief. Among the officers in the corps was young Montgomery, who thus became acquainted with all the localities of Lake Champlain. After the reduction of Montreal and Quebec, he accompanied the expedition against the French and Spanish West Indies, where he conducted himself so gallantly that he obtained the command of a company. The treaty of Versailles, 1763, closed the war, and he returned to England on a visit, where he remained nine years. It is a matter of conjecture what finally induced him to sell his commission in the English army and emigrate to this country. He arrived in 1772, and purchased a farm near New York. Soon after, he married the eldest daughter of Robert Livingston, then one of the judges of the Superior Court of the Province. From New York he removed to Rhinebeck, in Dutchess county, where he devoted his whole time to agriculture. In the meanwhile the controversy grew warmer between the parent country and her colonies. Taciturn, and little inclined to public life, young Montgomery evidently did not at first take a deep interest in the struggle. His feelings, however, and his judgment were both on the side of his adopted country, and in 1775, he was elected member of the first provincial convention of New York, from Dutchess county. He took no very active part in the convention, still his views were so well known respecting the controversy between the two countries, that, at the appointment of commander-in-chief of the American armies, and the creation of officers by Congress, he was made one of the eight brigadier-generals. His views of the contest may be gathered from the letter he wrote to



Richard Montgomery

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a friend after receiving his appointment. Said he: 'The Congress having done me the honor of electing me brigadier-general in their service, in an event which must put an end for awhile, perhaps forever, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself; for though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed.' Although after the battle of Bunker Hill, the war began to assume regularity and plan, still the public feeling was unsettled, and no one had formed any idea of the probable issue of the contest. Neither the nation nor congress was as yet prepared for a declaration of independence. It was resistance to oppression, a struggle for rights which had been invaded, without anticipating the result of an entire separation from the parent country. While the national feeling was in this state, Congress had the design of invading Canada, then in a feeble state of defence. The measure promised brilliant success, but the propriety of assuming the offensive was questioned by many. It was not a war of aggression on which they had entered, but strictly one of self-defence, and it might injure their cause, not only in England, but at home, to carry the sword into a peaceful province. On the other hand it was asserted that this distinction between offensive and defensive operations was ridiculous—that we were in open hostility, and it became us to use all the means we possessed to strengthen our cause and weaken that of the enemy—that if Canada was left alone, it would soon be the channel through which troops would be poured through the interior of the Colonies—that in a short time we would be forced to turn our attention that way, and the sooner it was done the better. Beside, the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had opened the country to our troops, and it needed a succession of such brilliant achievements to keep alive the courage of the people. Congress at length voted in favor of the expedition, and immediately adopted measures for carrying it through. The army of invasion was to be composed of three thousand troops from New England and New York, the whole to be placed under the command of General Schuyler, aided by Brigadier-Generals Wooster and Montgomery. Here commences the military career of the latter in the service of the States. Having joined the army at Albany, he was soon transferred to Crown Point. Learning at the latter place, that Carleton, Governor of Canada, was collecting several armed ships to be stationed at the outlet of the lake into the Sorel, in order to command the passage into Canada, he immediately, without consulting General Schuyler pushed on with a thousand men, and took post at Isle aux Noix near the river. In the meantime he wrote to General Schuyler informing him of what he had done, expressing his regret that he was compelled to move without orders, but excusing himself on the ground, that if the enemy should get his vessels into the lakes it would be over with the expedition for that summer. The letter is couched in the respectful language of a subordinate to a superior officer, but at the same time it would not be inappropriate from a commander-in-chief. General Schuyler having arrived the same night that Montgomery reached Isle aux Noix, it was resolved to push nearer Fort St. John. The

former being soon after prostrated by severe illness, he returned to Ticonderoga and Albany, and Montgomery took entire control of the expedition. He laid siege to St. John's; and sent a detachment against Fort Chambly situated a little lower down the river, and feebly garrisoned. It was taken without resistance; and St. John's after a siege of six weeks fell into the hands of Montgomery. The capture of Montreal followed. When the news of his brilliant success reached Congress, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. His next step was to form a junction with Arnold, who, having crossed the untrodden wilds of Maine, was now with his small, half-clothed, and badly supplied army, closely investing Quebec. Exposed to biting cold, it was impossible to keep any troops long in the field; and to add to the horrors of the position, smallpox broke out in camp. Accordingly, a council of war was called, and the assault proposed. Large banks of snow filled up the path; they stumbled upon huge masses of ice thrown up by the river, and the men seemed to hesitate, when Montgomery shouted forth—'Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your General leads—forward!' The guns, charged with grapeshot, opened in their very faces; and when the smoke lifted, there lay the lifeless form of Montgomery. He was but thirty-nine years of age when he fell on this disastrous field. Many have blamed him for hazarding an attack on Quebec with so small a force, but what else could he have done. To have abandoned the project after all the expense and labor it had cost, without an effort, would have subjected him to still severer condemnation. Both his reputation and the honor of the country forbade this. It failed. Had it been successful, it would have been regarded as a most brilliant exploit, not only in its execution, but in its conception. His bright and promising career suddenly closed in darkness, and freedom mourned another of her champions fallen."

J. T. HEADLY.

"CAMP BEFORE ST. JOHNS, Oct. 20, 1775.

"DEAR GENERAL:

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you with the surrender of Chambly to Major Brown and Major Livingston, which last headed about three hundred Canadians. We had not above fifty of our troops. Indeed it was the plan of the Canadians, who carried down the artillery past the Fort of St. John's in bateaux. I send you the colors of the Seventh regiment and a list of stores taken. Major Brown assures me we have gotten six tons of powder, which, with the blessing of God, will finish our business here. Major Brown offered his service on this occasion. Upon this and all other occasions I have found him active and intelligent.

"The enemy's schooner is sunk. They have not been very anxious to save her, else they might easily have protracted her fate. I must now think, unless some unlucky accident befall us, we shall accomplish our business here, as I shall set to work in earnest on this side of the water. The troops are in high spirits. Colonel Warner has had a little brush with a party from Montreal. The enemy retired with the loss of five prisoners and some killed. Some of the prisoners (Canadians) are dangerous enemies, and must be taken care of—Ia Mouche, one of them. The Caughnawagas have desired one hundred men from us. I have complied with their request, and am glad to find they put so much confidence in us, and are not afraid of

Mr. Carleton ; not that I think they had anything to apprehend ; he has too much business on his hands already to wish to make more enemies.

“ I shall endeavor, by means of the Chambly garrison, to obtain better treatment for Allen and the other prisoners, as well Canadians as our own troops.

“ I am much chagrined at your relapse ; that you may speedily recover your health is the ardent wish of your sincere and affectionate humble servant,

“ RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

“ TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.”

MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY KNOX

“ Few men contributed so largely to the success of our revolutionary struggle as the subject of this notice. As the projector, author, and first commander of the artillery connected with the Continental army, and holding the first post of command of that portion of our army during the whole war ; having as he had, the entire confidence and esteem of Washington, and fighting by his side, his opportunities were equal to his desire, and his success tantamount to his genius and bravery.

“ General Henry Knox was born in Boston, July 25th, 1750. He early married the daughter of a staunch loyalist, and was already an officer in the British army in Boston when the struggle of the Revolution commenced. His whole soul was fired in the cause of freedom, and he contrived to escape from Boston, and, presenting himself at the camp of Washington, offered his services to his country. His wife, who, notwithstanding her tory origin, fully sympathized with the patriots, accompanied him in his flight, secreting her husband's sword in the folds of her petticoat. This noble woman adhered to his fortunes through eight years of peril and anxiety, deprivation and labor, and had the holy satisfaction of sharing her husband's joy in the established independence of their native land.

“ When young Knox presented himself at Washington's headquarters, our army was totally destitute of cannon, without which he felt it was impossible to cope with the British forces. There was no way of obtaining this needed supply, but from transporting it from the dilapidated forts on the Canadian frontier. This dangerous and almost herculean task was triumphantly performed (1775) by the gallant young officer (who received every assistance from General Schuyler) ; and an artillery department of respectable force was thus added to our army the command of which was bestowed upon Knox, with a brigadier-general's commission. These guns were planted on Dorchester heights, and the British army speedily compelled to evacuate Boston.

“ General Knox, at the head of the artillery, was in constant service during the entire contest which succeeded, and generally under the immediate eye of Washington, between whom and himself a strong affection existed, which lasted until the death of his distinguished and beloved commander. In the retreat from White Plains, in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, as well as those of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, as also the siege of Yorktown, Knox and his artillery rendered most valuable aid, and contributed largely toward the expulsion of the enemy from our southern shores. When Cornwallis delivered up Yorktown, General Knox was one of the commissioners to negotiate the terms of capitulation.



Knox
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"In 1785, under the old régime, General Knox was Secretary of War, until the new organization, when Washington immediately reappointed him to the same office, which he continued to hold until 1794, when Washington, having repeatedly refused to do so, reluctantly consented to accept his resignation, and he retired to his farm, in Thomaston, Maine, where he lived in dignified and hospitable retirement until the 25th of October, 1806, when he died suddenly in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

"How singular, that the brave warrior should tread so many fields of blood and carnage, and see hundreds falling on all sides, should escape so many thousand deaths, to come at last to his death by the most insignificant means. The death of this good man and patriot and brave soldier, was occasioned by swallowing the bone of a chicken at his dinner.

"We cannot forbear relating a singular incident in the life of this brave man. When on his northern expedition, he fell in with Major André, and traveled in his company. The result of this accidental meeting was a mutual attachment, which grew into a strong friendship, so speedily to be concluded by the sanguinary and ignominious termination of the life of one, while the other was a member of the court martial which so reluctantly condemned the accomplished young Briton to the scaffold. General Knox used to say that this was the hardest duty he ever performed. We can well conceive it to have been so."

By A. D. JONES.

("To General Knox is conceded the honor of suggesting that noble organization the Society of the Cincinnati." See Mount Gulian, Chapter XII.)

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

"WEST POINT, 15th February, 1783.

"DEAR SIR :

"In the proportions of pay mentioned in yesterday's orders, the serjeants of artillery are rated at the same as a serjeant of infantry, whereas a serjeant of artillery's monthly pay is ten dollars. The same with respect to the serjeant's of sappers and miners.

"There is no mention of any proportion to the artillery artificers. Some of the most meritorious men in the Service, enlisted for the war and unpaid as much as any other part of the army. Although their pay is twelve dollars per month for the privates and twenty-five for the serjeants, yet probably they might be contented with the same proportions at present as the artillery.

"I pray you to mention these matters to his Excellency and let me know the result.

"I am

"dear sir

"Your humble Servt

"H. KNOX.

"—— WALKER."

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER.

"CAMP AT FREDERICKSBURG,

"November, 10, 1778.

"DEAR SIR :

"You may remember we purchased a number of tickets together in the Congress Lottery. One of which drew 500 Dollars the same that Mrs. Greene directed to draw the highest prize. It is now time to begin to think of receiving the money or laying out the prize money in tickets again, the latter of which will be most agreeable to me. Should be glad to see you at my quarters upon the subject to-day or to-morrow.

"I am with sincere regard your most

"Obedient Humble Servant,

"To

"COLONEL WALTER STEWART.

"N. GREENE.

"GENERAL WAYNES

"Brigade."

CHAPTER VI

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

“EARLY in April, 1776, Schuyler had the pleasure of entertaining distinguished guests, in the persons of three Commissioners with their attendants, whom Congress, at Schuyler's suggestion as we have seen, had appointed to repair to Canada, clothed with the full powers of the body that sent them. The Commissioners were Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Maryland. They were invested by Congress with extraordinary powers. They were authorized to receive Canada into the union of colonies, and to organize a republican government there. They were empowered to suspend military officers, issue military commissions, act as umpires in disputes between the civil and military authorities, vote at councils of war, raise additional troops, and draw upon Congress for one hundred thousand dollars.”

The Commissioners left Philadelphia late in March ; at New York they were entertained by Lord Sterling, who furnished them with a sloop to transport them to Albany, where they arrived on the morning of the fourth day after setting sail. They “spent the night on board, and after breakfast stepped on shore, where they were met by General Schuyler and invited to dine with him.” Charles Carroll wrote in his journal that “He behaved to us with great civility ; lives in pretty style ; has two daughters (Betsy and Peggy), lively, agreeable, black-eyed gals.” The first, Elizabeth, married four years later Alexander Hamilton ; the other Margarita, became in 1783 the wife of her cousin the Patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer.

Lossing writes that the year previous “Dr. Franklin, who had been touched by Schuyler's appeals to the Continental Congress in the letters he had opened, wrote to him, as president of the Philadelphia Committee of Safety, saying :

“I did myself the honor of writing to you by the return of your express on the 8th instant. Immediately after dispatching him, it occurred to me to endeavor the obtaining from our Committee of Safety a permission to send you what powder remained in our hands, which, though it was scarcely thought safe for ourselves to part with it, they, upon my application, and representing the importance of the service you are engaged in, and the necessity you are under for that article, cheerfully agreed to. Accordingly, I this day dispatch a wagon with twenty-four hundred pounds weight, which actually empties our magazine. I wish it safe to your hands, and to yourself every kind of prosperity.”

Autograph letter, August 10, 1775.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Philosopher and Statesman .

“ Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, January 7th, 1706. He was the youngest of seventeen children, and was intended for his father's business, which was that of a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler, but being disgusted with this employment, he was apprenticed to his brother who was a printer. This occupation was more congenial to his tastes, and he used to devote his nights to the perusal of such books as his scanty means enabled him to buy. By restricting himself to a vegetable diet, he obtained more money for intellectual purposes, and at sixteen had read Locke on the Understanding, Xenophon's Memorabilia, and the Port Royal Logic, in addition to many other works. Having incurred the displeasure of his father and brother, he ran away, sailed in a sloop to New York, walked thence to Philadelphia, and entered that city with a dollar in his pocket, and a loaf of bread under his arm. Here he obtained employment as a printer, and Sir William Keith, the governor, observing his diligence, persuaded him to go to England to purchase materials for a press, on his own account, promising him letters of introduction and credit. This was in 1725. He found he was the bearer of no letters relating to himself, and he was accordingly obliged to work at his trade in London. He returned to Philadelphia, where, in a short time, he entered into business with one Meredith, and about 1728 began a newspaper, in which he inserted many of his moral essays. He published ‘ Poor Richard's Almanac ’ for a quarter century and more. It is well known for its pithy sayings: ‘ Drive thy business, let not that drive thee ; ’ ‘ God gives all things to industry ; then plow deep while sluggards sleep, and you will have corn to sell and keep ; ’ ‘ Three removes are as bad as a fire ; ’ ‘ Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee ; ’ ‘ If you would have your business done, go ; if not, send ; ’ as poor Richard says. The frugal maxims of poor Dick, Franklin himself strictly observed, and he grew to prosperity and good repute in his adopted city. At the age of twenty-seven he began the study of the modern and classical languages. He founded the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society, and invented the Franklin stove, which still holds its place, even among the variety of modern inventions of a similar kind. In 1746, he made his experiments on electricity and applied his discoveries to the invention of the lightning rod.

“ In 1751, he was appointed deputy-postmaster-general for the Colonies. After the defeat of Braddock, a bill for organizing a provincial militia having passed the assembly, Franklin was chosen its commander. In 1757, he was sent to England with a petition to the king and council against the proprietaries, who refused to bear their share in the public expenses. While thus employed he published several works, which gained him a high reputation, and the agency of Massachusetts, Maryland and Georgia. In 1762, Franklin was chosen fellow of



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

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the royal society, and made doctor of laws at Oxford, and the same year returned to America.

“ In 1764, he was again deputed to England as agent of his province, and in 1766 was examined before the House of Commons on the subject of the Stamp Act. His answers were clear and decisive. His conduct in England was worthy of his previous character. Finding him warmly attached to the Colonies, invective and coarse satire were leveled against him, but his integrity and matchless wit formed an invulnerable defence. He was next offered ‘any reward, unlimited recompense, honors and recompense beyond his expectations,’ if he would forsake his country, but he stood firm as a rock.

“ He returned to America in 1775, and was immediately chosen a member of Congress, and performed the most arduous duties in the service of his country. He was sent as Commissioner to France in 1776, and concluded a treaty, February 6th, 1778, in which year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Versailles, and one of the commissioners for negotiating peace with Great Britain. Although he solicited leave, he was not permitted to return till 1785. He was made President of Pennsylvania, and as a delegate to the Convention of 1787, approved the Federal Constitution. He died April 17, 1790.

“ How generally he was beloved, both at home and abroad, the various honors which he received, show. Incorruptible, talented, and virtuous, he merited the eulogium of Lord Chatham, who characterized him ‘as one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature.’ His wit and humor rendered his society acceptable to every class. On one occasion, he was dining with the English ambassador and a French functionary at Paris. The former rose and gave the following sentiment: ‘England! the bright sun whose rays illuminate the world!’ The French gentleman, struggling between patriotism and politeness, proposed, ‘France! the moon whose mild beams dispel the shades of night.’ Dr. Franklin, rising in turn, said, ‘General George Washington! the Joshua who commanded the sun and moon to stand still, and they obeyed him!’ Franklin’s wit and humor are happily displayed in an epitaph which he once wrote.

“The body
of
Benjamin Franklin,
Printer
(like the cover of an old book,
its contents torn out,
and stripped of its lettering and gilding),
lies here, food for worms;
yet the work itself shall not be lost,
for it will (as he believed) appear once more
in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by
the Author.”

(The following hints are from his "Advice to a Young Tradesman," written in 1748):

"Remember that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings per day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle on half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during this diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only sixpence; he has really spent, or thrown away, five shillings besides.

"Remember that credit is money. If a man lets money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum when a man has a good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

"Remember that money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six; turned again, it is seven and threepence; and so on, until it becomes a hundred pounds.

"The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning or nine at night, heard by creditor, makes him easy six months longer; but if he sees you at a billiard table, or hears your voice at the tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day.

"In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words—industry and frugality; that is, waste neither time nor money, but make the best use of both."

"Honneur du nouveau monde et de l'humanité,
Ce Sage aimable et vrai les guide et les éclaire;
Comme un autre Mentor, il cache à l'œil vulgaire,
Sous les traits d'un mortel, une divinité."



BIRTHPLACE OF B. FRANKLIN.



MRS. FRANKLIN.

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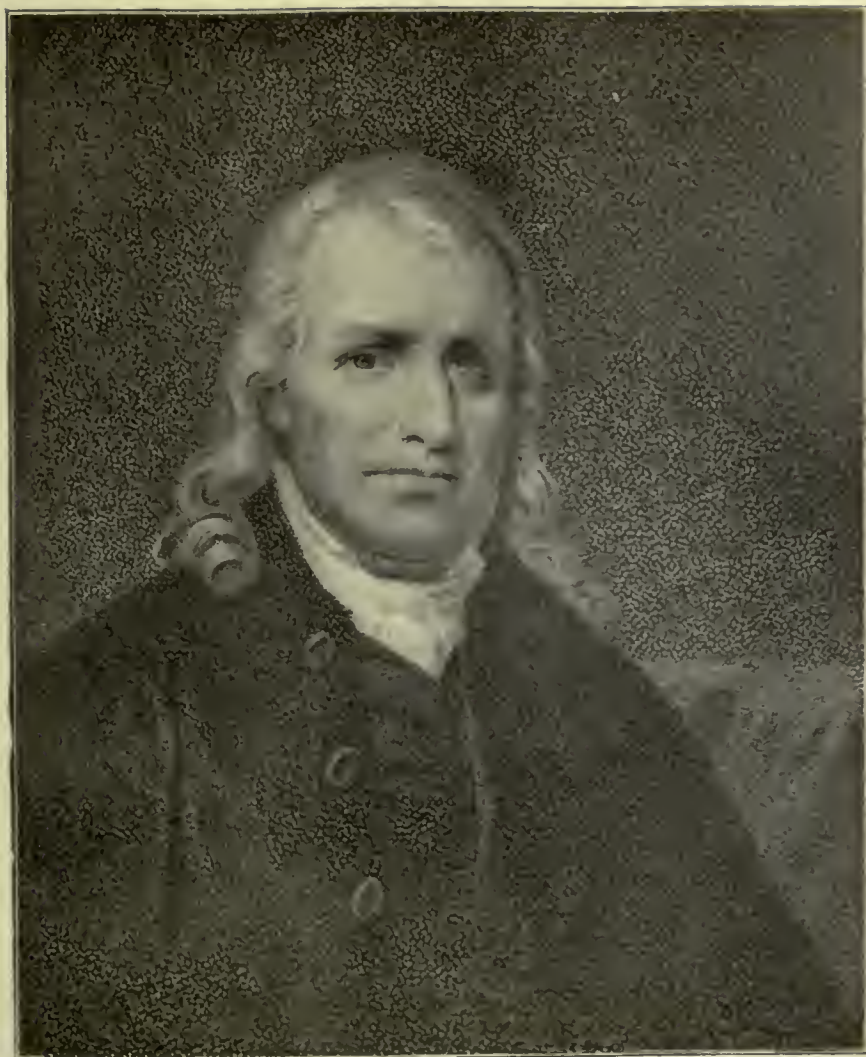
SAMUEL CHASE

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence

“Samuel Chase, a judge of the supreme court of the United States, died June 19th, 1811, aged seventy. He was the son of Samuel Chase, an Episcopal minister, who came from England, and was born in Somerset county, Maryland. Under his father, who removed to Baltimore in 1743, he received his early education. He studied law at Annapolis and there settled in the practice, and ‘his talents, industry, intrepidity, imposing stature, sonorous voice, fluent and energetic elocution raised him to distinction.’ In the Colonial legislature he vehemently resisted the Stamp Act. He was a delegate to the general Congress, at Philadelphia in September, 1774, and served in that body several years. It was he who denounced Mr. Zubly, the delegate from Georgia, as a traitor, and compelled him to flee. By the Congress he was early in 1776 sent with Franklin and Carroll on a mission to Canada, with the design of conciliating the goodwill of the inhabitants. When the proposition for independence was before Congress, as he had been prohibited from voting for it by the convention of Maryland, he immediately traversed the province and summoned county meetings, which should address the convention. In this way that body was induced to vote for independence; and with authority, Mr. Chase returned again to Congress, in season, to vote for the declaration. In 1783, being invited, at Baltimore, to attend a debating club of young men, the indication of talents by William Pinckney, then clerk to an apothecary, induced him to patronize the young man, who afterward rose to great eminence. In the same year he went to England, as the agent of the State of Maryland, to reclaim a large amount of property, which had been intrusted to the bank of England. At a subsequent period, the state recovered six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In England he became acquainted with Pitt, Fox, and Burke. In 1786, he removed to Baltimore, at the request of Colonel Howard, who presented him with a square of ten acres of land, on which he built a house. In Annapolis he had been the recorder of the city, and performed his duties highly, to the acceptance of his fellow-citizens. In 1788, he was appointed the presiding judge of a court for the county of Baltimore. In 1790, he was a member of the convention in Maryland, for considering the constitution of the United States, which he did not deem sufficiently democratical. In 1791, he was appointed chief-justice of the general court of Maryland. His characteristic firmness was manifested in 1794, when, on occasion of a riot and the tarring and feathering of some obnoxious persons, he caused two popular men to be arrested as ringleaders. Refusing to give bail, he directed the sheriff to take them to prison; but the sheriff was apprehensive of resistance. ‘Call out the posse comitatus, then,’ exclaimed the judge. ‘Sir,’ said the sheriff, ‘no one will serve.’ ‘Summon me,

then,' cried the judge; 'I will be the posse comitatus, and I will take them to jail.' This occurred on Saturday. He demanded assistance from the governor and council. On Monday, the security was given; but on that day the grand jury, instead of finding a bill against the offender, presented the judge himself for holding what they deemed two incompatible offices, those of judge in the criminal and general courts. But the judge calmly informed them that they touched upon topics beyond their province. In 1796, he was appointed an associated judge of the United States, in which station he continued for fifteen years. Yet in 1804, at the instigation of John Randolph, he was impeached by the house of representatives, accused of various misdemeanors in some political trials, as of Fries, Callender, etc. His trial before the Senate ended in his acquittal, March 5th, 1805. On five of the eight charges a majority acquitted him; on the others a majority was against him, but not the required number of two-thirds. His health failed in 1811, and he clearly saw that he was approaching the grave. A short time before his death he partook of the sacrament, and declared himself to be in peace with all mankind. In his will he prohibited any mourning dress on his account, and requested a plain inscription on his tomb of only his name, and the date of his birth and death. His widow, Hannah Kitty, died in Baltimore in 1848, aged ninety-three. Judge Chase was a man of eminent talents, and of great courage and firmness. But unhappily, he was irascible and vehement. More of humility and more of mildness would have preserved him from much trouble. Yet was he a zealous patriot and a sincere and affectionate friend, and notwithstanding some of the imperfections of man, his name deserves to be held in honor. A report of his trial was published."

A. J. ALLEN.



SAMUEL CHASE.

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CHARLES CARROLL

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence

“Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, is noted as having been the wealthiest man, the only Catholic, and the last survivor of the immortal band of patriots who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the support of the American cause.

“Charles Carroll's grandfather and namesake, the first of the name in America, came to Maryland from Ireland in 1688, after the dethronement of James II., of England, destroyed the hopes of the Catholic party in Great Britain. Three years after his arrival, Mr. Carroll was appointed Lord Baltimore's chief agent in the colony, and received from the lord proprietor of Maryland grants of land, amounting to sixty thousand acres. A considerable part of this domain has descended from father to son, through six generations, to the present time. In 1702, he purchased a large tract on both sides of Jones' Falls, which is now in the heart of Baltimore, east of Calvert street, and south of Madison Street. He died in 1720, leaving two sons. Charles, the elder brother, inherited most of the family estate, according to the law of primogeniture then prevailing in the colony of Maryland.

“In 1729, the Maryland Assembly passed an act for the formation of a town on the north bank of the Patapsco river, in Baltimore county, and sixty acres of land were bought from Charles Carroll as the nucleus of the future metropolis of the South. The price paid was forty shillings per acre; the same land is now probably worth four hundred thousand dollars an acre. In the following year, the commissioners commenced laying off the town; but its growth was slow, and at the end of a quarter of a century the place contained only twenty-five houses, with a population of two hundred souls.

“Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the third and most illustrious of his name, and perhaps the most distinguished man that Maryland has ever produced, was born at Annapolis in 1737. At the age of eight he was sent to Europe to be educated. He passed twelve years in France—six at the college of the English Jesuits at St. Omer, one with the French Jesuits at Rheims, two at the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, a year at Bourges, to study the civil law, and two more at the college of Louis le Grand. During these twelve studious years, he became a perfect master of the French language, of French history, and of French literature. In 1757, he went to London, and became a student of the Inner Temple. The next seven years were devoted chiefly to study, legal and literary; but study did not engross his entire time, for we find him mingling in the fashionable life at Tunbridge Wells, and occasionally running over to Paris, and enjoying the gay world. The young man was liberally supplied with money, and his high social position at home opened to him the best society abroad.

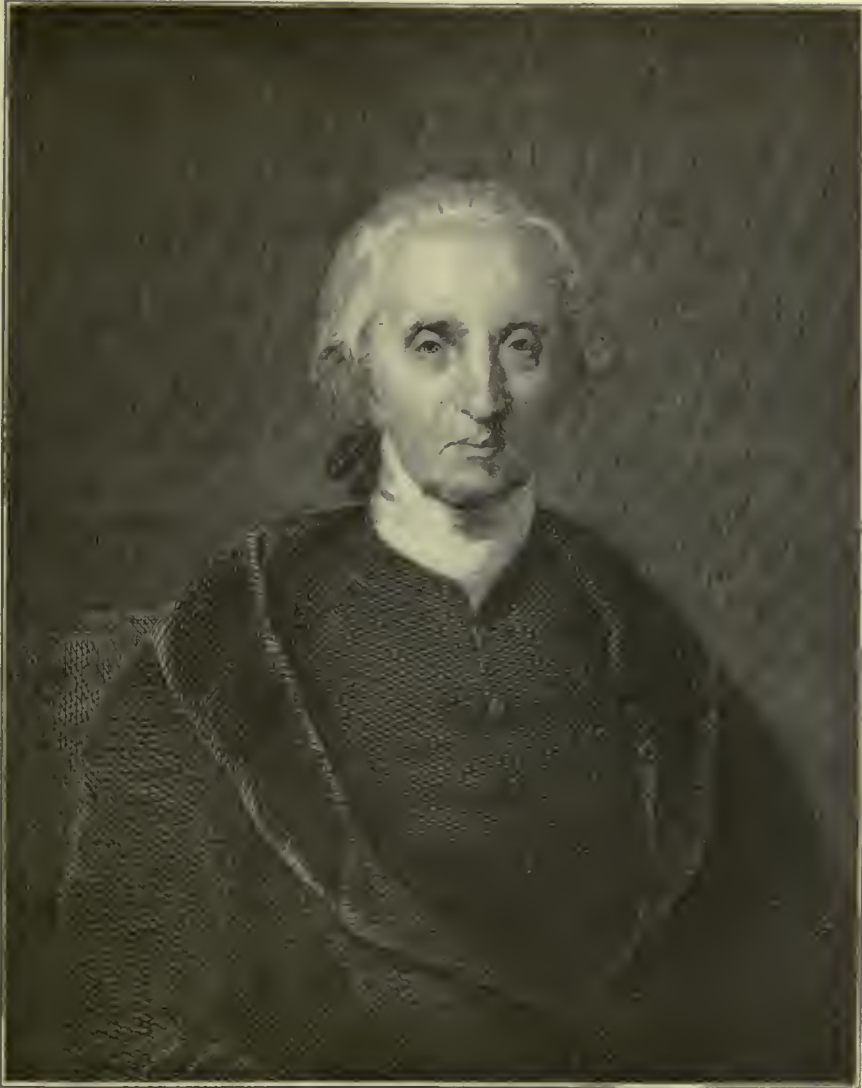
“After an absence of nineteen years, Charles Carroll returned to Maryland in 1764, and found the Colonies in a condition of growing discontent under the exactions of the home government. In the following year the embers of political disquietude were fanned into flame by the passage of the Stamp Act. His long absence abroad had not lessened Mr. Carroll’s love for his native land, and he threw himself heart and soul into the arena, to fight for American rights. The spirit that animated him is evidenced by his letters, written soon after his return home, to a friend in London. In one of these he says: ‘Nothing can overcome the aversion of the people to the Stamp Act, and their love of liberty, but an armed force, and that, too, not a contemptible one. To judge from the spirit the Colonies have already shown, and which, I hope to God will never fail them on the day of trial, twenty thousand men would find it difficult to enforce the law; or, more properly speaking, to ram it down our throats.’

“The repeal of the Stamp Act gave a temporary lull to the political excitement, but it was soon rekindled. In the war of pamphlets that preceded the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll took a leading part, and was recognized as one of the ablest writers on the patriot side. Although he had more at stake than any other man in Maryland, or perhaps in the whole country, he advocated the boldest measures. It was he who advised the burning of the Peggy Stewart, in broad daylight, in Annapolis harbor, when that vessel arrived there with a cargo of the obnoxious tea. It was owing to his indefatigable exertions that the Maryland delegates in Congress were instructed to vote for independence. From the commencement of the controversy—as he wrote to his correspondent, Mr. Graves, a member of the British Parliament—he looked ‘to the bayonet as the solution of the difficulties between the mother country and her colonies, confident that, though the British troops might march from one end of the country to the other, they would, nevertheless, be masters only of the spot on which they encamped!’

“Soon after his return to America, his father gave him Carrollton Manor, in Anne Arundel county; and from that time he was known as Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The story that he first used the addition to his signature when he signed the Declaration of Independence, is a fiction.

“Charles Carroll was married in 1768, to Mary Darnall, daughter of Henry Darnall, the surveyor-general of the Colony. The groom wore ‘a silk lined wedding suit,’ made in London. The marriage was followed by splendid festivities at Annapolis, and at Doughoregan Manor, in Howard county. The bride was described in the chronicles of the time as ‘an agreeable young lady, and endowed with every accomplishment necessary to render the connubial state happy.’ And they were happy, although she was not her husband’s first flame. He had loved a Miss Cooke, who died two years before.

“Charles Carroll was among the first to sign the famous document which John Quincy Adams described as ‘unparalleled in the annals of mankind.’ John Hancock, in conversation with the Maryland delegate, asked him if he was prepared to put his name to the bold declaration. ‘Most willingly,’ was the



Chancellor of Cornwall

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reply, and Mr. Carroll took up the pen and signed it there and then. 'There go a few millions,' said a bystander, and all who were present agreed that in point of fortune, none had more to risk.

"For twenty-five years after signing the Declaration of Independence, the life of Charles Carroll was one of entire devotion to his state and country. His public career may be thus summed up: member of the first committee of observation, twice in the convention of Maryland, twice a delegate to Congress, once chosen United States Senator, and four times a State Senator.

"Doughoregan Manor, his favorite county seat and ancestral home, was built in 1717. Workmen were brought over from England for this purpose, and returned after the house was completed. It is a typical southern colonial mansion, only two stories in height, but three hundred feet long. The wide hall, mag-



CARROLL MANOR HOUSE.

nificently paneled, is embellished with English hunting scenes and other pictures. On the right of the hall are the library and morning room. In the former, the venerable statesman passed most of his time, reading, writing, and thinking. He was a fine classical scholar, his favorite work being Cicero's 'De Senectute.' He also read the old English authors, Addison, Swift, Pope, Johnson, and Shakespeare. For the light literature of the day he did not care, his taste having been formed by study of the English classics, which Charles Lamb loved and praised.

"On the walls of the library hang the portraits of five generations of Carrolls. The furniture is solid and substantial rather than showy. Across the hall is the dining-room, around whose hospitable board Mr. Carroll loved to gather the heroes and patriots of the Revolution—Washington, La Fayette, John Eager

Howard, and other famous men. Hospitality at the manor was profuse, generous, almost prodigal, but the master of the house lived in patriarchal simplicity.

“His eldest daughter, Polly, married Richard Caton, an Englishman who came to this country soon after Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and settled in Baltimore. When he fell in love with Miss Carroll, and proposed for her hand, her father objected to the young man’s lack of fortune. He reasoned with his daughter upon the imprudence of such a marriage, but found that his arguments had no effect. ‘If he gets in jail,’ urged Mr. Carroll, ‘who will take him out?’ His daughter raised her beautiful hands, and exclaimed, ‘These hands will take him out.’ Seeing her so determined, her father made no further opposition, and gave his daughter a princely dowry.

“Mrs. Caton was one of the most elegant women of the day. Her charming manners and amiable disposition won all hearts. George Washington was among those who admired her many graceful accomplishments, and she was a great favorite at the first President’s republican court. She had four daughters, all of whom married foreigners, three of them becoming members of the English peerage.

“The story of the Caton girls is full of interest, and not a little romantic. The eldest, Mary, who was the most beautiful of the sisters, took for her first husband Robert Patterson, the brother of the Elizabeth Patterson who married Napoleon’s brother Jerome. Mr. and Mrs. Patterson sailed for England a few weeks after their marriage, accompanied by the bride’s two sisters. Their letters of introduction from the British minister at Washington opened to them the best society of England, and the remarkable beauty of the three sisters won them the title of ‘the American Graces.’ Among their English acquaintances was the Duke of Wellington, and it was he who presented them at the court of the prince regent. At sight of the fair Americans, the ‘first gentleman of Europe’ is said to have complimented them with, ‘Is it possible that the world can produce such beautiful women?’

“Louisa Caton, the youngest of the ‘American Graces,’ was the first to marry abroad. In 1817, she became the wife of Colonel Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey, who was the Duke of Wellington’s aide-de-camp at Waterloo. After their marriage, the Iron Duke entertained the young couple for several weeks at Walmer Castle, while dinners and balls were given in their honor by the leading members of the aristocracy of England. Mrs. Patterson returned to America soon after her sister’s marriage, but Elizabeth Caton remained in England with Lady Hervey.

“Sir Felton Hervey died in 1819, after which the two sisters made an extensive tour of the continent. Three years later Robert Patterson died, and the next year his widow joined her sisters in England. Soon after her arrival, the Duke of Wellington invited the three sisters to his country seat. During their stay there, the Marquis of Wellesley visited the castle, and was captivated by the beauty and grace of Mrs. Patterson. He was at the time lord lieutenant of

Ireland. Although past three-score, he retained much of the fine figure of his early manhood. He had been distinguished as an orator, statesman, and soldier, when his younger brother, the future hero of Assaye, Vittoria, and Waterloo, was only a young and not specially promising soldier. Mrs. Patterson was married to the marquis in October, 1825, and thus it happened that an American became the sovereign lady of Ireland.

“While the Marchioness of Wellesley was presiding over Dublin Castle, the attention of the whole American people was directed to her venerable grandfather, who by the death of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, on the 4th of July, 1826, was left the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Upon the next anniversary of the day, a dinner was given at Charleston, at which Bishop England proposed as a toast: ‘Charles Carroll of Carrollton—in the land from which his grandfather fled in terror, his granddaughter now reigns a queen!’

“In 1828, Lady Hervey married the Marquis of Carmarthen, eldest son of the sixth Duke of Leeds. Ten years later he succeeded to his father’s title, and Louisa Caton reached the highest rank in the British peerage. He died in 1859, but the duchess survived him fifteen years, passing away at St. Leonard’s-on-Sea in her eighty-third year.

“Elizabeth, the third Miss Caton, married Baron Stafford in 1836, and died in 1852. None of the ‘American Graces’ had children.

“His second daughter, Catharine, in 1802, married Robert Goodloe Harper.

“Charles Carroll, Jr., his only son, died in 1825, eight years before his father. He took no part in public affairs, but was a conspicuous figure in the social life of his time. His wife survived him for more than a quarter of a century, and with Mrs. Alexander Hamilton and Mrs. William Bradford of Pennsylvania, was among the last survivors of President Washington’s ‘republican court.’

“Charles Carroll of Carrollton died on the 10th of November, 1832, in the ninety-sixth year of his age, at the city residence of the family, which stood at the corner of Lombard and Front streets, Baltimore.”—CARROLL RECORDS.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE

An American Mathematician

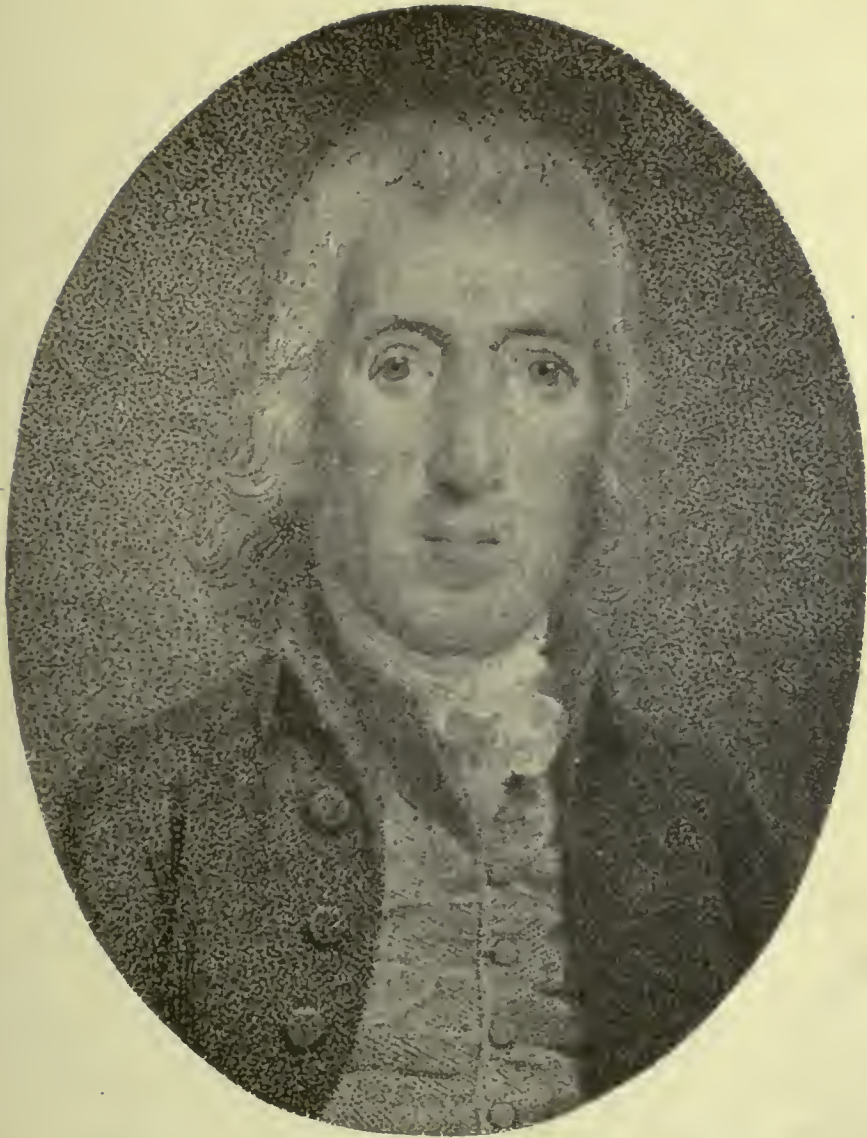
An occasional guest of Schuyler's at the Albany mansion, was his esteemed friend and correspondent, the eminent Dr. Rittenhouse.

“This distinguished philosopher was born in the village of Germantown, near this city, on the 8th day of April, in the year 1732. His ancestors migrated from Holland about the beginning of the present century (18th). They were distinguished, together with his parents, for probity, industry, and simple manners. It is from sources thus pure and retired, that those talents and virtues have been chiefly derived, which have in all ages enlightened the world.

“The early part of the life of Mr. Rittenhouse was spent in agricultural employments, under the eye of his father, in the county of Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, to which place he removed during the childhood of his son. It was at this place his peculiar genius first discovered itself. His plough, the fences, and even the stones of the field where he worked, were frequently marked with figures which denoted a talent for mathematical studies. Upon finding that the native delicacy of his constitution unfitted him for the labors of husbandry, his parents consented to his learning the trade of a clock and a mathematical instrument maker. In acquiring the knowledge of these useful arts, he was his own instructor. They afforded him great delight, inasmuch as they favored his disposition to inquire into the principles of natural philosophy.

“It was during the residence of our ingenious philosopher with his father in the country, that he made himself master of Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, which he read in the English translation of Mr. Mott. It was here likewise he became acquainted with the science of fluxions, of which sublime invention he believed himself for awhile to be the author, nor did he know for some years afterward, that a contest had been carried on between Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, for the honor of that great and useful discovery. What a mind was here!—Without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he had reached his four and twentieth year, the rival of the two greatest mathematicians in Europe!

“It was in this retired situation, and while employed in working at his trade, that he planned and executed an orrery, in which he represented the revolutions of the heavenly bodies in a manner more extensive and complete than had been done by any former astronomers. A correct description of the orrery, drawn up by Dr. Smith, was published in the first volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. This masterpiece of mechanism was purchased by the college of New Jersey. A second was made by him, after the same model, for the use of the college of Philadelphia. It now forms a part of the philosophical apparatus of the University of Pennsylvania, where it has for many years commanded the admiration of the ingenious and the learned, from every part of the world.



DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

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“The reputation he derived from the construction of this orrery, as well as his general character for mathematical knowledge, attracted the notice of his fellow-citizens in Pennsylvania, and in several of the neighboring states; but the discovery of his merit belonged chiefly to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Barton, Dr. Smith, and the late Mr. John Lukens, an ingenious mathematician of this city. These gentlemen appreciated his talents, and united in urging him to remove to Philadelphia, in order to enlarge his opportunities of improvement and usefulness. He yielded with reluctance to their advice, and exchanged his beloved retirement in the country for this city, in the year 1770. Here he continued for several years, to follow his occupation of a clock and mathematical instrument maker. He excelled in both branches of that business. His mathematical instruments have been esteemed by good judges to be superior in accuracy and workmanship to any of the same kind that have been imported from Europe.

“About the same time he settled in Philadelphia he became a member of the Philosophical Society. His first communication to the Society was a calculation of the transit of Venus as it was to happen on the 3d of June, 1769, in forty degrees north latitude, and five hours west longitude from Greenwich. He was one of a committee appointed by the Society to observe, in the township of Norriton, this rare occurrence in the revolution of that planet, and bore an active part in the preparations which were made for that purpose. Of this Dr. Smith, who was likewise of the committee, has left an honorable record in the history of that event, which is published in the first volume of the transactions. ‘As Mr. Rittenhouse’s dwelling (says the doctor) is about twenty miles northwest from Philadelphia, our engagements did not permit Mr. Lukens or myself to pay much attention to the necessary preparations; but we knew that we had entrusted them to a gentleman on the spot (meaning Mr. Rittenhouse) who had, joined to a complete skill in mechanics, so extensive an astronomical and mathematical knowledge, that the use, management, and even construction of the apparatus, were perfectly familiar to him. The laudable pains he had taken in these material articles, will best appear from the work itself, which he hath committed into my hands, with a modest introduction, giving me a liberty with them, which his own accuracy, taste and abilities leave no room to exercise.’

“We are naturally led here to take a view of our philosopher with his associates, in their preparation to observe a phenomenon which had never been seen but twice before by any inhabitant of our earth, which would never be seen again by any person then living, and on which depended very important astronomical consequences. The night before the long expected day, was probably passed in a degree of solicitude which precluded sleep. How great must have been their joy when they beheld the morning sun, ‘and the whole horizon without a cloud;’ for such is the description of the day given by Mr. Rittenhouse, in the report referred to by Dr. Smith. In pensive silence, and trembling anxiety, they waited for the predicted moment of observation; it came, and brought with it all that had been wished for and expected by those who saw it. In our phi-

losopher, it excited in the instant of one of the contacts of the planet with the sun, an emotion of delight so exquisite and powerful, as to induce fainting. This will readily be believed by those who have known the extent of that pleasure which attends the discovery, or first perception of truth. Soon after this event, we find him acting as one of the committee appointed to observe the transit of Mercury on the 9th of November, in the same year. This was likewise done at Norriton. An account of it was drawn up, and published at the request of the committee by Dr. Smith. A minute history of the whole of these events, in which Mr. Rittenhouse continued to act a distinguished part, is given in the philosophical transactions. It was received with great satisfaction by the astronomers of Europe, and contributed much to raise the character of our then infant country for astronomical knowledge.

“In the year 1775, he was appointed to compose and deliver the annual oration before the Philosophical Society. The subject of it was the history of astronomy. The language of this oration is simple, but the sentiments contained in it are ingenious, original, and in some instances sublime.

“Talents so splendid, and knowledge so practical in mathematics, are like mines of precious metals. They become public property by public consent. The State of Pennsylvania was not insensible of the wealth she possessed in the mind of Mr. Rittenhouse. She claimed him as her own, and employed him in business of the most important nature.

“In the year 1779 he was appointed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, one of the commissioners for adjusting a territorial dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, and to his great talents, moderation and firmness, were ascribed, in a great degree, the satisfactory termination of that once alarming controversy, in the year 1785.

“In the year 1784 he assisted in determining the length of five degrees of longitude from a point on the river Delaware, in order to fix the western limits of Pennsylvania.

“In 1786 he was employed in fixing the northern line, which divides Pennsylvania from New York.

“But the application of his talents and knowledge to the settlement of territorial disputes, was not confined to his native state. In the year 1769, he was employed in settling the limits between New Jersey and New York, and in 1787 he was called upon to assist in fixing the boundary line between the States of Massachusetts and New York. This last business, which was executed with his usual precision and integrity, was his farewell peace offering to the union and happiness of his country.

“In his excursions through the wilderness, he carried with him his habits of inquiry and observation. Nothing in our mountains, soils, rivers and springs, escaped his notice. It is to be lamented that his private letters, and the memories of his friends, are the only records of what he collected upon these occasions.

“In 1791 he was chosen successor to Dr. Franklin in the chair of the Philo-

sophical Society. In this elevated station, the highest that philosophy can confer in our country, his conduct was marked by its usual line of propriety and dignity. Never did the artificial pomp of station command half the respect, which followed his unassuming manners in the discharge of the public duties of his office. His attachment to the interest of the society was evinced soon after he accepted of the president's chair, by a donation of three hundred pounds.

“But his talents and knowledge were not limited to mathematical and material subjects; his mind was a repository of the knowledge of all ages and countries. He had early and deeply studied most of the different systems of theology. He was well acquainted with practical metaphysics. In reading travels he took great delight. From them he drew a large fund of his knowledge of the natural history of the globe. He possessed talents for music and poetry, but the more serious and necessary pursuits of his life prevented his devoting much time to the cultivation of them. He read the English poets with great pleasure. The muse of Thompson charmed him most. He admired his elegant combination of philosophy and poetry. However opposed these studies may appear, they alike derive their perfection from extensive and accurate observations of the works of nature. He was intimately acquainted with the French, German and Dutch languages, the two former of which he acquired without the assistance of a master. They served the valuable purpose of conveying to him the discoveries of foreign nations, and thereby enabled him to prosecute his studies with more advantage, in his native language.

“In speaking of Mr. Rittenhouse, it has been common to lament his want of what is called a liberal education.—Were education what it should be, in our public seminaries, this would have been a misfortune, but conducted as it is at present, agreeably to the systems adopted in Europe in the fifteenth century, I am disposed to believe that his extensive knowledge and splendid character, are to be ascribed chiefly to his having escaped the pernicious influence of monkish learning upon his mind in early life. Had the usual forms of a public education in the United States been imposed upon him; instead of revolving through life in a planetary orbit, he would probably have consumed the force of his genius by fluttering around the blaze of an evening taper. Rittenhouse the philosopher, and one of the luminaries of the eighteenth century, might have spent his hours of study in composing syllogisms, or in measuring the feet of Greek and Latin poetry.

“It will be honorable to the citizens of the United States, to add, that they were not insensible to the merit of our philosopher. Inventions and improvements in every art and science, were frequently submitted to his examination, and were afterward patronized by the public, according as they were approved by him. Wherever he went, he met with public respect and private attentions. But his reputation was not confined to his native country. His name was known and admired in every region of the earth, where science and genius are cultivated and respected.

“In the more limited circles of private life, Mr. Rittenhouse commanded

esteem and affection. As a neighbor he was kind and charitable. His sympathy extended in a certain degree to distress of every kind, but it was excited with the most force, and the kindest effects, to the weakness, pain, and poverty of old age.—As a friend he was sincere, ardent, and disinterested. As a companion, he instructed on all subjects.

“His family constituted his chief society, and the most intimate circle of his friends. When the declining state of his health rendered the solitude of his study less agreeable than in former years, he passed whole evenings in reading or conversing with his wife and daughters. Happy family! so much and so long blessed with such a head! and happier still, to have possessed dispositions and knowledge to discern and love his exalted character, and to enjoy his instructing conversation!

“The house, and manner of living of our president, exhibited the taste of a philosopher, the simplicity of a republican, and the temper of a Christian. He was independent, and contented with an estate, small in the estimation of ambition and avarice, but amply suited to all his wants and desires. He held the office of Treasurer of Pennsylvania, by an annual and unanimous vote of the Legislature, between the years 1777 and 1789. During this period, he declined purchasing the smallest portion of the public debt of the state, thereby manifesting a delicacy of integrity, which is known and felt only by pure and elevated minds.

“In the year 1792, he was persuaded to accept of the office of Director of the Mint of the United States. His want of health obliged him to resign it in 1795. Here his conduct was likewise above suspicion, for I have been informed by his colleague in office, that in several instances, he paid for work done at the mint out of his salary, where he thought the charges for it would be deemed extravagant by the United States.

“His economy extended to a wise and profitable use of his time. No man ever found him unemployed. As an apology for detaining a friend for a few minutes, while he arranged some papers he had been examining, he said, ‘that he once thought health the greatest blessing in the world, but that he now thought there was one thing of much greater value, and that was time.’

“The countenance of Mr. Rittenhouse, was too remarkable to be unnoticed upon this occasion. It displayed such a mixture of contemplation, benignity, and innocence, that it was easy to distinguish his person in the largest company, by a previous knowledge of his character. His manners were civil, and engaging to such a degree, that he seldom passed an hour, even in a public house, in traveling through our country, without being followed by the good wishes of all who attended upon him. There was no affectation of singularity, in anything he said or did. Even his handwriting, in which this weakness so frequently discovers itself, was simple and intelligible at first sight, to all who saw it.

“Here I expected to have finished the detail of his virtues, but in the neighborhood of that galaxy created by their connected lustre, I beheld a virtue of inestimable value, twinkling, like a rare and solitary star. It was his superla-

tive modesty. This heaven-born virtue was so conspicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not so much to conceal, as to be ignorant of his superiority as a philosopher and a man, over the greatest part of his fellow-creatures.

“We proceed now to the closing scenes of his life.

“His constitution was naturally feeble, but it was rendered still more so, by sedentary labor, and midnight studies. He was afflicted for many years with a weak breast, which, upon unusual exertions of body or mind, or sudden changes in the weather, became the seat of a painful and harassing disorder. This constitutional infirmity was not without its uses. It contributed much to the perfection of his virtue, by producing habitual patience and resignation to the will of heaven, and a constant eye to the hour of his dissolution. It was a window through which he often looked with pleasure toward a place of existence, where from the increase and perfection of his intuitive faculties, he would probably acquire more knowledge in an hour, than he had acquired in his whole life, by the slow operations of reason; and where, from the greater magnitude and extent of the objects of his contemplation, his native globe would appear like his cradle, and all the events of time, like the amusements of his infant years.

“On the 26th of June, of the present year, the long expected messenger of death disclosed his commission. In his last illness, which was acute and short, he retained the usual patience and benevolence of his temper. Upon being told that some of his friends had called at his door to inquire how he was, he asked why they were not invited into his chamber to see him, ‘Because (said his wife) you are too weak to speak to them.’ ‘Yes (said he) that is true, but I could still have squeezed their hands.’ Thus with a heart overflowing with love to his family, friends, country, and to the whole world, he peacefully resigned his spirit into the hands of his God.

“It has been the fashion of late years, to say of persons who had been distinguished in life, when they left the world in a state of indifference to everything, and believing, and hoping in nothing, that they died like philosophers. Very different was the latter end of our excellent philosopher. He died like a Christian, interested in the welfare of all around him—believing in the resurrection, and the life to come, and hoping for happiness from every attribute of the Deity.

“Agreeably to his request, his body was interred in his observatory near his dwelling house, in the presence of a numerous concourse of his fellow-citizens. It was natural for him in the near prospect of appearing in the presence of his Maker, to feel an attachment for that spot in which he had cultivated a knowledge of his perfections, and held communion with him through the medium of his works. Hereafter it shall become one of the objects of curiosity in our city. Thither shall the philosophers of future ages resort to do homage to his tomb, and children yet unborn, shall point to the dome which covers it, and exultingly say, ‘there lies our Rittenhouse.’”

From “The American Universal Magazine,” February 20th, 1797.

CHAPTER VII

PERIOD 1776-1777

“IN August, 1776,” continues Chancellor Kent, “General Schuyler held a treaty on the Upper Mohawk, with the Six Nations. The negotiation was of the utmost importance, and that service was of the greatest value. But the presence and maintenance of one thousand eight hundred savages during a protracted and difficult negotiation was excessively vexatious. The hostile Indians were induced to promise neutrality, and Congress afterward gave their explicit approbation to the transaction.

“There can be no doubt that the orders to construct a lock upon the creek at Skeensborough (now Whitehall), and to take the level of the waters falling into the Hudson at Fort Edward and into Wood creek, were all founded upon his previous suggestions; and they afford demonstrative proof of the views entertained by him, at that early day, of the practicability and importance of canal navigation. Captain Graydon, early in the summer of 1776, visited General Schuyler at his headquarters on Lake George; and he speaks of him in the very interesting memoirs of his life, as a gentleman thoroughly devoted to business, and being at the same time, a man of polished and courteous manners.

“In the midst of such conflicting services, he had excited much popular jealousy and ill will, arising from the energy of his character and the dignity of his department. He was likewise disgusted at what he deemed injustice, in the irregularity of appointing other and junior officers in separate and independent commands within what was considered to be his military district. He accordingly, in October, 1776, tendered once more to Congress the resignation of his commission; but when Congress came to investigate his services, they found them, says the historian of Washington, far to exceed in value any estimate which had been made of them. They declared that they could not dispense with his services, during the then situation of affairs; and they directed the President of Congress to request him to continue in his command, and they declared their high sense of his services, and their unabated confidence in his attachment to the cause. He then resumed his duties with his wonted zeal and energy and made every manly effort consistent with his station and character, to cultivate unity of views and harmony in his department, and to show a kind and generous spirit to all his subordinate officers, and particularly General Gates, who did not meet him with like magnanimity. Gates had been even rebuked by the Commissioners from Congress, who visited Canada in the spring of 1776, for his suspicions and unkind feelings toward General Schuyler. Charles Carroll of Carrollton (nomen venerabile) in his letter to Gates of the 14th of

June, 'begged that his suspicions might not prejudice him against Schuyler, for he was confident he was an active and deserving officer.' Samuel Chase, another Commissioner, in his letter of the same date, recommended to General Gates, to place 'the most unreserved and unlimited confidence in General Schuyler. Be assured sir, of his integrity, diligence, abilities, and address.'

"During the past year General Schuyler had extended his views forward to the future, and had repeatedly recommended to Congress, and particularly in his letters of the 29th of August, and 16th of October, to make large preparations on land and water, to meet the exigencies of the next northern campaign. On the 11th of November, and 2d of December, he had submitted to Congress a plan of operations for the ensuing year, both at the north and on the Hudson, and pointed out what was requisite in troops, provisions, and artillery, ammunition, fortifications and naval force. He informed General Washington on the 30th of January, 1777, that the ensuing campaign would require at Ticonderoga, ten thousand men, besides two thousand men more, for the several points of communication, and for Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk. His orders to every branch of his department, and his advice to Congress, to General Washington, to the authorities of the New England States, and in his own state, were comprehensive, provident, wise, skillful, patriotic, and almost incessant. He did all that the efforts of any one individual could do for the public service, until the 20th of March, when he went to Philadelphia and found himself superseded in effect by General Gates, in his northern command. The orders he had given for the security of Ticonderoga, and the letters he had written to that effect prior to that event, would fill a volume.

"He took his seat in Congress as a delegate from New York, and at his request, a committee of inquiry was instituted to examine into his military conduct. The satisfaction afforded was prompt and complete, and by the resolution of Congress of the 22d of May, he was directed to resume the command of the northern department of New York, consisting of Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Schuyler, and their dependencies. During the interval of two months that he was in Philadelphia, he was bestowing on the public interests, his usual vigilance. Being the second Major-General of the United States (General Lee only being his superior) he was in active command on the Delaware, directing fortifications, and accelerating troops and provisions to the Commander-in-Chief. He also contributed most essentially while in Congress to reorganize the commissary department.

"A governor and Legislature were chosen in the summer of 1777, and in that trying season there was not a county in this state, as it then existed, which escaped a visit from the arms of the enemy. To add to the embarrassment of our Councils in the extremity of their distress, the inhabitants of the northeast part of the state (now Vermont), which had been represented in the convention, and just then ingrafted into the Constitution, under the names of the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, renewed their allegiance and set up for an independent state. On the 13th of June in that year they were knocking at the

door of Congress for a recognition of their independence and an admission to the Union.

“But the storm that was gathering on the frontiers of his native state, soon engrossed all the attention of General Schuyler, and he went into the command with an ardor and vigor that can scarcely be conceived. He arrived in Albany on the 3d of June, where he met General Gates. The latter, offended with Congress for not allowing him to remain Commander-in-Chief at the north, and unwilling at any rate to serve under Schuyler, who offered him the command of Ticonderoga, he, at his own request, had leave to withdraw from the department. Nothing, literally nothing, he (Schuyler) observed had been done during his absence, to improve the means of defence on the frontiers. Nothing had been done to supply Ticonderoga with provisions. But General Schuyler was fortunately in this season in good health, a blessing which he had not enjoyed in two years. He now displayed his activity, fervor and energy in a brilliant manner. General St. Clair was placed by him in the command of Ticonderoga, and specially directed to fortify Mount Independence. He informed Congress, on the 14th of June, that considering the extensiveness of the works at Ticonderoga, the smallness of the garrison was alarming, and incompetent to maintain it, and that he found the department in the greatest confusion. Application was made to the eastern states to hasten on the remainder of their troops, and he informed them that the garrison at Ticonderoga did not then exceed two thousand two hundred men, sick included. On the 10th of June, General Washington was apprised by him of the fact that he had no troops to oppose Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk. He visited Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 20th, and found them not in a good state of defence, and very deficient in troops and provisions; but it was resolved at a council of officers called by him, that they be defended as long as possible. General Schuyler then hastened back to the Hudson, the more effectually to provide for the garrison, reinforcements of provisions and men, and nothing conducive to that great object was omitted. He solicited reinforcements of every kind with intense anxiety. On the 28th of June, he communicated by expresses to General Washington, to the Governor of Connecticut, to the President of Massachusetts, to the Committee of Berkshire, and to the Committee of Safety of New York, his apprehensions for the safety of the garrison of Ticonderoga, and the inadequacy of the means of defence. On the 28th and 30th of June (for dates now become important) he encouraged St. Clair that he should move up with Continental troops and militia, as soon as he could possibly set them in motion, and ‘he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing him in possession of that post.’ So again on the 5th of July, he assured him that troops from Peekskill and the militia were in motion and ‘he hoped to see him in a day or two.’ On the 7th he informed General Washington by letter, that he was up as far as Saratoga, with about seven hundred Continental troops and fourteen hundred militia.

“The memorable campaign of 1777 was opened by an expedition of the enemy from New York to Danbury in Connecticut, and the destruction of large

quantities of provisions and military means collected and deposited in that town. In the northern quarter General Burgoyne advanced through the lakes, with a well appointed army of ten thousand men; and for a time he dissipated all opposition, and swept away every obstacle before him. General Schuyler was then in the utmost distress for provisions, and he then and there (on the upper Hudson) met the news that General St. Clair had abandoned Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 6th, with the loss of all his military equipments.

“These posts were evacuated upon the advice of a council of officers, founded on the extreme weakness of the garrison, the extensiveness of the works, and an insufficiency of provisions. But General Schuyler had given no order for the evacuation. It was done without his advice, direction or knowledge. It was as much a matter of surprise to him as to the country. He expected to have been able in a few days to join St. Clair with a very considerable body of troops, and he observed most truly in a letter on the 14th of July, to Chief Justice Jay ‘That if Ticonderoga was not sufficiently fortified and supplied with provisions, it was not his fault; if there was a want of men he was not to blame.’

“The last scene of General Schuyler’s military life was full of action befitting the occasion, and worthy of his character. Every quarter of his department was replete with difficulty and danger. The frontier of the Mohawk was menaced by an army of one thousand, six hundred regulars, Tories and Indians, under Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and he cheered and encouraged Brigadier-General Herkimer to rouse the militia, and act with alacrity in defence of that frontier. He addressed the civil and military authorities in every direction, with manly firmness and the most forcible exhortation to assist him with men, arms, and provisions. ‘Every militia man,’ he says, ‘ought to turn out without delay, in a crisis the most alarming since the contest began.’ He directed that the inhabitants retire from before the enemy, and that every article be brought off or destroyed, that was calculated to assist them—that the roads, causeways and Wood creek be rendered impassable. He issued a proclamation to encourage the country, and counteract that of Burgoyne. He assured General Washington, on the 12th of July, that he should retard the enemy’s advance by all possible means. ‘If my countrymen will support me by vigor and dexterity and do not meanly despond, we shall be able to prevent the enemy from penetrating much further into the country.’

“St. Clair had not above three thousand, five hundred men when he evacuated Ticonderoga, and he joined Schuyler with only one thousand, five hundred, as the militia, almost to a man, had deserted him, and gone home. Nixon and Glover’s brigades had been ordered by General Washington from Peekskill, to reinforce Schuyler, and when the former brigade arrived on the 14th of July, it amounted to only five hundred and seventy-five men, so that General Schuyler’s whole strength did not then exceed four thousand, five hundred men, including regulars and militia; and they were without shelter, or artillery, and sick-

ness, distress and desertion prevailed. The enemy whose triumphal progress he had to check amounted to upwards of six thousand regular troops, with the best equipments in arms and artillery. Fort George was abandoned on the 14th of July, for it was utterly indefensible, being only part of an unfinished bastion holding one hundred and fifty men. On the 24th of July, Schuyler retired with his army to More's creek, four miles below Fort Edward, as the latter was only a heap of ruins and always commanded by the neighboring hills. The enemy kept pressing upon his advanced posts, but in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, his retreat was slow and safe, and every inch of ground disputed. The distress of the army in want of artillery, and every other military and comfortable equipment, was aggravated by despondency and sickness, and the restlessness and insubordination of the militia. They could not be detained. Almost all the eastern militia had left the army. By the advice of a Council of general officers, Schuyler was obliged to let one-half of the militia go home under a promise of the residue to continue for three weeks. Though the subject of popular calumny, he did not in the least despond or shrink from his duty. 'I shall go on,' he writes to General Washington, 'in doing my duty, and in endeavors to deserve your esteem.' He renewed his call on the eastern states for assistance, and told his friend, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, (whom he always mentioned with the highest esteem and between whom a mutual confidence and attachment had invariably subsisted) that 'if the eastern militia did not turn out with spirit, and behave better, we should be ruined.' The greatest reliance was placed on the efforts of his own immediate countrymen, and his most pathetic and eloquent appeals were made to the Council of Safety of the State of New York, for succor to enable him to meet the enemy in the field. By the beginning of August he was preparing to act on the offensive, and by his orders of the 30th of July and the 13th of August, General Lincoln was directed to move with a body of troops under General Stark and Colonel Warner, who had orders to join him; and if he should have force enough, to fall on the enemy in that quarter. As Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson, there was constant skirmishing at the advanced posts, and General Schuyler retreated slowly, and in good order down to Saratoga, and then to and below Stillwater, and in every instance by the unanimous advice of his officers.

"During this eventful period, the western branch of Schuyler's military district was in the utmost consternation and peril. The army under St. Leger had besieged Fort Schuyler, and General Herkimer, with eight hundred of the frontier militia, marching to the relief of the fortress, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, under Sir John Johnson, and defeated at Oriskany, on the 6th of August. On the 16th, General Schuyler despatched Arnold with three regiments, amounting in the whole only to five hundred and fifty men, to take charge of the military operations on the Mohawk.

"Congress by their resolution of the 17th of July, 1777, approved all the acts of General Schuyler in reference to the army at Ticonderoga; but the evacuation of that fortress excited great discontent in the United States and

General Schuyler did not escape his share of the popular clamor, and he was made a victim to appease it. It was deemed expedient to recall the general officers in the northern army, and, in the month of August, he was superseded in the command of that department by the arrival of General Gates. The laurels which he was in preparation to win by his judicious and distinguished efforts, and which he would very shortly have attained, were by that removal intercepted from his brow. General Schuyler felt acutely the discredit of being recalled in the most critical and interesting period of the campaign of 1777, and when the labor and activity of making preparation to repair the disaster of it had been expended by him; and when an opportunity was opening as he observed, for that resistance and retaliation which might bring glory upon our arms. 'I am sensible,' said that great and injured man, in his letter to Congress, 'of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army, at the time when an engagement must soon take place,' and when, we may add, he had already commenced operations, and laid the foundation of future and glorious triumphs. Though he was directed by the order of Congress of the 1st of August, to repair to headquarters, he was afterward allowed by the resolution of Congress 'to attend to his private affairs as they had greatly suffered by the barbarous ravages of the British Army' until the committee of enquiry were ready to act. This preëminent, patriotic statesman and soldier rising above all mean resentments, continued his correspondence with Congress, and afforded his valuable counsel. He even rendered to them his gratuitous services as a private gentleman, in anyway in which he could be useful. As president of the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, he gave specific advice respecting the conduct of the Six Nations, and he recommended preparations to carry the war into their territories; and his counsel eventually terminated in the expedition under General Sullivan, in 1779.

"He was present at the capture of Burgoyne, but without any personal command, and the urbanity of his manners and the chivalric magnanimity of his character, smarting as he was under the severity and extent of his pecuniary losses, was attested by General Burgoyne himself in his speech in 1778, in the British House of Commons. He there declared, that by his orders, 'a very good dwelling house, exceeding large storehouses, great sawmills, and other out-buildings, to the value altogether perhaps of ten thousand pounds (\$150,000 now) belonging to General Schuyler at Saratoga, were destroyed by fire a few days before the surrender.' He said, further, that one of the first persons he saw after the Convention was signed, was General Schuyler, and when expressing to him his regret at the event which had happened to his property, General Schuyler desired him 'to think no more of it, and that the occasion justified it according to the rules and principles of war.' 'He did more,' said Burgoyne, 'he sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order as he expressed it, to procure better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. That gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family. In that house I remained during my whole stay

in Albany, with a table with more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality.' I have several times had the same relation from General Schuyler himself; and he said that he remained behind at Saratoga under the pretext of taking care of the remains of his property, but in reality to avoid giving fresh occasion for calumny and jealousies, by appearing in person with Burgoyne at his own house.

"It was not until the autumn of 1778, that the conduct of General Schuyler in the campaign of 1777, was submitted to the investigation of a court martial, after long and painful delays, in which his eastern enemies both in and out of Congress, had full opportunity to search for testimony against him. He was tried and acquitted 'with the highest honor' of every charge preferred against him, notwithstanding Congress had eight months previously, appointed 'two counsellors, learned in the law, to assist and cooperate with the Judge Advocate in conducting the trial.' The sentence was of course confirmed by Congress, and though it was the desire of his friends, and particularly of General Washington, who, in January, 1779, stated to him that 'it was very much his desire that he should resume the command of the northern department,' he had too much self-respect and pride of character to be shaken in his purpose. After repeated applications, Congress in April, 1779, accepted his resignation, and Schuyler finally withdrew from the army and devoted the remainder of his life to the service of his country in its political counsels."

Washington Irving in his *Life of Washington* says, "If error be attributed to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, no portion of it was committed by General Schuyler. But his removal, though unjust and severe, as respected himself, was rendered expedient, according to Chief Justice Marshall, as a sacrifice to the prejudices of New England.

"We have already noticed," he adds, "the prejudice and ill will of the New England people, which had harassed Schuyler throughout the campaign and nearly driven him from the service. His enemies now stigmatized him as the cause of the late reverses.

"Washington, to whom Schuyler's heart had been laid open throughout all its trials, and who knew its rectitude, received the letter and documents with indignation and disgust, and sent copies of them to the General. 'From these,' said he, 'you will readily discover the diabolical and insidious arts and schemes carrying on by the Tories and friends of government to raise distrust, dissensions and divisions among us. Having the utmost confidence in your integrity, and the most incontestable proof of your great attachment to our common country and its interest, I could not but look upon the charge against you with an eye of disbelief and sentiments of detestation and abhorrence; nor should I have troubled you with the matter, had I not been informed that copies were sent to different committees, and to Governor Trumbull, which I conceived would get abroad, and that you, should you find I had been furnished with them, would consider my suppressing them as an evidence of my belief, or at best of my doubt of the charges.'

“ ‘But it is now,’ writes he in reply to Washington, ‘a duty which I owe myself and my country, to detect the scoundrels, and the only means of doing this is by requesting that an immediate inquiry be made into the matter; when I trust it will appear that it was more a scheme calculated to ruin me, than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends of America. Your Excellency will, therefore, please to order a Court of Inquiry the soonest possible.’

“ ‘We need only add,’ continues Irving, ‘that the Berkshire Committees, which in a time of agitation and alarm, had hastily given countenance to these imputations, investigated them deliberately in their cooler moments, and acknowledged, in a letter to Washington, that they were satisfied their suspicions respecting General Schuyler were wholly groundless. ‘We sincerely hope,’ added they, ‘his name may be handed down, with immortal honor, to the latest posterity as one of the great pillars of the American cause.’ ”

Daniel Webster writes: “I was brought up with New England prejudices against him, but I consider him as second only to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the revolution. His zeal and devotion to the cause under difficulties which would have paralyzed the efforts of most men, and his fortitude and courage when assailed by malicious attacks upon his public and private character, everyone of which was proved to be false, have impressed me with a strong desire to express publicly my sense of his great qualities.”

The following letters have never before appeared in print.

“SARATOGA, Nov. 18th, 1774.

“SIR:

“Please to bring for me from New York five dozen Mill saw-files and 2 barr’ls nails, 2 barrels 20d nails, and 2 barrels 10d nails. I would have you buy them from Henry White, Esq., if he has them, and also the bill of parcels that I may settle it with him, or whomever you may purchase them of.

“Please to ask Philip Livingston, Esq., for the Bell he was so good as to promise for the Saratoga church.

“I wish you a good passage and am Sir

“your most Obe’t Servant

“To

“PH. SCHUYLER

“CAPT. PH. VAN RENSSELAER.”

“ALBANY, March 15th, 1778.

“DEAR SIR:

“I inclose you a letter for Congress under flying seal. If you approve of what I have written you will please to seal and forward it by bearer; if not I entreat you to make such amendments and additions as you may think proper and send it back by the Express.

“I really believe that the Enemy will Instigate the Indians in every quarter to attack our frontiers and altho’ we cannot be certain that they will succeed, I think Measures ought to be taken to provide for the safety of the Country. Perhaps an Expedition to Niagara may be a task that we are inadequate too, but if it could be carried into Execution the Indians would give us little trouble—Altho’ I am fully determined not to remain in the Army, I will nevertheless most willingly give all the assistance in my power to procure whatever may be necessary for an Enterprise against Niagara if Congress should resolve upon it, or any other Service

I can do my Country as a private Gentleman, without fee or any other reward than the satisfaction I shall receive from serving my Country. I reflect with pleasure that I am largely My Dear Sir in your debt for a variety of friendly offices, I wish to be still more so, for I believe I am incapable of discharging them by Ingratitude or forgetting the Obligations. I entreat you, therefore, if you can with propriety, to write a line to Congress and to some of your friends, Members thereof, and to present with the feelings of a friend the distress of my Situation and to summon them to a Speedy determination in regard to me. I have received a very obliging letter from Gen'l. Parsons since my return from Johnstown. He expresses great anxiety for the Safety of the river. Laments the Fortifications are so Inadequate to the defense, and intreats my aid in directions for building Gun Boats. You may be assured he shall have it and I hope they will be begun to be built in the course of this week.

"I hope you had the happiness to find Mrs. Duane and all the Family well. My best wishes attend them.

"I am Dear Sir

"Affectionately & Sincerely

"Your most obedient Humble servant

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"HON. JAMES DUANE, ESQ."

"SARATOGA, December 19th, 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"Accept the Warmest acknowledgements of a grateful heart for the great Instance you have given me of your friendship and attention. Without your intervention I should probably have experienced many more anxious days in addition to those I have endured before the determination of Congress had taken place. Much as I have suffered from the Intemperate Prejudices of my countrymen, my affection for my country remains unimpaired and I shall never neglect an opportunity of Serving her, but it must be in a private Station. I have suffered so much in public life that prudence forbids that I should risk myself any longer in that tempestuous Ocean where I have experienced such dreadful Storms. I therefore by this conveyance send my resignation to Congress and think that when you consider how little your friend has to expect of indulgence from the public, that you will not be opposed to my request of leave to retire. You ought not, if I had no other reason but the one I have assigned to Congress—Indeed I am twenty thousand pounds in Specie worse than when the war began, but if that should in your opinion be an Insufficient motive for my resigning, pray remember that I have frequently written to Congress that I would quit the Army as soon as the trial had taken place, and you would not, I am confident have me expose myself to the Imputation of having written what I did not mean. Perhaps I may be able to Serve this State more Effectually in my retirement than in public life. General Washington has opened a Confidential Correspondence with me which has for its object the Security of the frontiers of the States in General; ours will consequently be secured if his Intentions are carried into Execution.

"From something which Gen. Washington has communicated to me, I believe there will be no Expedition in Canada in the course of the Winter, but if Congress intends to do anything in that way next Spring, no time ought to be lost in preparations; for so much is to be done, that with great exertion it will be difficult to get everything in readiness. But if it should be thought Impracticable to penetrate into Canada, another important object might claim the attention of Congress—I mean—the Reduction of Niagara. You, who are so well acquainted with the country, know of how very great importance transport would be to us, and I think if speedy preparations are made to support and convey an army of Seven or Eight thousand men that fortress would be ours in the month of July; half that number of troops will be wanted barely to secure the frontiers of this State and Pennsylvania. The expense

therefore, ought not to deter us from the attempt. I flatter myself I can be of some Service by my advice, and if Congress should enter into such a measure you may give the Strongest Assurances that I will most readily afford it. Permit me again to repeat that if they resolve on such an Expedition that no time is to be lost in commencing the preparations. Mrs. Schuyler joins me in best wishes. Adieu My Dear Sir, I am with perfect Esteem and Friendship,

“Your most Obedt, & Humble Servant

“PH. SCHUYLER.

“To HON. JAMES DUANE, ESQ.”

SCHUYLER'S COUNTRY RESIDENCE

Burned in 1777 by order of General Burgoyne

This country residence of General Schuyler at Schuylerville remains the same as when occupied by the family after the war. It stands almost on the site



SCHUYLER'S COUNTRY RESIDENCE.

of the former mansion where Burgoyne gave a champagne dinner to his friends during his retreat, and which shortly after his soldiers set on fire by his orders. It was here that the armies forded Fish creek in all their crossings and re-crossings of that stream. The estate is now owned by Colonel George Strover; a number of relics of the battle are preserved there, and shown with great courtesy to visitors.

To quote from "The American Lady," "The Colonel, (afterward General Schuyler) as he was then called, had built a house near Albany, in the English taste, comparatively magnificent, where his family resided, and where he carried

on the business of his department. Thirty miles or more above Albany, in the direction of the Flats, and near the far-famed Saratoga, which was to be the scene of his future triumph, he had another establishment. It was here that the colonel's political and economical genius had full scope. He had always the command of a great number of those workmen who were employed in public buildings, etc. They were always in constant pay; it being necessary to engage them in that manner; and were, from the change of seasons, the shutting of the ice, and other circumstances, months unemployed. All these seasons, when public business was interrupted, the workmen were occupied in constructing squares of buildings in the nature of barracks, for the purpose of lodging artisans and laborers of all kinds. Having previously obtained a large tract of very fertile lands from the crown, on which he built a spacious and convenient house, he constructed those barracks at a distance, not only as a nursery for the arts which he meant to encourage, but as the materials of a future colony, which he meant to plant out around him. He had there a number of negroes well acquainted with felling trees and managing of sawmills; of which he erected several. And while these were employed in carrying on a very advantageous trade of deals and lumber, which were floated down on rafts to New York, they were at the same time clearing the ground for the colony the colonel was preparing to establish.

“This new settlement was an asylum for everyone who wanted bread and a home. From the variety of employments regularly distributed, every artisan and every laborer found here lodging and occupation; some hundreds of people, indeed, were employed at once. Those who were in winter engaged at the sawmills, were in summer equally busied at a large and productive fishery. The artisans got lodging and firing for two or three years, at first, besides being well paid for everything they did. Flax was raised and dressed, and finely spun and made into linen there; and as artisans were very scarce in the country, every one sent linen to weave, flax to dress, etc., to the colonel's colony. He paid them liberally; and having always abundance of money in his hands, could afford to be the loser at first, to be amply repaid in the end. It is inconceivable what dexterity, address, and deep policy were exhibited in the management of this new settlement; the growth of which was rapid beyond belief. Every mechanic ended in being a farmer, that is, a profitable tenant to the owner of the soil; and new recruits of artisans, from the north of Ireland, chiefly, supplied their place, nourished with the golden dews which this sagacious projector could so easily command. The rapid increase and advantageous result of this establishment were astonishing. 'Tis impossible for my imperfect recollection to do justice to the capacity displayed in these regulations. But I have thus endeavored to trace to its original source that wealth and power which became, afterward, the means of supporting an aggression so formidable.”

An unpublished letter of General Schuyler to his eldest son, John Bradstreet Schuyler, in regard to the transfer of his Saratoga country seat to the latter.

"SARATOGA, December 3d, 1787.

"MY DEAR CHILD:

"I resign to your care, and for your sole emolument a place on which I have for a long series of years bestowed much care and attention, and I confess I should part from it with many a severe pang did I not resign it to my child.

"I feel none now because of that paternal consideration. It is natural, however, for a parent to be solicitous for the weal of a child who is now to be guided by, and in a great measure to rely on his own judgment and prudence.

"Happiness ought to be the aim and end of the exertions of every rational creature, and spiritual happiness should take the lead, in fact temporal happiness without the former, does not really exist except in name. The first can only be obtained by an improvement of those faculties of the mind which the beneficent author of Creation has made all men susceptible of, by a conscious discharge of those sacred duties enjoined on us by God, or those whom He has authorized to promulgate His Holy Will. Let the rule of your conduct then be the precept contained in Holy Writ (to which I hope and intreat you will have frequent recourse). If you do, virtue, honor, good faith, and a punctual discharge of the social duties will be the certain result, and an internal satisfaction that no temporal calamities can ever deprive you of.

"Be indulgent my child to your inferiors, affable and courteous to your equals, respectful, not cringing to your superiors, whether they are so by superior mental abilities or those necessary distinctions which society has established.

"With regard to your temporal concerns it is indispensably necessary that you should afford them a close and continued attention. That you should not commit that to others which you can execute yourself. That you should not refer the necessary business of the hour or the day to the next. Delays are not only dangerous, they are fatal. Do not consider anything too insignificant to preserve; if you do so the habit will steal on you, and you will consider many things of little importance and the account will close against you. Whereas a proper economy will not only make you easy but enable you to bestow benefits on objects who may want your assistance—and of them you will find not a few. Example is infinitely more lasting than precept, let therefore your servants never discover a disposition to negligence or waste; if they do, they will surely follow you in it, and your affairs will not slide but Gallop into Ruin.

"In every community there are wretches who watch the dispositions of young men, especially when they come to the possession of property, some of these may hang about you; they will flatter, they will cringe, and they will Cajole you until they have acquired your confidence, and then they will ruin you. Beware of these, they are the curse of society, and have brought many, alas! too many to destruction.

"Be specially careful that you do not put yourself under such obligations to any man as that he may deem himself intitled to request you to become his security for money. You are Good-natured and Generous, keep a Watch upon yourself, and do not ruin yourself and your family for another.

"Directly on my return to Albany I shall make you out a Deed of Gift for all the Blacks belonging to the farm except Jacob, Peter, Cuff, & Bett, and for the Stock and Cattle, Horses, &c., &c., with a very few exceptions. For all the farming utensils, household furniture, &c., &c.

"The crops of the last year I must of necessity appropriate to the discharge of Debts, and they must be brought down in Winter, except what may be necessary for the subsistence of your family and to satisfy those whom you may have occasion to employ. This I shall hereafter Detail.

"The Logs now in the Creek will be saved at our Joint expense and you shall have half the boards which I hope will neat you something of Value. We will consult on the best and cheapest terms to have this done.

"I regret very much that it is not in my power to give you some money. I shall leave you some debts to Collect which you may appropriate to your own use.

"Altho' for reasons which prudence dictates I shall now not give you a deed for any part of my estate, yet you ought to know, what of this farm I intend for you, and which I shall immediately make you by Will; it is all on the South Side of the Fishkill and as far down as Col. Van Vechtens, and as far West as to Inclose Marshall's & Colvert's farms.

"Besides a just proportion of all my other Estates, but all the tenants now residing on the farm either on the South or North side of the Creek are to pay their rents to me and Preserve the right of settling people on the west side of the road and to the north of the Little Creek which runs by Kiliaen Winne's, the blacksmith. For altho' you will have the occupancy of all the rest of the farm on both sides of the Creek, yet that on the north side of the Creek I intend for one of your Brothers.

"Should you die before me, which I most sincerely pray may not happen, your children if God blesses you with any will have this farm and such share of my other Estates as I intend for you; and should you die before me and without children your wife who is also my child will be provided for by me. In short it is my intention to leave you without any excuse if you fail in proper exertions to improve the property intrusted to you; and it is with that view that I so fully detail my intentions, and Give you this written testimony of them, and that no unworthy conduct may induce me to change my intentions is my hope and my anxious wish, and I have the pleasure to assure you that I believe when once the heat of youth is a little abated, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of seeing you what I most ardently wish you to be a Good man and an honor to your family.

"I must however not omit to inform you that the Income of all my estate except what you and Your Brothers and Sisters may actually occupy at my decease will be enjoyed by your dear Mama; she merits this attention in a most eminent degree, and I shall even give her a power to change my Disposition of that part of my estate the income of which she will enjoy, should unhappily the conduct of my Children be such as to render it necessary; but I trust they are and will be so deeply impressed with a Sense of the infinite obligations they are under to her as not to give her a moment's uneasiness.

"I must once more recommend to you as a matter of indispensable importance to Love, to honor, and faithfully and without guile to serve that Eternal, incomprehensible, beneficent, and Gracious Being by whose will you exist, and so ensure happiness in this life and in that to come. And now my dear Child, I commit you and my Daughter and all your concerns to his Gracious and Good Guidance; and Sincerely intreat Him to enable you to be a comfort to your parents and a protector to your Brothers and Sisters; an honor to your family, and a good citizen. Accept of my Blessing and be assured that I am your affectionate father.

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"To JOHN B. SCHUYLER, ESQ."

(John Bradstreet Schuyler married in 1787, Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, daughter of the second Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Patroon, and Catherine Livingston, daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence.)

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT

Half a mile distant from the old mansion—on the opposite side of the Hudson—a massive shaft towers above the surrender ground. It was erected by the Saratoga Monument Association to commemorate the victory. On October 17th,



SARATOGA MONUMENT.

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1877, the one-hundredth anniversary of the surrender, the corner stone of this splendid monument was laid with imposing ceremonies. It is of rock-faced granite, one hundred and fifty-four feet in height, forty feet square at the base, an obelisk in form, of Gothic construction, and the summit is accessible through the interior. In the base there is a room fourteen feet square; a bronze stairway leads to a second and third floor and thence to the top, where there are windows on each side, commanding for miles a view of the country and the Hudson. Over the entrances, gables rise to a height of forty-two feet, and at each corner of the monument, at a height of about twenty feet has been placed a granite eagle with half-folded wings, measuring nearly seven feet across the back. At the second floor there is a niche on each of the four sides. In the niches, on three sides are bronze statues of General Philip Schuyler, General Daniel Morgan, and General Horatio Gates. The statues of Gates and Schuyler are equestrian; that of Morgan represents him as being attired in garments of buckskin, backwoods pattern, sitting on a chest and holding a gun near the muzzle, with the stock resting on the ground. The fourth niche with the name "Arnold" underneath, is unoccupied.

The two prominent speakers on the occasion of the dedication were the Honorable Horatio Seymour, and the Honorable George William Curtis. In his able address Mr. Seymour said: "When we read the story of the event which we now celebrate—whether it is told by friend or foe, there is one figure which rises above all others, upon whose conduct we love to dwell. There is one who won a triumph that never grows dim. One who gave an example of patient patriotism, unsurpassed in the pages of history. One who did not, even under cutting wrongs and cruel suspicions, wear an air of martyrdom, but with cheerful alacrity served where he should have commanded.

"It was a glorious spirit of chivalrous courtesy with which Schuyler met and ministered to those who had not only been his enemies in arms, but who had inflicted upon him unusual injuries, unwarranted by the laws of war. But there was something more grand in his service to his country, than even this honor, which he did to the American cause by his bearing upon this occasion. The spirit of sectional prejudice which the British cabinet relied upon, to prevent cordial coöperation among the Colonies, had been exhibited against him in a way most galling to a pure patriot and a brave soldier. But, filled with devotion to his country's cause, he uttered no murmur of complaint; nor did he for a moment cease in his efforts to gain its liberties. This grand rebuke to selfish intriguers and to honest prejudices did much to discomfort the one and teach the other the injustice of their suspicions and the unworthiness of sectional prejudices. The strength of this rebuke sometimes irritates writers who cannot rise above local prejudices; and they try to lessen the public sense of his virtue by reviving the attack, proved to be unjust upon investigation, and which, by the verdict of men, honored by their country, were proved to be unfounded. The judgment of George Washington of the patriots who surrounded him, with regard to men of their own day, and affairs with which they were familiar, can-

not be shaken by those who seek to revive exploded scandals and unfounded suspicions. The character of General Schuyler grows brighter in public regard. The injustice done him by his removal from command, at a time when his zeal and ability had placed victory almost within his reach, is not perhaps to be regretted. We could not well lose from our history his example of patriotism and of personal honor and chivalry. We could not spare the proof which his case furnishes, that virtue triumphs in the end. We would not change, if we could, the history of his trials. For we feel that in the end they gave lustre to his character, and we are forced to say of General Schuyler, that while he had been greatly wronged, he had never been injured."

Mr. Curtis in his eloquent address said : " So soon was the splendid promise of Ticonderoga darkened. The high and haughty tone was changed. ' I yet do not despond,' wrote Burgoyne on the 30th of August, and he had not heard of St. Leger's fate. But he had reason to fear. The glad light of Bennington and Oriskany had pierced the gloom that weighed upon the country. It was everywhere jubilant and everywhere rising. The savages deserted the British camp. The harvest was gathered, and while New England and New York had fallen fatally upon the flanks of Burgoyne, Washington sent Virginia to join New York and New England, in his front, detaching from his own army, Morgan and his men, the most famous rifle corps of the Revolution. But while the prospect brightened, General Schuyler, by order of Congress, was superseded by General Gates. Schuyler, a most sagacious and diligent officer whom Washington wholly trusted, was removed for the alleged want of his most obvious quality, the faculty of comprehensive organization. But the New England militia disliked him; and even Samuel Adams was impatient of him; but Samuel Adams was impatient of Washington. Public irritation with the situation, and jealous intrigue in camp and in Congress, procured Schuyler's removal. He was wounded to the heart, but his patriotism did not waver. He remained in camp, to be of what service he could, and he entreated Congress to order a speedy and searching inquiry into his conduct. It was at last made, and left him absolutely unstained. He was unanimously acquitted with the highest honor, and Congress approved the verdict. General Schuyler did not again enter upon active military service, but he and Rufus King were the first senators that New York sent to the Senate of the United States. Time has restored his fame, and the history of this state records no more patriotic name among her illustrious sons than that of Philip Schuyler.'

" The surrender of Burgoyne marked the turning point of the Revolution. All the defeats, indeed, all the struggles, the battles, the sacrifices, the sufferings, at all times and in every colony, were indispensable to the great result. Concord, Lexington, Bunker Hill, Moultrie, Long Island, Trenton, Oriskany, Bennington, the Brandywine, Germantown, Saratoga, Monmouth, Camden, Cowpen, Guilford, Eutaw Springs, Yorktown,—what American does not kindle as he calls the battle roll of the Revolution!—whether victories or defeats, all are essential lights and shades in the immortal picture. But, as gratefully ac-

knowledging the service of all the patriots, we yet call Washington, father, so mindful of the value of every event, we may agree that the defeat of Burgoyne determined the American Independence. Thenceforth it was but a question of time. The great doubt was solved. Out of a rural militia an army could be trained to cope at every point successfully, with the most experienced and disciplined troops in the world. 'In the first bitter moment of defeat, Burgoyne generously wrote to a military friend 'a better armed, a better bodied, a more alert or better prepared army, in all essential points of military institution, I am afraid, is not to be found on our side of the question.' The campaign in New York also, where the loyalists were strongest, had shown, what was afterward constantly proved, that the British crown, despite the horrors of Cherry Valley and Wyoming, could not count upon general or effective aid from the Tories nor from the Indians. At last it was plain that if Britain would conquer, she must overrun and crush the continent, and that was impossible. The shrewdest men in England and in Europe saw it. Lord North himself, King George's chief minister, owned it, and grieved in his blind old age that he had not followed his conviction. Edmund Burke would have made peace on any terms. Charles Fox exclaimed that the ministers knew as little how to make peace as war. The Duke of Richmond urged the impossibility of conquest, and the historian Gibbon, who in Parliament had voted throughout the war as Dr. Johnson would have done, agreed that America was lost. The King of France ordered Franklin to be told that he should support the cause of the United States. In April, he sent a fleet to America, and from that time to the end of the war, the French and the Americans battled together on sea and land, until on this very day, the 17th of October, 1781, four years after the disaster of Burgoyne, Cornwallis, on the plains of Yorktown, proposed a surrender to the combined armies of France and of the United States. The terms were settled upon our part jointly by an American and a French officer, while Washington and Lafayette stood side by side as the British laid down their arms. It was the surrender of Burgoyne that determined the French alliance, and the French alliance secured the final triumph!"

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHUYLER MANSION AT ALBANY

A Relic of Colonial Days

THE Schuyler mansion still standing at the head of Schuyler street in the lower part of the city of Albany is one of the most prominent of the old landmarks. It was built by Mrs. Schuyler while her husband was in Europe in 1761-2; from whence many articles for the furnishing were sent. It was their town residence. The building stands on a high eminence, and in its early days was



SCHUYLER MANSION.

beautified by a wide stretch of lawn sloping toward the river. It was then quite outside the city limits, but to-day the streets of the capital have encroached on all sides to within a short distance of the house, and the grading has necessitated the building of a high wall of masonry along the front boundary. In this wall is a door opening upon a long flight of steps, bordered

by shrubs as old as the mansion itself. The house is constructed entirely of brick, two stories high, with gabled roof and dormer windows, is yellow painted and shows a remarkable state of preservation. The entrance is made through an octagonal vestibule, which, with its four large windows, resembles closely the pilot house of a steamboat, only that it is very much larger. Massive doors with heavy lock and chain open into the main hall, which is as long as an ordinary city house of to-day. It is lighted by two high windows, one on each side of the vestibule. Opening into the hall, on either hand, are the spacious parlors with their wooden cornices, high mantelpieces and wide, deep fire-places. The wainscot around each room is nearly five feet high, and the windows reach almost from the floor to the ceiling. They are set deep into the wall, and are just high enough from the floor to make comfortable seats in the recess, and with the old-fashioned heavy damask drapery in place would make delightful retreats for a quiet chat. Strong wooden blinds with the old-time



TOMAHAWK MARK.

cross-bar of iron protect each window on the inside. The rooms have no connection with each other except through the halls, and the wide doors all have enormous brass locks with giant keys. In the rear of this hall is an arched doorway, with a background of glass, much resembling that of a church window, opening into a smaller hall leading to the sitting and dining-rooms and to the servants' quarters. In this passage way is the broad winding staircase with its hand-carved and scarred railing, made famous in history by the tomahawk of an Indian. The mark to-day is plainly noticeable, being about three inches long and an inch in depth. It is on the outer edge of the baluster, where it curves at the very foot of the stairs toward the rear of the building, showing that the tomahawk must have been thrown from that direction at the flying girl who had already gained the first landing. I have before me the oft-told story of more than a hundred years ago, in the handwriting of Catherine Van

Rensselaer Schuyler, the godchild of Washington, and the infant rescued by her intrepid sister. "It is well known that in the year 1781, the British endeavored to possess themselves of several leading characters in the State of New York by decoying them into ambush, or by capturing them by violence. A party of Tories, Canadians, and Indians, had for eight or ten days been secreted in the low pines and shrub oaks that grew on the outskirts of the city. Obscure intimations of danger to be apprehended from some unknown quarter had been received by my father, furnished undoubtedly by persons in the Tory interest, but personally attached to himself. It was the evening of the 7th of August. The General and the family were seated in the front hall, with the doors wide open on account of the extreme heat, when a servant entered to say that a man wished to speak with the master at the back gate. So unusual a request aroused my father's suspicions at once. The doors were quickly fastened; the family fled to an upper room, and a pistol was fired from an attic window to arouse the city. No sooner had the assailants burst open the doors than my mother discovered that I, her infant child was not with them. Frantic with terror, she would have started at once to the rescue, had not my father detained her, for the child in the excitement of the moment had been left in the nursery on the ground floor, then occupied by the invaders. My sister Margarita (afterward wife of the Patroon) insisted upon going in her place. She hurried down two flights of stairs, snatched me from the cradle, narrowly escaping the flying tomahawk thrown at her, which grazed her dress within two inches of the infant's head, and imbedded itself in the baluster. Upon reaching the upper hall by a private way, she met Walter Meyer who had come up the great stairway, and mistaking her for a servant exclaimed, 'Wench, where is your master?' 'Gone to alarm the town,' was the quick reply. Meyer hastened to the dining-room and quickly collected his men, who were engaged in bagging the plate and other valuables, and from which he had in vain urged them to pursue the object of their bold enterprise. At this moment the General threw open the door and cried out in a loud voice, 'Come on, my brave fellows! Surround the damn'd rascals!'—although well aware that the townsmen had not yet arrived upon the scene. It had its effect. The party made a precipitate retreat, carrying with them to Canada the three men who were to mount guard, and a large quantity of booty. Owing to the excessive heat the servants had dispersed, and the men who composed the night watch were refreshing themselves in the grounds, so far distant that they could neither see nor hear what was passing in the mansion. The guard which had been on duty the previous night were still in bed, from which they were summoned to repel the invaders, without having time to dress themselves. Their firearms for convenience, always stood in a rear hall near the main part of the building; but my eldest sister, Mrs. Church (who had recently arrived from Boston) fearing an accident to her little son, had unfortunately caused them to be removed without informing the guard. However, the brave men had stoutly defended the rear entrance by random blows in the dark. As quickly as a light was procured, they extinguished it and thus

gave their master time to secure the front doors. The names of the men were John Tubbs, John Ward, and Nanse Corlies. They were at length overpowered and carried off to Canada; and when exchanged my father gave them each a farm in Saratoga county."

("A word might here be said of 'the three Margarets'—Margaret Van Schlichtenhorst Schuyler who drove Leisler's troops and his son-in-law Captain Milborne out of the Fort at Albany of which her son Colonel Pieter S. was the commandant, the latter being absent at the time, (1690). The second prominent Margaret was 'The American Lady,' a statesman in petticoats. The third was that daughter of General Philip Schuyler, who saved the child from Tory Indians in the Albany mansion at the risk of being tomahawked." W. D. S.-L.)

The upper hall of the mansion is the same size as the lower one, and the rooms bear resemblance to those on the first floor. From the windows a magnificent view may be had of the Hudson with its background of hills, while directly beneath lies the city. Standing here amid such historic surroundings, a strange panorama of Colonial events seems to rise before one. Grim forts, on either hand, protect the quaint Dutch town from invasion. The narrow streets are filled with English officers and men, together with the sturdy provincials. Abercrombie and young Lord Howe are leading an army of seven thousand regulars and nine thousand provincials against Montcalm and his treacherous Indian allies in the North; while the young Virginian, Colonel Washington, is laying the foundation of his career, under Braddock in the South. Later comes the struggle for independence. The streets of the city are again filled with soldiery; Albany has become a rendezvous for the force pressing forward to stem the tide of northern invasion. Finally Burgoyne's guns are silenced at Saratoga, and he and his officers are on their way to the old town as prisoners of war. When Burgoyne on the eve of the battle of Saratoga, proudly boasted that he would eat his Christmas dinner in Albany, he so far relied on the aid of General Clinton, who was slowly but surely creeping up the Hudson with a strong force, that he intended that the dinner should be one of rejoicing, and that they should partake of it as conquerors, with the American forces under Gates broken and defeated. He little thought, however, that the fortunes of war would find his army surrendered; Clinton hastily retreating down the river; and himself eating his dinner in Albany some weeks before Christmas, not as a conqueror, but as a prisoner and as a guest at the table of General Schuyler.

The attic shows the age of the place perhaps more than any other portion of the building. The heavy beams which support the roof and cross the ceiling in different directions—all hewn, rough and uneven—are held in place by strong wooden pins. The boards and timbers are worm-eaten and black with time. On one side of the garret are two rooms, with whitewashed walls, once partitioned off for the use of the house slaves for sleeping quarters, though a more ghostly place than the old attic with its dormer windows and queer

nooks and crannies, would be hard to imagine. In the cellar are several small windows set deep into the walls like the portholes of a ship; but the accumulations of ages have in a great measure spoiled their usefulness. Both without and within they are protected by iron bars, embedded in the masonry and covered deep with rust. The place is so full of dark corners and passages that a person might easily lose his way there without a guide. In the centre of the cellar is a curious closet, large enough for three men to stand upright in. The sides and back are of brick, as is also the arched roof; the heavy wooden door has an enormous lock and key, the lock being made from a single block of wood fastened to the inside of the door, and it apparently works as well to-day as when first constructed. There is a tradition of an underground passage to the river, and that a stairway had descended to it from the floor of this mysterious space, but the closet was so filled with rubbish that this supposition could not be verified.

"One of the great attractions of the house," says Proctor, "was a splendid and well-selected library. When, in 1784 and 1785, Colonel Aaron Burr was a member of the Legislature at Albany, he was generously tendered the use of this library by General Schuyler. Here Burr spent much of his time; here he prepared many of those legislative and other documents, so replete with elegance of expression and profundity of reasoning. In those days the Aceldama of politics had not aroused that bitter enmity between him and a member of Schuyler's family—Hamilton—which culminated in the bloody tragedy on the heights of Weehawken."

The grounds were laid out in all the elaborate art of French landscape gardening, with here and there parterres, nicely lawned. Many of the old ornamental and fruit trees are still standing.

One lovely autumn day just before Burgoyne left Albany, he was strolling in these grounds along the river bank with Margarita Schuyler, who was then but seventeen years of age. During their conversation he asked her what he should send her from England. She—being very shy—did not answer, but kept her eyes fixed on the ground. Among the presents that he sent to the family from the "other side" was a pair of diamond shoe buckles for Margaret. One of these is in the author's possession.

Other guests from the vanquished army were General Reidesel, his wife and children, and Lady Harriet Ackland. General, the Baron Reidesel, commanded that miscellaneous body of men called Hessians; mercenary troops furnished by small German provinces to assist the British in crushing her rebellious subjects. "George III. had first applied to the Empress of Russia,—Catherine II.—whom he was disposed to regard as a half barbarian sovereign of a barbarous nation, for the loan of her soldiers. Her ministers expected a ready compliance, for could not British gold purchase anything? Gibbon, the historian, wrote to a friend in October, 1775: 'When the Russians arrive, will you go and see their camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of these barbarians; the ministers daily and hourly expect to hear that the business is concluded; the worst

of it is the Baltic will soon be frozen up, and it must be late next year before they can get to America.' But Catherine sent a flat refusal to enter into such nefarious business, half barbarian as the British king thought her to be. The king was compelled to pocket his wrath, which he did with dignity and composure after the first ebullition of feeling, and turning to the needy German princes—the rulers of people out of whom had come his own dynasty—he was rewarded with success." They "were his hired fighting machines, hired contrary to the solemn protest and earnest negative pleadings of the best friends of England in its national Legislature." "About seventeen thousand German troops, most of them well-disciplined, were hired. Their masters were to re-



GEN. BURGOYNE.

ceive for each soldier a bounty of \$32.50, beside an annual subsidy, the whole amounting to a large sum." The name of Hessian (from Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse Darmstadt) was given to them all; and, because they were mercenaries (men only fighting for pay) they were particularly detested by the Americans. "All Europe cried, 'Shame!' and Frederick the Great of Prussia took every occasion to express his contempt for the scandalous man traffic." The Baroness Reidesel, who, with her children and nurses, accompanied Burgoyne's army, had endured terrible hardships, as well as great anxiety for her husband's safety, writes in her journal: "After the surrender, my husband sent a message to me to come to him with my children. I seated myself once more in my dear caleche, and then rode

through the American camp. As I passed on I observed, and this was a great consolation to me, that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents a handsome man approached and met me; took my children from the caleche, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears. 'You tremble,' said he, addressing himself to me; 'be not afraid.' 'No,' I answered, 'you seem so kind and tender to my children it inspires me with courage.' He now led me to the tent of General Gates, where I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, 'Never



GEN. REIDSEL.

mind; your sorrows have now an end!' I answered him that I should be as reprehensible to have any cares as he had none, and I was pleased to see him on such friendly footing with General Gates. The same gentleman who received me so kindly now came and said to me, 'You will be very much embarrassed to dine with all these gentlemen; come with your children to my tent, where I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it with a free will.' I said, 'You are certainly a husband and a father, you have shown me so much kindness.' I now found that he was General Schuyler. He treated me with excellent smoked tongue, beefsteaks, potatoes, and good bread and butter! Never could I wish

to eat a better dinner; I was content; I saw all around me were so likewise; and what was better than all, my husband was out of danger. When we had dined he told me his residence was at Albany, and that General Burgoyne intended to honor him as his guest and invited myself and children to do likewise. I asked my husband how I should act; he told me to accept the invitation. As it was two days' journey there, he advised me to go to a place which was about three hours' ride distant. Some days after this we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it as we expected we should—victors! We were received by the good General Schuyler's wife and daughters, not as enemies but as kind friends; and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully furnished house to be burned. In fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollections of their own injuries in the contemplation of our misfortunes." Not long after their arrival "one of Madame Reidesel's little girls, after frolicking about the spacious and well-furnished mansion, ran up to her mother, and with all the simplicity of youthful innocence inquired in German, 'Mother, is this the palace father was to have when he came to America?' The blushing baroness speedily silenced her child. The teeming question which was asked in the presence of one of General Schuyler's family by whom the German was understood, was well calculated to disconcert her."

One of the children's nurses was greatly impressed by the Indians she had seen in such numbers in America. During their stay at the house, she moulded in beeswax two heads to represent a chief and a squaw; painted them a copper color, and presented them to a young daughter of the hostess. They were sewed on to rag bodies and dressed as dolls. They have descended to the author and are real curiosities.

"It was Colonel Varick, one of General Schuyler's aides," says Proctor, "sent to announce the joyful intelligence that Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered and were prisoners of war. Many citizens hastened to the mansion, and its walls soon shook with the glad huzzas of the patriots. Other dispatches followed in quick succession, and Albany was a scene of wild delight. The roar of cannon, peals of music, and the clang of bells, mingled with the shouts of victory, drove the Tories in consternation to their homes.

"During the contest over the adoption of the American Constitution, in the memorable convention at Poughkeepsie in June, 1780, when the State of New York was on the point of repudiating that immortal instrument, the Schuyler mansion was the rallying place of the friends in Albany. Well might it be so, for in one of its apartments, Hamilton in 1778, drafted many of its financial sections. When, in the evening of July 29th, 1780, intelligence reached Albany that New York had ratified the Federal Constitution, the old mansion blazed out the joy of Schuyler in a brilliant illumination."

RICHARD VARICK

Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Muster Master-General

“Born on the 25th of March, 1753. Died on the 30th of July, 1831.

“At the time of his birth his parents were living at Hackensack, N. J. When the Revolution broke out, he, having been practicing his profession, the law, in New York City, joined the army in 1775, and was appointed a Captain in the 1st New York Continental Infantry, under Colonel McDougall.

“On the 10th of April, 1777, being at that time the Military Secretary of General Schuyler, Congress conferred upon him the position of Deputy Muster Master-General, and he was on duty organizing and keeping up the quotas as far as possible to their full standard, and preparing the requirements necessary to impede the advance of General John Burgoyne, who had already made such a formidable entrance to the state by way of Lake Champlain. He was present at his final total defeat and surrender at General Schuyler’s headquarters at the confluence of the Fish-creek and the Hudson, near where the aqueduct of the Champlain canal now stands. In the following year the office he held having been abolished, he acted as Inspector-General at West Point on the staff of General Arnold, until after the discovery of his meditated treason, when Washington took him into his ‘military family,’ as Recording Secretary of his official and private correspondence, which position he held during the war.

“The following letters from Washington to him, express His Excellency’s sentiments in regard to his ability and method :

““ROCKY HILL, Oct. 2d, 1783.

““DEAR SIR: Enclosed are my private Letters for registering—

““As fast as they are entered return them to me by the weekly mail; for we have occasion for frequent references—do the same thing with the Public Letters.

““As the letters which are handed to you now, contain sentiments upon undecided points, it is, more than ever, necessary that there should be the strictest guard over them, and the most perfect silence in respect to their contents.—Mr. Tayler’s prudence will, I persuade myself, induce him to pay particular attention to both.

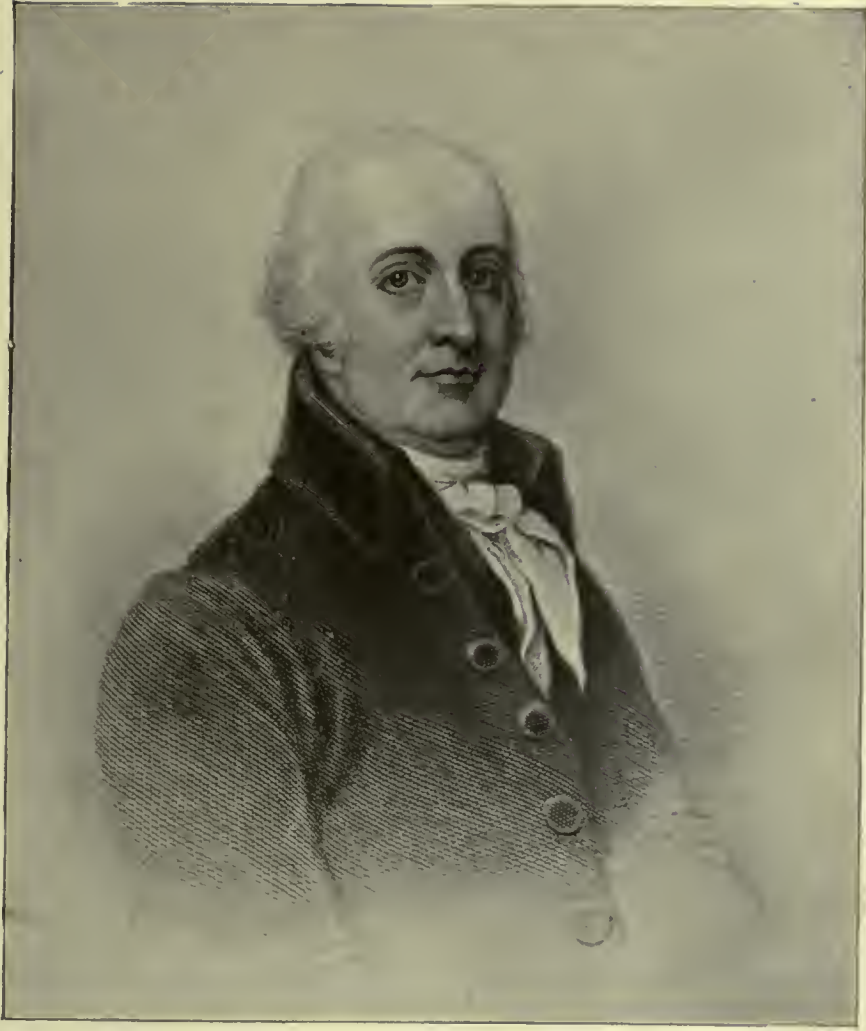
““I am Dr. Sir Yr. most obed. Servt.

““GO. WASHINGTON.’

““MOUNT VERNON, January 9th, 1784.

““DEAR SIR—From the moment I left the City of New York until my arrival at this place, I have been so much occupied by a variety of concerns, that I could not find a moment’s leisure to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 4th and 7th ultimo.

““The public and other Papers which were committed to your charge, and the Books in which they have been recorded under your inspection, having come safe to hand, I take this first opportunity of signifying my entire approbation of the manner in which you have executed the important duties of recording Secretary; and the satisfaction I feel in having my papers so properly arranged, & so correctly recorded—and I beg you will accept my thanks for the



Buch Varuk

care and attention which you have given to this business—I am fully convinced that neither the present age nor posterity will consider the time and labour which has been employed in accomplishing it, unprofitably spent—

“I pray you will be persuaded that I shall take pleasure in asserting on every occasion the sense I entertain of the fidelity, skill and indefatigable industry manifested by you in the performance of your public duties, and of the sincere regard and esteem with which

“I am Dr Sir Yr most obed & afft Servt

“GO. WASHINGTON.’

“In the fall of 1780 he wrote General Schuyler that a Court of Inquiry was about to convene respecting his having been conversant with Arnold’s plot to surrender West Point to the British, desiring him to attend, whereupon he sent the following letter to the Court, addressed to Colonel Van Schaick, its presiding officer :

“SARATOGA, October 15th, 1780.

“SIR: Yesterday I received a letter from Colonel Varick, informing me that he had intreated an Inquiry into his conduct and that it would probably soon take place, and requesting me to attend to give my testimony. As he has long resided with me, nothing but a very ill state of health prevents my attending. I consider it, however, a duty incumbent on me to inform you Sir, and thro. you, the Court, that in the year 1775, Richard Varick, Esq., was appointed a Captain in one of the New York Battallions; that when the command of the Northern Department was conferred on me, I appointed him my Secretary; that he served in that office until the Autumn of 1776, when he was appointed Deputy Muster Master General and had the rank of Lieutenant Colonel conferred on him, in which office he remained until the Muster Master Department was abolished. That I reflect with satisfaction upon the propriety of that Gentleman’s conduct in every point of view; that I had such entire confidence in his attachment to the Glorious Cause we are engaged in, that I concealed nothing from him, and never once had reason to repent that I reposed so much trust in him; that I am so far from believing him capable of betraying his Country, that even if testimony on oath was given against him, it would gain little credit with me, unless the persons giving it were of fair and unblemished characters. Upon the whole as I have always found him to be a man of strict Honor, probity & virtue, so I do still believe him to be,—I am Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant,

“PH. SCHUYLER.

“PRESIDENT OF THE COURT FOR ENQUIRING INTO THE CONDUCT OF LT. COLO. VARICK.’

“The Court unanimously reported their opinion—

“That Lieutenant Colonel Varick’s conduct, with respect to the base peculations and treasonable practices of the late General Arnold, is not only unimpeachable, but we think him entitled through every part of his conduct to a degree of merit, that does him great honor as an officer and particularly, distinguishes him as a sincere friend of his Country.’

“Which was approved as follows :

“HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP TOTOWA,

“Thursday November 16th, 1780.

“The Commander in chief is pleased to accept and approve the following report of a Court of Enquiry, held at West Point, the 2ⁿ instant, to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant

Colonel Varick, in his connection with the late Major General Arnold during his command at West Point and relative to his desertion to the Enemy.

“ALEXANDER SCAMMELL, Adjutant General.

“‘COLONEL VAN SCHAICK, President; LIEUTENANT COLONELS COBB and DEARBORN, MAJOR REID and CAPTAIN COX, Members.’

“Arnold’s letter, dated from the ‘Vulture’ acquits him of all knowledge of his intentions.

“The following letter to him from General Schuyler has never been published, and shows the intimacy existing between them :

“‘SARATOGA, May 3d, 1778.

“‘DR. COLONEL :

“‘I thank you for your favor by Mr. Fonda & for the intelligence you have given me—— I had a hint some time ago, that Gates would take the command in the highlands as soon as all was prepared; he has the luck of reaping harvests sown by others.

“‘I hope to be down on Wednesday. My Compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Van Rensselaer. Adieu——

“‘I am sincerely Yours &c. &c.

“‘PH. SCHUYLER.

“‘COL. VARICK.’

“He accepted the office of Recorder of the City of New York in 1783, and in the next year was elected a member of the State Legislature when, with Samuel Jones, he was appointed to revise the Statutes of the State, issued in 1789. He presided as Speaker of the Assembly in 1787 and 1788. Appointed Attorney-General in May, 1789, and the following September elected Mayor of New York, which office he retained until Edward Livingston succeeded him in 1801. He was President of the New York Society of the Cincinnati from 1806 until his decease, which occurred at his residence in Jersey City, upon which occasion the Society issued a general order to attend the funeral from the Dutch Church, corner Cedar and Nassau streets, wearing the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, at the same time expressing the following sentiments :

“‘That his courtesy and kindness to members, his liberality to such of the deceased members as needed it, and his attachment to this Institution, can never be forgotten.’

“He married Maria, daughter of Isaac Roosevelt, but died without issue surviving him. His name appears on the Half-Pay Roll.”

Extract from “The Society of the Cincinnati,” By JOHN SCHUYLER, Secretary.

This valuable work, handsomely illustrated, was printed by the New York Society of the Cincinnati for private distribution.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

CHAPTER IX

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

An American Statesman

“In the afternoon of a pleasant October day soon after the surrender of Burgoyne,” writes L. B. Proctor, “a young officer wearing the uniform of a member of Washington’s military family, accompanied by an orderly, left the ferry-boat which then landed at a point in the river a little north of the present Arch street. The young soldier and his orderly immediately mounted their horses and rode toward the Schuyler mansion. The appearance of an officer who so evidently held a rank that placed him near the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, created much interest in the city. ‘Who is he and what can be his mission in Albany?’ were questions that went unanswered from many inquirers. There was in his bearing much that increased the interest his appearance created. It exhibited a natural, yet unassuming superiority; his features, though not handsome, gave evidence of thought, intellectual strength and a determined mind; a high, expansive forehead, a nose of the Grecian mould, a dark, bright eye, and the lines of a mouth expressing decision and courage completed the contour of a face never to be forgotten. The elegant horse he rode seemed conscious that he bore the weight of no common rider, and his proud step ‘was the curbed motion of a blooded charger.’ The young soldier sat in the saddle with a grace and ease, showing that he was master of himself and his horse. His figure of the middling height, strongly framed and muscular, gave the appearance of strength and activity. We have been somewhat particular in our description of the young officer, for we have thus presented to the reader Alexander Hamilton. He soon arrived at the residence of General Schuyler. Dismounting and giving his horse in charge of the orderly, he handed his card to a servant who appeared at the door, and in a few moments was welcomed by the General himself, to a mansion destined ever after to be linked almost with his future destiny. His mission there was the most important duty of his military career. At that time additional troops were virtually essential to Washington, and they were only to be obtained from the northern army. While Washington was bearing defeat and fighting on with grim pertinacity, Gates in command of that army, had achieved one of the signal victories which had taken place among the dozen decisive battles of the world’s history. The surrender of Burgoyne had made Gates—to whom as little is due for the victory, as could as well be the case with the commanding officer—the idol of the north, and of New England especially. To offend Gates personally was a small matter, but to

offend the northern colonies, just then dissatisfied with Washington, would have been a very serious affair, but the latter was in pressing need of a part of the army under Gates. As his superior officer he had a right to command, and at the same time this was precisely what he wished to avoid. Hamilton was, therefore, elected to obtain the troops without using, excepting in the last resort, the imperative authority which he carried in his pocket. Washington at this time had suffered a series of defeats on the Delaware, near Fort Mifflin and at Germantown. Gates swelling with importance over the surrender of Burgoyne, believed himself the superior of Washington. He listened with complacency, if not with pride, to the counsel of the powerful Conway Cabal which proposed the removal of Washington and the elevation of Gates as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army. Hamilton's mission to Gates, under all these circumstances, was indeed difficult and delicate. Under the direction of Washington, he visited Schuyler to obtain his advice and counsel in performing it. Their consultation was long, close and confidential—one of the many which had taken place in the mansion that had determined the policy of campaigns and the plan of battles. It was at this time that Hamilton first met Elizabeth Schuyler, who, next to Theodosia Burr, was one of the most beautiful and accomplished of American women. She was then in her twentieth year, had been carefully educated, and had received an intellectual training which prepared her for the exalted station she was destined to occupy in her future life. As the daughter of one of the most wealthy and eminent men in the state, graceful and fascinating in her manner, beautiful in form and features, she had attracted many admirers, and her hand had been sought by suitors of rank, fortune and many rare personal endowments. The impression she made on the mind of Hamilton at their first meeting was deep and sincere. That Elizabeth Schuyler should have greatly admired the young, gallant and gifted soldier is rendered certain by the results of the future.

“Having obtained the advice of Schuyler, Hamilton made his way to the camp of Gates at Saratoga. With the most careful management—the management of an accomplished diplomatist—he succeeded in his mission, and Washington was reinforced from the army of Gates. On his return, he again visited the Schuyler mansion—this time not to consult with the father, but to woo the daughter. In the following spring the acquaintance thus began ripened into an engagement; and on December 14th, 1780, the marriage of Alexander Hamilton with Elizabeth Schuyler was one of the important events in the memorable history of the old Schuyler mansion.”

Alexander Hamilton was born on the 11th of January, 1757, in the Island of Nevis, West Indies. “His father was James Hamilton, fourth son of Alexander Hamilton, of Grange and Kambus-Keith, one of the oldest of the cadet branches of the Scotch family of that name. His mother was a daughter of a French Huguenot named Faucette. The only surviving child of his parents, his abilities attracted the notice of Mr. Cruger and some generous friends, who sent him to this country to improve his education, and leaving the West Indies he



MRS. HAMILTON.

landed in Boston in October, 1772, when he was fifteen years of age. He proceeded to New York and soon entered a school at Elizabethtown, where he remained about a year, preparing himself for college, and in the winter of 1774 entered Kings, now Columbia College.

"Before he could complete his collegiate course the troubles preceding the Revolution began, and though only seventeen years of age, he took an active part on the side of the opposition to the Crown by pamphlets and speeches to prepare the Colonies for open and armed resistance. He began by study and drill to qualify himself as a soldier for the conflict, and on the 1st of March, 1776, he was appointed Captain of a New York Company of Provincial Artillery. In command of this company he took part in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, and the crossing of the Raritan, until March 1st, 1777, when he accepted the position of Lieutenant-Colonel and Aide-de-camp on the staff of General Washington. He served in that capacity until the month of February, 1781, when he resigned the position.

"His connection with the Army of the Revolution was not closed however, as he retained his commission, and at the head of a regiment of light infantry, with his old friend Nicholas Fish as Major, carried at the point of the bayonet and in a few minutes, one of the British redoubts at Yorktown, on the 14th of October, 1781.

"The surrender of Cornwallis virtually ended the military struggle, and Colonel Hamilton, when all chance of further conflict was over, resigned his commission and commenced the practice of law.

"His connection with the Army of the United States was not, however, at an end. In 1798, when the conduct of France drove the United States to the verge of hostility, both by sea and land, a large army was authorized, with Washington as General-in-Chief. As one of his conditions, Mr. Hamilton was appointed second in command as Inspector-General; another of Washington's conditions being that he should not take command personally until the army was called into the field. Upon General Hamilton fell the main duty and labor of organizing this army, a duty which he performed with his usual zeal and intelligence. Upon Washington's death, in 1799, General Hamilton succeeded to the chief command; but the difficulty with France being settled amicably, the army was soon after disbanded."

His essays with those of Jay and Madison, published under the title of *The Federalist*, in support of the Constitution, contributed very essentially to make it popular; and as a member of the New York Convention he sustained it with zeal and success. Mrs. Hamilton writing to a friend said, "My beloved husband wrote the outline of his papers in the *Federalist* on board of one of the North river sloops while on his way to Albany, a journey (or rather a voyage) which in those days usually occupied a week. Public business so filled up his time, that he was compelled to do much of his studying and writing while traveling."

In 1789, he was called by Washington, to a seat in his cabinet as Secretary

of the Treasury ; the success of his funding and banking system, gained him the reputation of the greatest financier of the age.

G. W. P. Custis recalls a reminiscence of Hamilton : “ It was at the presidential mansion ; the ex-Secretary of the Treasury came into the room where several gentlemen of the president’s family were sitting. Glancing his eye upon a small book that lay upon the table, he took it up and observes ; ‘ Ah, this is the constitution. Now, mark my words. So long as we are a young and virtuous people, this instrument will bind us together in mutual welfare, and mutual happiness ; but when we become old and corrupt, it will bind us no longer.’ ”

“ The military nature and address of General Hamilton, occasioned the greatest envy and confusion to his political enemies, after parties were organized in the country. Hardly one of the men, who set upon Hamilton, to worry and destroy him, had ever borne arms. Neither Jefferson nor Madison had been in the physical conflict of the revolution, though they were both in the country throughout the war. Mr. Monroe had been in the army, but in a very minor and unimportant situation. Humiliated in an attempt to overthrow Hamilton, while the government was at Philadelphia, Monroe intimated that he would accept a challenge from Hamilton to fight. Indeed the duel had been designed for fifteen years, as the method to get rid of Hamilton.

“ Mr. Burr was employed at the time I have mentioned, in conjunction with Monroe, to manage the preliminaries and bring Hamilton to bay, but for many years Hamilton rather conciliated Burr and out-manœuvred him. At last, Hamilton felt that this mortified man intended to kill him. With what disgust and horror can we now contemplate the toleration of an institution like duelling, which carried off a mind like Hamilton’s, at the demand of a shyster, whose public and social career were already finished. Burr, though not one of the fomenters of the American Revolution, had been one of its officers, and every opportunity which Hamilton improved Burr had possessed in an equal degree. He, like Hamilton, had been awhile on the staff of Washington ; he, like Hamilton, had the benefit of the society of the Schuyler family, in his early military days, but he made no honorable impression there. Burr, for no public services whatever, except as one of the earliest heroes of the Albany lobby, was sent to Philadelphia as United States Senator, and when Hamilton lost his political power, Mr. Burr reached the second station in the country. Yet, in the lapse of days, how insignificant appears the effigy of Burr beside this symmetrical, almost girlish engine of thought, intercourse and public science.

“ When Hamilton had been laid in the grave a third of a century, that conspicuous Democrat, Thomas Benton, exclaimed upon the passing occasion of the death of Aaron Burr : ‘ His phantom will not remain under the pen. At the appearance of that name the spirit of Hamilton starts up to rebuke the intrusion—to drive back the foul apparition to its gloomy abode, and to concentrate all generous feeling on itself. Hard was the fate of Hamilton, losing his life at the early age of forty-seven, after having accomplished gigantic works. He was the man most eminently and variously endowed of all the eminent men of his day.

Hard his fate, when withdrawing from public life at the age of forty-four, he felt himself constrained to appeal to posterity for that justice which contemporaries withheld from him! ”

It was across the extensive grounds of his residence, “The Grange,” on Harlem Heights, that the renowned owner walked to the river, which he crossed to fight his fatal duel with Aaron Burr. They met at Weehawken on the 11th of July, 1804. Hamilton fired his pistol in the air. Burr took deliberate aim and gave his antagonist a mortal wound. In his last moments Hamilton said: “Duelling was always against my principles. I used every expedient to avoid the interview, but I have found for some time past that my life must be exposed to that man. I went to the field determined not to take his life.” In the “zenith of his prime and unselfishness,” he died the following day, aged forty-seven. As soon as the news of his death reached General Schuyler at Albany, he wrote the following unpublished letter to his daughter:

“ALBANY, Friday, July 13th, 1804.

‘MY DEARLY BELOVED AND DISTRESSED CHILD:

“The tempest of the Lord has beaten severely upon us, in the inexpressible calamity we have sustained; yet both by precept and example, has the son of God inculcated resignation in the dispensation of the divine will. Let us then, humbly kiss the rod, and whilst we sadly lament the loss of one so dearly, so tenderly beloved, let us address the throne of grace to alleviate our affliction and pour the balm of comfort into our wounded souls. Let us always and under all occasions, remember that what the divine will ordains, flows from a source which cannot err; and, although, we shortsighted mortals cannot investigate the causes which lead to the effects we experience, yet we may rest assured that they are for wise purposes. The Almighty has promised rewards to the virtuous; our dear departed friend was eminently so; and his spirit now enjoys the promised bliss whom you, and all ours I trust thro’ the mediation of the blessed Redeemer, shall in God’s good time meet him, never again to be separated.

“When I shall learn that indulgent Heaven has calmed your pious mind, a degree of peace will be restored to mine, and accelerate my recovery, and enable me to discharge those tender duties, which your piety and unbounded affection for me, render you so highly entitled to. Embrace most tenderly all our dear grandchildren—and if I am not considered able of going to you as soon as I could wish, let me entreat you my beloved child, as soon as you conveniently can, to come to me, accompanied by your children and your sisters. Adieu my beloved child; may Heaven be graciously pleased, to soothe your affliction and afford you, and all of us every temporal felicity whilst in this life, and a happy immortality hereafter.

“I am most tenderly and affectionately

“the parent, who feels for a virtuous and beloved child,

“PHILIP SCHUYLER.

“To MRS. HAMILTON, New York.”

For fifty years after her terrible bereavement Mrs. Hamilton lived to mourn his loss, the last thirty of which were spent at Washington in the home of her only daughter, Mrs. Holley. After her death a large pocketbook was found upon her person; it contained the last letter written by her husband to her on the morning of the fatal day. At the close of the year 1848, the celebrated historian, Benson J. Lossing, called upon Mrs. Hamilton. In his account of the inter-

view, he says: "She was then in the ninety-second year of her age, and showing few symptoms in person or mind, of extreme longevity. The sunny cheerfulness of her temper and quiet humor, which shed their blessed influences around her all through life, still made her deportment genial and attractive. Her memory, faithful to the myriad impressions of her long and eventful experience was ever ready with its various reminiscences to give a peculiar charm to her conversation on subjects of the buried past. She was the last living belle of the



HAMILTON ARMS.

Revolution, and possibly the last survivor of the notable women who gave a charm to the Republican Court at New York and Philadelphia during Washington's administration. When I revealed to Mrs. Hamilton the object of my visit, her dark eyes gleamed with pleasurable emotion. She seated herself in an easy chair near me and we talked without ceasing upon the interesting theme until invited by her daughter to the tea table at eight o'clock; where we were joined by a French lady, eight or ten years the junior of Madame Hamilton. 'I have lately visited Judge Ford at Morristown,' I remarked. 'Judge Ford, Judge Ford,' she repeated, musingly. 'Oh, I remember now. He called upon me a few years ago and brought to my recollection many little events which occurred while I was at Morristown with my father and mother during the war and which I had forgotten. I remember him as a bright boy, much thought of by Mr. Hamilton, who was then Washington's secretary. He brought to mama and me from Mrs. Washington, an invitation to headquarters soon after our arrival at Morristown in 1780.' 'Had you ever seen Mrs. Washington before?' I enquired. 'Never,' she said, 'never;' she received us so kindly, kissing us both, for

the general and papa were very warm friends. She was then nearly fifty years old, but was still handsome. She was quite short; a plump little woman with dark brown eyes, her hair a little frosty, and very plainly dressed for such a grand lady as I considered her. She wore a plain, brown gown of homespun stuff, a large white neckerchief, a neat cap and her plain gold wedding ring which she had worn for more than twenty years. Her graces and cheerful manner delighted us. She was always my ideal of a true woman. Her thoughts were then much on the poor soldiers who had suffered during the dreadful winter, and she expressed her joy at the approach of a milder springtime.' 'Were you much at headquarters afterward?' I enquired. 'Only a short time the next winter and an occasional visit,' she replied. 'We went to New Windsor after we were married, and there a few weeks afterward Mr. Hamilton left the general's military family. I made my home with my parents at Albany, while my husband remained in the army until after the surrender of Cornwallis. I visited Mrs. Washington at headquarters at Newburgh, on her invitation, in the summer of 1782, where I remember she had a beautiful flower garden planted and cultivated by her own hands. It was a lovely spot. The residence was an old stone house standing on a high bank of the river and overlooking a beautiful bay and the lofty highlands beyond. We were taken from Newburgh in a barge to the headquarters of the French army, a little beyond Peekskill, where we were cordially received by the Viscount de Noailles, a kinsman of Madame Lafayette, who was Mr. Hamilton's warm friend. We remained there several days and were witnesses of the excellent discipline of the French troops. There we saw the brave young Irish woman called "Captain Molly," whom I had seen two or three times before. She seemed to be a sort of pet of the French.' 'Who was Captain Molly, and for what was she famous?' I asked. 'Why don't you remember reading of her exploit at the battle of Monmouth? She was the wife of a canoneer—a stout, red-haired, freckle-faced young Irish woman named Mary. While her husband was managing one of the field pieces in the action she constantly brought water from the spring near by. A shot from the British killed him at his post, and the officers in command having no one competent to take his place, ordered the piece to be withdrawn. Molly (as she was called) saw her husband fall as she came from the spring, and so heard the order. She dropped her bucket, seized the rammer, and vowed that she would fill the place of her husband and avenge his death. She performed the duty with great skill, and won the admiration of all who saw her. My husband told me that she was brought in by General Greene the next morning, her dress soiled with blood and dust, and presented to Washington as worthy of regard. The General admiring her courage, gave her the commission of a sergeant, and on his recommendation her name was placed on the list of half-pay officers for life. She was living near Fort Montgomery in the Highlands at the time of our visit and came to the camp two or three times while we were there. She was dressed in a sergeant's coat and waistcoat over her petticoats, and a cocked hat. The story of her exploit charmed the French officers and they made her many presents. She would

sometimes pass along the French lines when on parade and get her hat nearly filled with crowns.' 'You must have seen and become acquainted with very many of the most distinguished men and women in America, and also eminent foreigners, while your husband was in Washington's cabinet,' I remarked. 'Oh, yes,' she replied, 'I had little of private life in those days. Mrs. Washington, who, like myself, had a passionate love of home and domestic life, often complained of the "waste of time" she was compelled to endure. "They call me the first lady in the land, and I think I must be extremely happy," she would say almost bitterly at times, and add, "They might more properly call me the chief state prisoner." As I was younger than she I mingled more in the gayeties of the day. I was fond of dancing and usually attended the public balls that were given. I was at the inauguration ball—the most brilliant of them all—which was given early in May at the assembly rooms on Broadway, above Wall street. It was attended by the President and Vice President, the cabinet officers, a majority of the members of the Congress, the French and Spanish Ministers, and military and civic officers, with their wives and daughters. Mrs. Washington had not yet arrived in New York from Mount Vernon, and did not until three weeks later. On that occasion every woman who attended the ball was presented with a fan prepared in Paris, with ivory frame, and when opened displayed a likeness of Washington in profile.' 'Were you often at balls which Washington attended?' I enquired. 'Frequently.' 'Did he usually dance on such occasions?' 'I never saw Washington dance,' she replied, 'he would always choose a partner and walk through the figures correctly, but he never danced. His favorite was the minuet, a slow, graceful dance, suited to his dignity and gravity, and now little known, I believe.' 'Mrs. Washington's receptions were very brilliant, were they not?' I asked. 'Brilliant so far as beauty, fashion, and social distinction,' she replied. 'Otherwise they were very plain and entirely unostentatious.' 'Did you usually attend them?' I asked. 'Frequently; I remember a very exciting scene in one of her earlier receptions. Ostrich plumes waving high over the head formed a part of the evening head-dress of a fashionable belle of that time. Miss McEvers, sister of Mrs. Edward Livingston, who was present, had plumes unusually high. The ceiling of the drawing-room of the President's house near Franklin Square, was rather low, and Miss McEvers' plumes were ignited by the flame of the chandelier. Major Jackson, Washington's aide-de-camp sprang to the rescue of the young lady, and extinguished the fire by smothering it with his hands.' 'You saw many distinguished French people, refugees from the tempest of the Revolution in France, did you not?' 'Very many. New York became much Frenchified in speech and manners. Mr. Hamilton spoke French fluently, and as we did not sympathize with the revolutionists who drove the exiles from their homes, he was a favorite with many of the cultivated "emigres." Among them was Talleyrand, a strange creature, who stayed in America nearly two years. He was notoriously misshapen, lame in one foot, his manners far from elegant, the tone of his voice was disagreeable and in dress he was slovenly. Mr. Hamilton

saw much of him, and while he admired the shrewd diplomat for his great intellectual endowments, he detested his utter lack of principle. He had no conscience. In the summer of 1794, he spent several days with us at The Grange on Harlem Heights.' 'Did you not entertain the young son of Lafayette and his tutor at The Grange a year or two later?' I enquired. 'We did while they were waiting for Washington to retire from office. They came to this country when the marquis was in an Austrian prison and his wife and daughters gladly shared his fate; their son, George Washington, was sent to the protection of Lafayette's beloved friend. The President and Mrs. Washington would gladly have received them into their family, but state policy forbade it at that critical time. The lad and his tutor passed a whole summer with us at The Grange. At length he and his tutor went to Philadelphia; lived quietly at private lodgings, and when the retired President and his family left the seat of Government for Mount Vernon, the tutor and pupil accompanied them. When the young man and his father were in this country twenty odd years ago they very warmly greeted me, for the marquis loved Mr. Hamilton as a brother; their love was mutual.' "

Elizabeth Hamilton departed this life November 9th, 1854, aged ninety-seven. Her remains lie side by side with those of her husband in Trinity churchyard, New York.

The following letters have never appeared in print.

" MOUNT VERNON, August 21st, 1797.

" MY DEAR SIR :

" Not for any intrinsic value the thing possesses, but as a token of my sincere regard and friendship for you, and as a remembrance of me, I pray you to accept a Wine Cooler for four bottles. It is one of four which I imported in the early part of my late administration of the Government, two only of which were ever used. I pray you to present my best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington joins me, to Mrs. Hamilton, and the family, and that you would be persuaded that with every sentiment of highest regard, I remain your

" Sincere friend,

" To

" COL. A. HAMILTON.

" New York."

" and affectionate humble servant,

" GEO. WASHINGTON.

" ALBANY, Saturday, December 7th, 1799.

" MY DEARLY BELOVED CHILD :

" Your letter to your Mama of the 28th ult., we received last evening on our return from Eastown, and that of Sunday last to me I had the pleasure to peruse this morning.

" I have written to your sister Church and sent her Mr. Lewis's character of Charles Mount, which is a good one; I have also advised her that it would be perfectly agreeable to your Mama and to me that you accompany her to Philadelphia.

" I believe that your teacher of Geography is not mistaken, and that six months' study with your usual application will perfect you in it, and although every absence from you is painful to me, yet the consolation derived from the reflection that you are storing your mind with useful science will fully compensate me.

" Your brother Hamilton has selected well for you. Mr. Addison's works tend to inculcate virtue in every shape, and I am persuaded that you will read him with attention, pleasure, and profit.

"Take every opportunity of conversing in French. Your sister Church and your nieces speak it well and I instruct you to use that language in all your intercourse with them, when persons are not present who do not understand it.

"I dare say you are very attentive to all your relations, and that you frequently visit your sisters Hamilton and Morton—make our love to them."

"Enquire constantly about your nephews on Staten Island, write them and assure them of a visit from their Grandmama and me,—I hope next month.

"Your Mama unites with me in love to you and all our dear children.

"God bless you my amiable and beloved child,

"Yours, most affectionately,

"To

"MISS CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER.

"at John B. Church's, Esq.

"Broadway, New York."

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"ALBANY January, 10th, 1800.

"MY DEARLY BELOVED CHILD:

"Your very agreeable favor of the 1st inst., I had the pleasure to receive yesterday. Your Dear Mama unites with me in reciprocating the wishes of you and all our dear children for a continuance of health and every happiness that the divine being can disperse, and which he will bestow upon the virtuous. I wish we had been at New York. Mr. Morris's oration (on the death of Washington) would have afforded us pleasure, but the greatest would have been that of being with children so dear to us.

"If the President (John Adams) does not nominate Gen. Hamilton to be Lieut.-General, it will evince a want of prudence and propriety, which may ultimately be injurious to him; for I am persuaded that the vast majority of the American community expect that the appointment will be conferred on the General. I long to hear from him and also from Mr. Church; but believe their not writing is to be imputed to an expectation that I should before this have been in New York, as in fact I should if there had been snow to convey us.

"The many civilities which Mrs. Morris in more happy days conferred on me, entitles her to my sincere sympathy; and it is a consolation to learn that she supports her disasters with so much fortitude, and that her daughter's conduct reflects so much credit on her. Your observations, my dear child, on the behaviour of these persons, evinces the goodness of your heart, and the correctness of your judgment. To feel for the misfortunes of others with sensibility, although it creates a pain, it is a pain accompanied with the conscious pleasure, of a duty to humanity.

"Yesterday, there was an Eligible procession in honor of the good deceased General (Washington). An oration was delivered by Mr. Bean, which, from as much as I could hear of it, did credit to the speaker. It will probably be published.

"Although I apprehend that you do not pursue your studies as much as I would wish, yet I am most fully persuaded that the neglect is not to be imputed to you; but that you are restrained by those necessary attentions to others which cannot in your situation be dispensed with, but even in these you acquire valuable benefits, from the conversation of your brothers and sisters, and perhaps from a few others.

"Embrace all our dear children and grandchildren for us; they all participate with you in our love and best wishes.

"Adieu my honorable and beloved child, may indulgent Heaven pour its choicest blessings on you and all who are dear to us.

"I am ever yours most

"To

"MISS CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER.

"at John B. Church's, Esq.

"Broadway, New York."

"Affectionately,

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"ALBANY, February 5th, 1800.

"Tomorrow, my dear Eliza, your father's sloop leaves this place for New York. I drop you a line to tell you that I am well and that to-day the hearing of the Le Gueu's cause began. I fear the prepossessions are strongly against us. But we must try to overcome them. At any rate we shall soon get to the end of our journey, and if I should lose my cause I must console myself with finding my friends—with the utmost eagerness will I fly to them.

"Don't be alarmed that Kitty is sent for—your father is much better. I am persuaded in no manner of danger. But there is evident anxiety to have your sister Kitty with him. She is the pet, and a very pretty pet she is.

"Adieu, my Eliza,

"A. HAMILTON.

"To

"MRS. HAMILTON,
"New York."

(The Le Gueu case was famous. Hamilton won it by his masterly eloquence.)

"ALBANY, Oct. 20th, 1802.

"Wednesday.

"MY DEARLY BELOVED CHILD :

"Yesterday we had the pleasure of receiving your Hamilton in good health and good spirits. He found your dear Mama and Sister perfectly well, and myself much better; and afforded us the pleasing information that You, and all my dear Grandchildren were in good health. May Heaven continue this blessing.

"I have put on board Capt. Bogert's sloop a box with about twenty bushels of good potatoes for you, and have directed the Captain to send it to Mr. Church's. Your Mama has sent you some starch, which will be delivered to your Sister Cornelia.

"Your good Hamilton' has insisted that my Grandson, your nephew, should remain with your children for the winter, and says that in the spring he intends a new arrangement for all the children.

"I believe the child is sufficiently provided with everything, &c. I hope by an affectionate attachment that he will evince his gratitude to your kind attention to him.

"Your dear Mama and Catharine unite with me in love to you and your dear children.

"Adieu my Dearly Beloved

"I am ever most tenderly

"& affectionately yours, &c.

"To

"MRS. HAMILTON,
"New York.

"PIL. SCHUYLER.

"P. S. There is cheese on board for you which will be sent to Mr. Church's."

"THE GRANGE, HARLEM HEIGHTS, Oct. 25th, 1814.

"MY DEAR SISTER :

"I am happy to be able to inform you in confidence, that I shall have a prospect soon of seeing my dear husband's life in the press. The writer is very anxious to have domestic anecdotes; indeed anything illustrative of his character. I know the pleasure that you will take in granting my request, and beg you will on receiving this, make a memorandum of all your recollections of him—

"His appearance when first known—his manners—habits and peculiarities—instances of his benevolence—facts connected with his first appearance at the Bar—and most particularly, anecdotes even of the most trifling description—circumstances when he left the army—also

when in the Legislature at Albany in 1786. Also incidents in 1782 while studying law at Albany—style of conversation—and indeed everything which will illustrate the elasticity of his mind, variety of his knowledge, playfulness of his wit, excellence of his heart, firmness, forbearance, virtues, &c. As the work is very nearly completed, it is very much my wish to receive from you an answer to these inquiries as soon as you can prepare it ; and I beg that



HAMILTON "GRANGE."

you will sit down day after day for a short time and endeavor to tax your memory. He has heard that your observation is very acute, and your recollections when exerted on a subject of such interest, very accurate and full.

" May every blessing be yours is the prayer of your

" affectionate sister,

" ELIZABETH HAMILTON.

" To

" MRS. CATH. V. R. MALCOLM,

" Utica, N. Y."

(Mrs. Hamilton visited her sister at Oswego in 1847. I have before me a worsted bag that she knitted and sent to my grandmother in 1848, accompanied by the following note.)

" NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J. Oct. 3d, 1848.

" MY BELOVED SISTER :

" Accept a little work that I finished since I have entered upon my ninety-second year. I hope that you and your dear ones are well. Remember me most affectionately to them all.

" Your loving Sister,

" ELIZABETH HAMILTON.

" To

" MRS. CATHARINE V. R. COCHRAN,
" Oswego, N. Y."

THE GRANGE

The country seat of Alexander Hamilton, called "The Grange," is a fine specimen of Colonial architecture. In the grounds which once extended to the Hudson river and were shaded by magnificent chestnuts, elms, and oaks, stand the thirteen trees planted by Hamilton in 1788 to symbolize the thirteen original colonies; ten are tall and straight, the others are broken and bent at the top.

When Hamilton removed to The Grange with his family it was nearly nine miles from the Battery; he resided there until his death in 1804. On the east and west sides of the house are piazzas of uniform length with balusters above them. The entrances to the house, which occupy the other two sides north and south, are porches, probably twelve feet square, also surmounted with balusters; so that this square building, perhaps forty-five feet in length and breadth is balustered all around at the top.

Like many of the mansions constructed at the close of the eighteenth century, when French architecture and decoration set the fashion, this house is divided into octagonal rooms, which involves interesting and ingenious carpentry. Entering at the south door one stands in a small vestibule, and directly before him is an arch, under which are set in angles two doors leading on the right to the dining-room, and on the left to the salon or drawing-room. Out of this rather short hall a nearer door to the right opens into Hamilton's library. Here the unfortunate statesman arranged his papers, and wrote letters the evening previous to the duel. On the other side of the vestibule, oddly concealed in the shell thereof, is the stairway which leads to the upper floors. In our times a feature is made of the stairs, but at that date it was fashionable to locate them out of sight.

The drawing-room which extends across one-half of the building, is twenty-five feet in width, and its windows in early days commanded a fine view of the Hudson. The handsome carved mantle has been replaced by a plainer one, and the former adorns a down-town mansion.

In the evening this room was the favorite gathering place of the family for reading, romping, or talking. "I distinctly remember," said James Hamilton in his recollections, "my father's gentle nature rendering his home a most joyous one to his children, and most attractive to his friends. He accompanied his daughter, Angelica, when she played and sang at the piano. His intercourse

with his children was always affectionate and confiding, which excited in them a corresponding confidence and devotion."

Passing into the dining-room, also octagonal, but with the ends shorter than the sides, one sees the methods by which the food was brought from the servants' quarters. At that period slavery existed to some extent on Manhattan Island

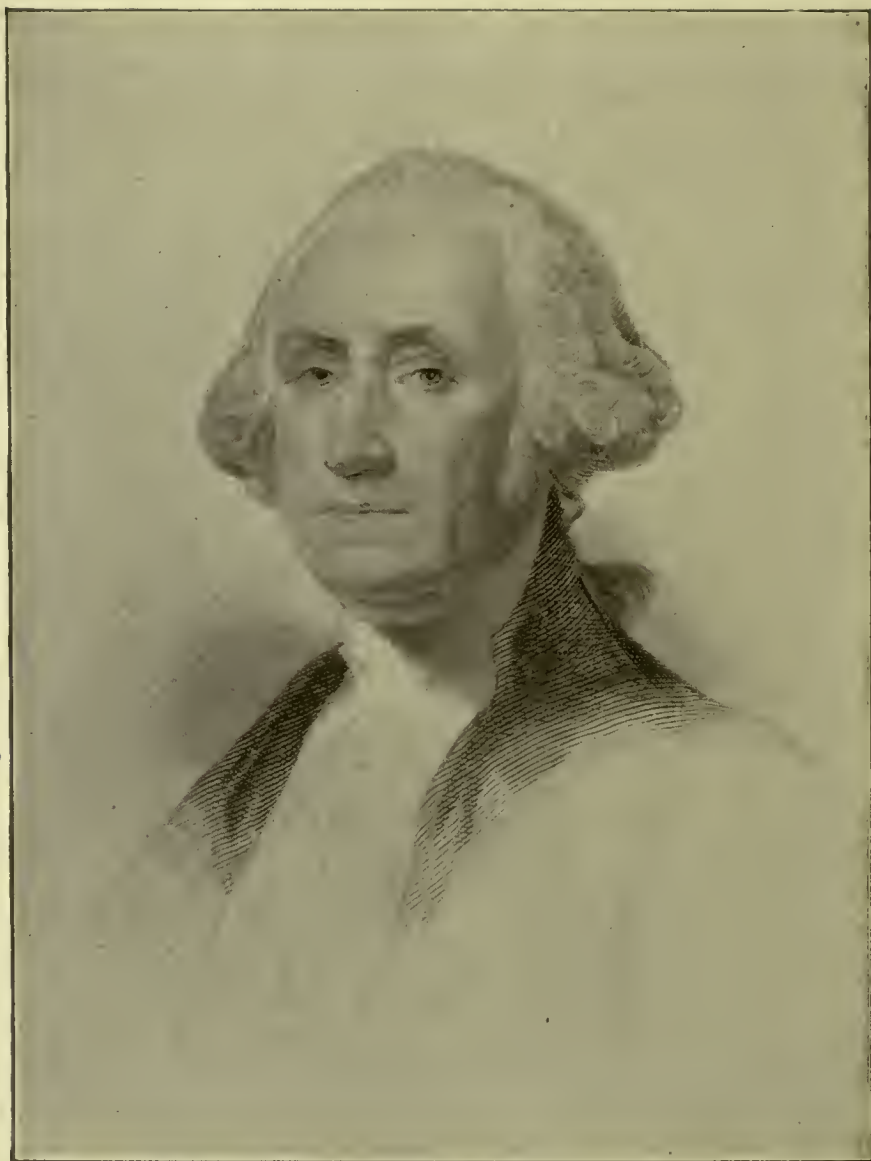
and, although Hamilton did not own slaves, he purchased one for the purpose of emancipating him. His views of the slave question were defined, by his action, when at the request of the Marquis de Lafayette, who desired to become an honorary member, Hamilton went to the first meeting of the emancipation society in the City of New York. He came right to the point by saying: "In token of our sincerity, let every person here emancipate his slaves now." The consternation was great, and perceiving that his proposition met with general disapproval, Hamilton took up his hat and left the building.

While the General and his family resided at The Grange, the lower rooms, especially the drawing and dining-rooms, were handsomely decorated with French mirrors.

At the time of Hamilton's death, and for many years afterward, his wife and children lived at this favorite country seat, Tenth avenue and 142d street.

Within a few years the grounds have been divided into city lots, and the mansion now adjoins St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, of which it is the rectory.





Gen Washington

CHAPTER X

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GENERAL WASHINGTON was on intimate terms with Schuyler. A warm personal friendship had existed between them long before the War of Independence had brought them together, and was continued uninterruptedly until the death of the former on December 14th, 1799. General and Mrs. Washington were frequently entertained in the Albany mansion, where a suite of rooms was reserved for their occupancy. Early in the year 1781, while General Washington was still encamped with his troops near White Plains, he with Mrs. Washington visited Albany and officiated as sponsors at the baptism of the General's youngest child, Catharine Van Rensselaer.

After the close of the war, on December 4th, 1783, General Washington took leave of his principal officers at Fraunce's Tavern (see chapter III.) which is still standing at the southeast corner of Pearl and Broad streets, New York. Entering the room where they were assembled he stood before them, and with a glass of wine in his hand said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most ardently wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drunk, he continued: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but I shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." General Knox who stood near him, grasped the hand of his late commander, and while tears filled the eyes of each, Washington kissed him; this act was repeated toward each of his officers. On December 23d, Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Army to the Continental Congress at Annapolis. He reached Mount Vernon on the 24th, happy to be released from the cares of public life.

The following description of his estate is taken from an old volume published in 1796:

MOUNT VERNON

"Mount Vernon, the celebrated seat of President Washington, is pleasantly situated on the Virginia bank of the Potomack, where it is nearly two miles wide, and is about two hundred and eighty miles from the sea, and one hundred and twenty-seven miles from Point Lookout, at the mouth of the river. It is nine miles below Alexandria, and four miles above the beautiful seat of the late Colonel Fairfax, called Bellevoir. The area of the mount is two hundred feet above the river, and, after furnishing a lawn of five acres in front, and about the same in rear of the buildings, falls off rather abruptly on those quarters. On the north end it subsides gradually into expensive pasture grounds; while on the south it slopes more steeply and a shorter distance, and terminates with the coach house, stables, vineyard and nurseries. On either wing is a thick grove

of flowering forest trees. Parallel with them, on the land side, are two spacious gardens, into which one is led by two serpentine gravel walks, planted with weeping willows and shady shrubs. The mansion house itself (though much embellished by, yet not perfectly to the chaste taste of the present possessor) appears venerable and convenient . . . The superb banqueting room has been finished since he returned from the army. A lovely portico, ninety-six feet in length, supported by eight pillars, has a pleasing effect when viewed from the water; the whole assemblage of the greenhouse, schoolhouse, offices and servants' halls, when seen from the land side, bears a resemblance to a rural village, especially as the lands on that side are laid out somewhat in the form of English gardens in meadows and grass grounds, ornamented with little copses, circular clumps and single trees. A small park on the margin of the river, where the English fallow deer and the American wild deer are seen through the thickets, alternating with the vessels as they are sailing along, add a romantic and picturesque appearance to the whole scenery. On the opposite side of the small creek to the northward, an extensive plain, exhibiting corn fields and cattle grazing, affords in summer a luxuriant landscape; while the blended verdure of woodlands and cultivated declivities, on the Maryland shore, variegates the prospect in a charming manner. Such are the philosophic shades to which the late commander-in-chief of the American armies retired from the tumultuous scenes of the busy world, and which he has since left to dignify by his unequalled abilities, the most important office in the gift of his fellow-citizens."

The following unpublished letter to General Schuyler gives additional evidence of the simplicity of his tastes, the purity of his feelings, and the warmth of his affections:

"MOUNT VERNON, 21st, Jan. 1784.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your favor of the 20th of Dec., found me, as you conjectured, by that fireside from which I had been too long absent for my own convenience; to which I returned with the greatest avidity, the moment my public avocations would permit; and from which I hope never again to be withdrawn.

"While I am here, solacing myself in my retreat from the busy scenes of life, I am not only made extremely happy by the gratitude of my countrymen in general but particularly so by the repeated proofs of the kindness of those who have been intimately conversant with my public transactions. And I need scarcely add, that the favorable opinion of no one is more acceptable than that of yourself.

"In recollecting the vicissitudes of fortune we have experienced, and the difficulties we have surmounted, I shall always call to mind the great assistance I have frequently received from you both in your public and private character. May the blessings of peace amply reward your exertions; may you and your family (to whom the compliments of Mrs. Washington and myself are affectionately presented) long continue to enjoy every species of happiness the world can afford.

"With sentiments of sincere esteem, attachment and affection, I am Dear Sir, your most obedient, very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

"To

"Gen. Schuyler."



MRS. WASHINGTON.

After his inauguration in New York, April 6th, 1789, as President of the United States, he wrote to General Schuyler as follows: "The good dispositions which seem at present to pervade every class of people, afford reason for your observation that the clouds which have so long darkened our political hemisphere are now dispersing, and that America will soon feel the effects of her natural advantages. That invisible hand which has so often interposed to save our country from impending destruction, seems in no instance to have been more remarkably exerted than in that of disposing the people of this extensive continent to adopt, in a peaceful manner, the constitution which, if well administered, bids fair to make America a happy nation."

Correspondence between them was frequent and informal.



MOUNT VERNON.

“ PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4th, 1798.

“ MY DEAR SIR :

“ I have been honored with your letter of the 20th ult., and congratulate you very sincerely on the favorable change you have lately experienced (as I have been informed) in your health. I wish it may be perfectly restored.

“ I persuade myself that it is unnecessary to add that if health and other circumstances had enabled you and Mrs. Schuyler to have visited Mrs. Washington and myself at Mount Vernon, that it would have been considered as a most pleasing and flattering evidence of your regard; and the more so as neither she nor I ever expected to be more than twenty five miles from that retreat during the remainder of our lives.

“ But, strange to relate, here I am, busied with scenes far removed and foreign from everything I had contemplated when I quitted the chair of Government.

“ Your grandson, Mr. Church, has all the exterior of a fine young man, and, from what I

have heard of his intellect and principles will do justice to and reward the precepts he has received from yourself, his parents, and uncle Hamilton. So far, then, as my attention to him will go, consistent with my other duties he may assuredly count upon.

"I pray you to present me (and I am sure Mrs. Washington would unite in them if she were here) to Mrs. Schuyler in the most respectful terms; and let me pray you to be assured of the sincere esteem, regard and wishes of the most affectionate kind, of, dear sir,

"your most obedient and very humble servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"To

"GEN SCHUYLER."

G. W. P. Custis (his grandson) writes: "Washington never appeared in military costume, unless to receive his brethren of the Cincinnati; or at reviews. He then wore the old opposition colors of England, and the regimental dress of the volunteer corps which he commanded prior to the Revolution. With the exception of the brilliant epaulettes (a present from General Lafayette), and the diamond order of the Cincinnati, presented by the seamen of the French fleet, our allies in the War of Independence, the uniform of the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, was as plain as blue and buff could make it. The cocked hat, with the black ribbon cockade, was the only type of the heroic time which appended to the chief during his civil magistracy; in all other respects, he seemed studiously to merge the military into the civil characteristics of his public life."

THE CONWAY CABAL

Mr. Fiske in his deeply interesting history of "The French Alliance and the Conway Cabal," writes:

"But the most dangerous ground upon which Congress ventured during the whole course of the war was connected with the dark intrigues of those officers who wished to have Washington removed from the chief command that Gates might be put in his place. We have seen how successful Gates had been in supplanting Schuyler¹ on the eve of victory. Without having been under fire or

¹"The intrigues which soon after (1776-7) disgraced the Northern army and imperiled the safety of the country had already begun to bear bitter fruit. Since the beginning of the war, Major-General Philip Schuyler had been in command of the Northern Department, with his headquarters at Albany, whence his ancestors had a century before hurled defiance at Frontenac. His family was one of the most distinguished in New York, and an inherited zeal for the public service thrilled in every drop of his blood. No more upright or disinterested man could be found in America, and for bravery and generosity he was like the paladin of some mediæval romance."—J. F.

directing any important operation, Gates had carried off the laurels of the Northern campaign. From many persons, no doubt, he got credit for what had happened before he joined the army, on the 19th of August. His appointment dated from the 2d, before either the victory of Stark or the discomfiture of St. Leger; and it was easy for people to put dates together uncritically, and say that

before the 2d of August Burgoyne had continued to advance into the country, and nothing could check him until after Gates had been appointed to the command. The very air rang with the praises of Gates, and his weak head was not unnaturally turned with so much applause. In his dispatches announcing the surrender of Burgoyne, he not only forgot to mention the names of Arnold and Morgan, who had won for him the decisive victory, but he even seemed to forget that he was serving under a commander-in-chief, for he sent his dispatches directly to Congress, leaving Washington to learn of the event through hearsay. Thirteen days after the surrender, Washington wrote to Gates, congratulating him upon his success. 'At the same time,' said the letter, 'I cannot but regret that a matter of so much magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only, or through the channels of letters not bearing that authenticity which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line over your signature stating the simple fact.' But, worse than this, Gates kept his victorious army idle at Saratoga after the whole line of the Hudson was cleared of the enemy, and would not send reinforcements to Washington. Congress so far upheld him in this as to order that Washington should not detach more than twenty-five hundred men from the Northern army without consulting Gates and Governor Clinton. It was only with difficulty that Washington, by sending Colonel Hamilton with a special message, succeeded in getting back Morgan with his riflemen. When reinforcements finally did arrive, it was too late. Had they come more promptly, Howe would probably have been unable to take the forts on the Delaware, without control of which he could not have stayed in Philadelphia. But the blame for the loss of the forts was by many people thrown upon Washington, whose recent defeats at Brandywine and Germantown were now commonly contrasted with the victories at the north. The moment seemed propitious for Gates to try his peculiar strategy once more, and displace Washington as he had already displaced Schuyler. Assistants were not wanting for this dirty work. Among the foreign adventurers then with the army was one Thomas Conway, an Irishman, who had been for a long time in the French service, and, coming over to America, had taken part in the Pennsylvania campaign. Washington had opposed Conway's claim for undue promotion, and the latter at once threw himself with such energy into the faction then forming against the commander-in-chief that it soon came to be known as the 'Conway Cabal.' The other principal members of the cabal were Thomas Mifflin, the quartermaster-general, and James Lovell, a delegate from Massachusetts, who had been Schuyler's bitterest enemy in Congress. It was at one time reported that Samuel Adams was in sympathy with the cabal, and the charge has been repeated by many historians, but it seems to have originated in a malicious story set on foot by some friends of John Hancock. At the beginning of the war, Hancock, whose overweening vanity often marred his usefulness, had hoped to be made commander-in-chief, and he never forgave Samuel Adams for preferring Washington for that position. In the autumn of 1777, Hancock resigned his position as president of Congress, and was succeeded by Henry

Laurens, of South Carolina. On the day when Hancock took leave of Congress, a motion was made to present him with the thanks of that body in acknowledgment of his admirable discharge of his duty; but the New England delegates, who had not been altogether satisfied with him, defeated the motion on general grounds, and established the principle that it was injudicious to pass complimentary votes in the case of any president. This action threw Hancock into a rage, which was chiefly directed against Samuel Adams as the most prominent member of the delegation; and after his return to Boston it soon became evident that he had resolved to break with his old friend and patron. Artful stories, designed to injure Adams, were in many instances traced to persons who were in close relation with Hancock. After the fall of the cabal, no more deadly stab could be dealt to the reputation of any man than to insinuate that he had given it aid or sympathy; and there is good ground for believing that such reports concerning Adams were industriously circulated by unscrupulous partisans of the angry Hancock. The story was revived at a later date by the friends of Hamilton, on the occasion of the schism between Hamilton and John Adams, but it has not been well sustained. The most plausible falsehoods, however, are those which are based upon misconstrued facts; and it is certain that Samuel Adams had not only favored the appointment of Gates in the north, but he had sometimes spoken with impatience of the so-called Fabian policy of Washington. In this he was like many other ardent patriots whose military knowledge was far from commensurate with their zeal. His cousin, John Adams, was even more outspoken. He declared himself 'sick of Fabian systems.' 'My toast,' he said, 'is a short and violent war;' and he complained of the reverent affection which the people felt for Washington as an 'idolatry' dangerous to American liberty. It was by working upon such impatient moods as these, in which high-minded men like the Adamses sometimes indulged, that the unscrupulous cabal hoped to attain its ends.

"The first fruits of the cabal in Congress were seen in the reorganization of the Board of War in November, 1777. Mifflin was chosen a member of the board, and Gates was made its president, with permission to serve in the field should occasion require it. Gates was thus, in a certain sense, placed over Washington's head; and soon afterward Conway was made inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general. In view of Washington's well-known opinions, the appointments of Mifflin and Conway might be regarded as an open declaration of hostility on the part of Congress. Some weeks before, in regard to the rumors that Conway was to be promoted, Washington had written, 'It will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way.' Such language might easily be understood as a conditional threat of resignation, and Conway's appointment was probably urged by the conspirators with the express intention of forcing Washington to resign. Should this affront prove ineffectual, they hoped, by dint of anonymous letters and foul innuendoes, to make the commander's place too hot for him. It was asserted that Washington's army had all through the

year outnumbered Howe's more than three to one. The distress of the soldiers was laid at his door; the sole result, if not the sole object, of his many marches, according to James Lovell, was to wear out their shoes and stockings. An anonymous letter to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, dated from New York, where Congress was sitting, observed: 'We have wisdom, virtue, and strength enough to save us, if they could be called into action. The Northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a general at their head. The spirit of the Southern army is in no way inferior to the spirit of the Northern. A Gates, a Lee,¹ or a Conway would in a few weeks render them an

¹ "Although Major-General Charles Lee happened to have acquired an estate in Virginia, he had nothing in common with the illustrious family of Virginia Lees beyond the accidental identity of name. * * * There is nothing to show that he cared a rush for the Americans, or for the cause in which they were fighting, but he sought the opportunity of making a great name for himself. * * * He had hoped to be made Commander-in-Chief of the army, and had already begun to nourish (1775) a bitter grudge against Washington, by whom he regarded himself as supplanted. In the following year we shall see him endeavoring to thwart the plans of Washington at the most critical moment of the war, but for the present he showed no signs of insincerity, except perhaps in an undue readiness to parley with the British commanders."—J. F.

irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country.' Henry sent this letter to Washington, who instantly recognized the well-known handwriting of Dr. Benjamin Rush. Another anonymous letter, sent to President Laurens, was still more emphatic: 'It is a very great reproach to America to say there is only one general in it. The great success to the northward was owing to a change of commanders; and the Southern army would have been alike successful if a similar change had taken place. The people of America have been guilty of idolatry by making a man their god, and the God of heaven and earth will convince them by woful experience that he is only a man; for no good can be expected from our army until Baal and his worshippers are banished from the camp.' This mischievous letter was addressed to Congress, but, instead of laying it before that body, the high-minded Laurens sent it directly to Washington. But the Commander-in-Chief was forewarned, and neither treacherous missives like these, nor the direct affronts of Congress, were allowed to disturb his equanimity. Just before leaving Saratoga, Gates received from Conway, a letter containing an allusion to Washington so terse and pointed as to be easily remembered and quoted, and Gates showed this letter to his young confidant and Aid-de-camp, Wilkinson. A few days afterward, when Wilkinson had reached York with the dispatches relating to Burgoyne's surrender, he fell in with a member of Lord Stirling's staff, and under the genial stimulus of Monongahela whiskey repeated the malicious sentence. Thus it came to Stirling's ears, and he straightway communicated it to Washington by letter,

saying that he should always deem it his duty to expose such wicked duplicity. Thus armed, Washington simply sent to Conway the following brief note :

“SIR,—A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph: “In a letter from General Conway to General Gates, he says, ‘Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak General and bad counsellors would have ruined it.’ I am, sir, your humble servant,
GEORGE WASHINGTON.””

“Conway knew not what sort of answer to make to this startling note. When Mifflin heard of it, he wrote at once to Gates, telling him that an extract from one of Conway’s letters had fallen into Washington’s hands, and advising him to take better care of his papers in future. All the plotters were seriously alarmed; for their scheme was one which would not bear the light for a moment, and Washington’s curt letter left them quite in the dark as to the extent of his knowledge. ‘There is scarcely a man living,’ protested Gates, ‘who takes greater care of his papers than I do. I never fail to lock them up, and keep the key in my pocket.’ One thing was clear: there must be no delay in ascertaining how much Washington knew and where he got his knowledge. After four anxious days it occurred to Gates that it must have been Washington’s aide-de-camp, Hamilton, who had stealthily gained access to his papers during his short visit to the Northern camp. Filled with this idea, Gates chuckled as he thought he saw a way of diverting attention from the subject matter of the letter to the mode in which Washington had got possession of their contents. He sat down and wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, saying he had learned that some of Conway’s confidential letters to himself had come into his excellency’s hands: such letters must have been copied by stealth, and he hoped his excellency would assist him in unearthing the wretch who prowled about and did such wicked things, for obviously it was unsafe to have such creatures in the camp; they might disclose precious secrets to the enemy. And so important did the matter seem that he sent a duplicate of the present letter to Congress, in order that every imaginable means might be adopted for detecting the culprit without a moment’s delay. The purpose of this elaborate artifice was to create in Congress, which as yet knew nothing of the matter, an impression unfavorable to Washington, by making it appear that he encouraged his aids-de-camp in prying into portfolios of other generals. For, thought Gates, it is as clear as day that Hamilton was the man; nobody else could have done it.

“But Gates’ silly glee was short-lived. Washington discerned at a glance the treacherous purpose of the letter, and foiled it by the simple expedient of telling the plain truth. ‘Your letter,’ he replied, ‘came to my hand a few days ago, and, to my great surprise, informed me that a copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason I find myself unable to account; but as some end was doubtless intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of that honorable body should harbor an unfavorable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means to come at the contents of the confidential letters be-

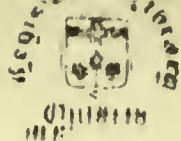
tween you and General Conway.' After this ominous prelude, Washington went on to relate how Wilkinson had babbled over his cups, and a certain sentence from Conway's letters had thereupon been transmitted to him by Lord Stirling. He had communicated this discovery to Conway, to let that officer know that his intriguing disposition was observed and watched. He had mentioned it to no one else but Lafayette, for he thought it indiscreet to let scandals arise in the army, and thereby 'afford a gleam of hope to the enemy.' He had not known that Conway was in correspondence with Gates, and had even supposed that Wilkinson's information was given with Gates' sanction, and with friendly interest to forearm him against a secret enemy. 'But in this,' he disdainfully adds, 'as in other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken.'

'So the schemer had overreached himself. It was not Washington's aid-de-camp who had pried, but it was Gates' own aid who had blabbed. But for Gates' cowardly letter Washington would not even have suspected him; and, to crown all, he had only himself to thank for rashly blazoning before Congress a matter so little to his credit, and which Washington, in his generous discretion, would forever have kept secret. Amid this discomfiture, however, a single ray of hope could be discerned. It appeared that Washington had known nothing beyond the one sentence which had come to him as quoted in conversation by Wilkinson. A downright falsehood might now clear up the whole affair, and make Wilkinson the scapegoat for all the others. Gates accordingly wrote again to Washington, denying his intimacy with Conway, declaring that he had never received but a single letter from him, and solemnly protesting that this letter contained no such paragraph as that of which Washington had been informed. The information received through Wilkinson he denounced as a villainous slander. But these lies were too transparent to deceive anyone, for in his first letter Gates had implicitly admitted the existence of several letters between himself and Conway, and his manifest perturbation of spirit had shown that these letters contained remarks that he would not for the world have had Washington see. A cold and contemptuous reply from Washington made all this clear, and put Gates in a very uncomfortable position, from which there was no retreat. When the matter came to the ears of Wilkinson, who had just been appointed Secretary to the Board of War, and was on his way to Congress, his youthful blood boiled at once. He wrote bombastic letters to everybody, and challenged Gates to deadly combat. A meeting was arranged for sunrise, behind the Episcopal church at York, with pistols. At the appointed hour, when all had arrived on the ground, the old general requested, through his second, an interview with his young antagonist, walked up a back street with him, burst into tears, called him his dear boy, and denied that he had ever made any injurious remarks about him. Wilkinson's wrath was thus assuaged for a moment, only to blaze forth presently with fresh violence, when he made inquiries of Washington, and was allowed to read the very letter in which his general had slandered him. He instantly wrote to Congress, accusing Gates of treachery and falsehood, and resigned his position on the Board of War.

“These successive revelations strengthened Washington in proportion as they showed the malice and duplicity of his enemies. About this time a pamphlet was published in London, and republished in New York, containing letters which purported to have been written by Washington to members of his family, and to have been found in the possession of a mulatto servant taken prisoner at Fort Lee. The letters, if genuine, would have proved their author to be a traitor to the American cause; but they were so bunglingly concocted that everyone knew them to be a forgery, and their only effect was to strengthen Washington still more, while throwing further discredit upon the cabal, with which many persons were inclined to connect them.

“The army and the people were now thoroughly incensed at the plotters, and the press began to ridicule them, while the reputation of Gates suffered greatly in Congress as the indications of his real character were brought to light. All that was needed to complete the discomfiture of the cabal was a military fiasco, and this was soon forthcoming. In order to detach Lafayette from Washington a winter expedition against Canada was devised by the Board of War. Lafayette, a mere boy, scarcely twenty years old, was invited to take the command, with Conway for his chief lieutenant. It was said that the French population of Canada would be sure to welcome the high-born Frenchman as their deliverer from the British yoke; and it was further thought that the veteran Irish schemer might persuade his young commander to join the cabal, and bring to it such support as might be gained from the French alliance, then about to be completed. Congress was persuaded to authorize the expedition, and Washington was not consulted in the matter.

“But Lafayette knew his own mind better than was supposed. He would not accept the command until he had obtained Washington’s consent, and then he made it an indispensable condition that Baron de Kalb, who outranked Conway, should accompany the expedition. These preliminaries having been arranged, the young general went to New York for his instructions. There he found Gates, surrounded by schemers and sycophants, seated at a very different kind of dinner from that to which Lafayette had lately been used at Valley Forge. Hilarious with wine, the company welcomed the new guest with acclamations. He was duly flattered and toasted, and a glorious campaign was predicted. Gates assured him that on reaching Albany he would find three thousand regulars ready to march, while powerful assistance was to be expected from the valiant Stark with his redoubtable Green Mountain Boys. The marquis listened with placid composure till his papers were brought him, and he felt it to be time to go. Then rising as if for a speech, while all eyes were turned upon him and breathless silence filled the room, he reminded the company that there was one toast which, in the generous excitement of the occasion, they had forgotten to drink, and he begged leave to propose the health of the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. The deep silence became deeper. None dared refuse the toast, ‘but some merely raised their glasses to their lips, while others cautiously put them down untouched.’ With the politest of bows



and a scarcely perceptible shrug of the shoulders, the new commander of the Northern army left the room, and mounted his horse to start for his headquarters at Albany.

“When he got there, he found neither troops, supplies, nor equipments in readiness. Of the army to which Burgoyne had surrendered, the militia had long since gone home, while most of the regulars had been withdrawn to Valley Forge or the highlands of the Hudson. Instead of the three thousand regulars which Gates had promised, barely one thousand two hundred could be found, and these were in no wise clothed or equipped for a winter march through the wilderness. Between carousing and backbiting, the new Board of War had no time left to attend to its duties. Not an inch of the country but was known to Schuyler, Lincoln, and Arnold, and they assured Lafayette that an invasion of Canada, under the circumstances, would be worthy of Don Quixote. In view of the French alliance, moreover, the conquest of Canada had even ceased to seem desirable to the Americans; for when peace should be concluded the French might insist upon retaining it, in compensation for their services. The men of New England greatly preferred Great Britain to France as a neighbor, and accordingly Stark, with his formidable Green Mountain Boys, felt no interest whatever in the enterprise, and not a dozen volunteers could be got together for love or money. The fiasco was so complete, and the scheme so emphatically condemned by public opinion, that Congress awoke from its infatuation. Lafayette and De Kalb were glad to return to Valley Forge. Conway, who stayed behind, became indignant with Congress over some fancied slight, and sent a conditional threat of resignation, which, to his unspeakable amazement, was accepted unconditionally. In vain he urged that he had not meant exactly what he said, having lost the nice use of English during his long stay in France. His entreaties and objurgations fell upon deaf ears. In Congress the day of the cabal was over. Mifflin and Gates were removed from the Board of War. The latter was sent to take charge of the forts on the Hudson, and cautioned against forgetting that he was to report to the commander-in-chief. The cabal and its deeds having become a subject of common gossip, such friends as it had mustered now began stoutly to deny their connection with it. Conway himself was dangerously wounded a few months afterward in a duel with General Cadwallader, and, believing himself to be on his deathbed, he wrote a very humble letter to Washington, expressing his sincere grief for having ever done or said anything with intent to injure so great and good a man. His wound proved not to be mortal, but on his recovery, finding himself generally despised and shunned, he returned to France, and American history knew him no more.

“Had Lord George Germaine been privy to the secrets of the Conway Cabal, his hope of wearing out the American cause would have been sensibly strengthened. There was really more danger in such intrigues than in an exhausted treasury, a half-starved army, and defeat on the field. The people felt it to be so, and the events of the winter left a stain upon the reputation of the

Continental Congress from which it never fully recovered. Congress had already lost the high personal consideration to which it was entitled at the outset. Such men as Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Jay, and Rutledge were now serving in other capacities. The legislatures of the several States afforded a more promising career for able men than the Continental Congress, which had neither courts nor magistrates, nor any recognized position of sovereignty. The meetings of Congress were often attended by no more than ten or twelve members. Curious symptoms were visible which seemed to show that the sentiment of union between the States was weaker than it had been two years before. Instead of the phrase 'people of the United States,' one begins, in 1778, to hear of 'inhabitants of these Confederated States.' In the absence of any central sovereignty which could serve as the symbol of the union, it began to be feared that the new nation might after all be conquered through its lack of political cohesion. Such fears came to cloud the rejoicings over the victory of Saratoga, as, at the end of 1777, the Continental Congress began visibly to lose its place in public esteem, and sink, step by step, into the utter degradation and impotence which was to overwhelm it before another ten years should have expired.

"As the defeat of the Conway Cabal marked the beginning of the decline of Congress, it marked at the same time the rise of Washington to a higher place in the hearts of the people than he had ever held before. As the silly intrigues against him recoiled upon their authors, men began to realize that it was far more upon his consummate sagacity and unselfish patriotism than upon anything that Congress could do, that the country rested its hopes of success in the great enterprise which it had undertaken. As the nullity of Congress made it evermore apparent that the country as a whole was without a government, Washington stood forth more and more conspicuously as the living symbol of the union of the States. In him and his work were centred the common hopes and the common interests of all the American people. There was no need of clothing him with extraordinary powers. During the last years of the war he came, through sheer weight of personal character, to wield an influence like that which Perikles had wielded over the Athenians. He was all-powerful because he was 'first in the hearts of his countrymen.' Few men, since history began, had ever occupied so lofty a position; none ever made a more disinterested use of power. His arduous labors taught him to appreciate, better than anyone else, the weakness entailed upon the country by the want of a stable central government. But when the war was over, and the political problem came into the foreground, instead of using this knowledge to make himself personally indispensable to the country, he bent all the weight of his character and experience toward securing the adoption of such a federal constitution as should make anything like a dictatorship forever unnecessary and impossible."

JOHN FISKE.

THE CENTENARY OF OUR NATIONALITY.—APRIL 30th, 1889.

Dr. Depew in his masterly oration delivered in front of the Subtreasury building at New York, said :

“ We celebrate to-day the Centenary of our Nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the republic, and they became the sole source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverend oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event in modern times in the development of free institutions. The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out of mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity, and environment of the people, the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends gave to liberty after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success, and of substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station. The oppressed found free homes in this favored land, and invisible armies marched from it by mail and telegraph, by speech and song, by precept and example, to regenerate the world.

“ Puritans in New England, Dutchmen in New York, Catholics in Maryland, Huguenots in South Carolina had felt the fires of persecution and were wedded to religious liberty. They had been purified in the furnace, and in high debate, and on bloody battlefields had learned to sacrifice all material interests and to peril their lives for human rights. The principles of constitutional government had been impressed upon them by hundreds of years of struggle, and for every principle they could point to the grave of an ancestor, whose death attested the ferocity of the fight and the value of the concession wrung from arbitrary power. They knew the limitations of authority, they could pledge their lives and fortunes to resist encroachments upon their rights, but it required the lesson of Indian massacres, the invasion of the armies of France from Canada, the tyranny of the British crown, the seven years' war of the Revolution, and the five years of chaos of the confederation to evolve the idea, upon which rest the power and permanency of the republic, that liberty and union are one and inseparable.

“ More clearly than any statesman of the period, did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of popular government. He caught and crystalized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the claims of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the Colonies to imperial authority and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence,

but it persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers consecrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love of liberty, he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never escaped from its shadow. But he would have the States as the guardians of popular rights and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede presidents and cabinets and congresses, it was perhaps providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold the authority which ultimately created the power of their republic and enlarged the scope of their own liberty.

“The Government of the Republic by a Congress of States, a Diplomatic Convention of the ambassadors of petty commonwealths, after seven years’ trial, was falling asunder. Threatened with civil war among its members, insurrection and lawlessness rife within the States, foreign commerce ruined and internal trade paralyzed, its currency worthless, its merchants bankrupt, its farms mortgaged, its markets closed, its labor unemployed, it was like a helpless wreck upon the ocean, tossed about by the tides and ready to be engulfed in the storm. Washington gave the warning and called for action. It was a voice accustomed to command, but now entreating. The response of the country was the Convention of 1787, at Philadelphia. The Declaration of Independence was but the vestibule of the temple which this illustrious assembly erected. With no successful precedents to guide, it auspiciously worked out the problem of constitutional government, and of imperial power and home rule, supplementing each other in promoting the grandeur of the nation, and promoting the liberty of the individual.

“The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to triumphantly survive the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and state sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from this great Convention for adoption by the people. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress, eleven years before, Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the President’s chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and with the enthusiasm of youth electrified the Convention with the declaration: ‘Now I know that it is the rising sun.’

“The pride of the States and the ambition of their leaders, sectional jealousies, and the overwhelming distrust of centralized power were all arrayed against the adoption of the Constitution.

“Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of independence, but Hamilton was the incarnation of the Constitution. In no age nor country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton. At seventeen he annihilated the president of his college upon the question of the rights of the Colonies, in a series of anonymous articles which were credited to the ablest men in the country; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our Government. He gave life to the corpse of national credit, and the strength for self-preservation and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of Government he stands supreme and unrivalled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in the *Federalist*, and conquered the hostile majority in the New York Convention by the splendor of his oratory.

“But the multitudes whom no argument could convince, who saw in the executive power and centralized force of the Constitution, under another name, the dreaded usurpation of King and Ministry, were satisfied only with the assurance, ‘Washington will be President.’ ‘Good,’ cried John Lamb, the able leader of the Sons of Liberty, as he dropped his opposition; ‘for to no other mortal would I trust authority so enormous.’ ‘Washington will be President,’ was the battle cry of the Constitution. It quieted alarm and gave confidence to the timid and courage to the weak. The country responded with enthusiastic unanimity, but the Chief with the greatest reluctance, in the supreme moment of victory, when the world expected him to follow the precedents of the past, and perpetuate the power a grateful country would willingly have left in his hands, he had resigned and retired to Mount Vernon to enjoy in private station his well-earned rest. The Convention created by his exertions to prevent, as he said, ‘the decline of our Federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire,’ had called him to preside over its deliberations. Its work made possible, the realization of his hope that ‘we might survive as an independent republic,’ and again he sought the seclusion of his home. But, after the triumph of the war and the formation of the Constitution, came the third and final crisis—the initial movements of government which were to teach the infant State the steadier steps of empire.

“He alone could stay assault and inspire confidence while the great and complicated machinery of organized government was put in order and set in motion. Doubt existed nowhere except in his modest and unambitious heart. ‘My movements to the chair of government,’ he said, ‘will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of execution. So unwilling am I, in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of politi-

cal skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm.' His whole life had been spent in repeated sacrifices for his country's welfare, and he did not hesitate now, though there is an undertone of inexpressible sadness in this entry in his diary on the night of his departure: 'About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations.'

"No conqueror was ever accorded such a triumph, no ruler ever received such a welcome. In this memorable march of six days to the Capital, it was the pride of States to accompany him with the masses of the people to their borders, that the citizens of the next commonwealth might escort him through its territory. It was the glory of cities to receive him with every civic honor at their gates, and entertain him as the saviour of their liberties. He rode under triumphal arches from which children lowered laurel wreaths upon his brow. The roadways were strewn with flowers, and as they were crushed beneath his horse's hoofs their sweet incense wafted to heaven the ever-ascending prayers of his loving countrymen for his life and safety. The swelling anthem of gratitude and reverence greeted and followed him along the country side and through the crowded streets: 'Long live George Washington! Long live the Father of his people!'

"His entry into New York was worthy of the city and state. He was met by the chief officers of the retiring Government of the country, by the Governor of the commonwealth, and the whole population. This superb harbor was alive with fleets and flags, and the ships of other nations, with salutes from their guns and cheers of their crews, added to the joyous acclaim. But as the captains who had asked the privilege, bending proudly to their oars, rowed the President's barge swiftly through these inspiring scenes, Washington's mind and heart were full of reminiscence and foreboding.

"He had visited New York thirty-three years before, also in the month of April, in the full perfection of his early manhood, fresh from Braddock's bloody field, and wearing the only laurels of the battle, bearing the prophetic blessing of the venerable President Davies of Princeton College as 'That heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to the country.' It was a fair daughter of our state whose smiles allured him here, and whose coy confession that her heart was another's recorded his only failure and saddened his departure. Twenty years passed, and he stood before the New York Congress, on this very spot, the unanimously chosen Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, urging the people to more vigorous measures, and made painfully aware of the increased desperation of the struggle, from the aid to be given to the enemy by domestic sympathizers, when he knew that the same local military company which escorted him was to perform the like service for the British

Governor Tryon on his landing on the morrow. Returning for the defence of the city the next summer, he executed the retreat from Long Island, which secured from Frederick the Great the opinion that a great commander had appeared, and at Harlem Heights he won the first American victory of the Revolution, which gave that confidence to our raw recruits against the famous veterans of Europe which carried our army triumphantly through the war. Six years more of untold sufferings, of freezing and starving camps, of marches over the snow by barefooted soldiers to heroic attack and splendid victory, of despair with an unpaid army, and of hope from the generous assistance of France, and peace had come and independence triumphed. As the last soldier of the invading army embarks, Washington, at the head of the patriot host, enters the city, receives the welcome and gratitude of its people, and in the tavern which faces us across the way, in silence more eloquent than speech, and with tears which choke the words, he bids farewell forever to his companions in arms. Such were the crowding memories of the past suggested to Washington in 1789 by his approach to New York. But the future had none of the splendor of precedent and brilliance of promise which have since attended the inauguration of our presidents. An untried scheme, adopted mainly because its administration was to be confided to him, was to be put in practice. He knew that he was to be met at every step of constitutional progress by factions temporarily hushed into unanimity by the terrible force of the tidal wave which was bearing him to the president's seat, but fiercely hostile upon questions affecting every power of nationality and the existence of the Federal Government.

“Washington was never dramatic, but on great occasions he not only rose to the full ideal of the event, he became himself the event. One hundred years ago to-day the procession of foreign ambassadors, of statesmen and generals, of civic societies and military companies, which escorted him, marched from Franklin Square to Pearl street, through Pearl to Broad, and up Broad to this spot, but the people saw only Washington. As he stood upon the steps of the old Government building here, the thought must have occurred to him that it was a cradle of liberty, and as such giving a bright omen for the future. In these halls in 1735, in the trial of John Zenger, had been established, for the first time in its history, the liberty of the press. Here the New York Assembly in 1764, made the protest against the Stamp Act Congress, the first and the father of American Congresses, assembled and presented to the English Government that vigorous protest which caused the repeal of the act, and checked the first step toward the usurpation which lost the American Colonies to the British Empire. Within these walls the Congress of the Confederation had commissioned its ambassadors abroad, and in ineffectual efforts at government had created the necessity for the concentration of Federal authority, now to be consummated.

“The first Congress of the United States gathered in this temple of liberty, greeted Washington, and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous visible about him were Chancellor Livingston, Vice President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General

Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him, at the supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government were the spirits of the soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their countrymen might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the barons of Runnymede and William the Silent, and Sydney and Russell, and Cromwell and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

“As he came forward the multitude in the streets, in the windows, and on the roofs, sent up such a rapturous shout that Washington sat down overcome with emotion. He slowly rose and his tall and majestic form again appeared, the people deeply affected, in awed silence viewed the scene. The chancellor solemnly read to him the oath of office, and Washington, repeating, said: ‘I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.’ Then he reverently bent low and kissed the Bible, uttering with profound emotion, ‘So help me, God.’ The chancellor waved his robes and shouted, ‘It is done; long live George Washington, President of the United States!’ ‘Long live George Washington, our first President!’ was the answering cheer of the people, and from the belfries rang the bells, and from forts and ships thundered the cannon, echoing and repeating the cry with responding acclaim all over the land, ‘Long live George Washington, President of the United States!’

“The simple and imposing ceremony over, the inaugural read, the blessing of God prayerfully petitioned in old St. Paul’s, the festivities passed, and Washington stood alone. No one else could take the helm of state, and enthusiast and doubter alike trusted only him. The teachings and habits of the past had educated the people to faith in the independence of their States, and for the supreme authority of the new Government there stood against the precedent of a century and the passions of the hour little besides the arguments of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in the *Federalist*, and the judgment of Washington. With the first attempt to exercise national power began the duel to the death between State sovereignty claiming the right to nullify Federal laws or secede from the Union, and the power of the republic to command the resources of the country, to enforce its authority, and to protect its life. It was the beginning of the sixty years’ war for the Constitution of the nation. It seared consciences, degraded politics, destroyed parties, ruined statesmen, and retarded the advance and development of the country; it sacrificed hundreds of thousands of precious lives, and squandered thousands of millions of money, it desolated the fairest portion of the land and carried mourning into every home north and south; but it ended at Appomattox in the absolute triumph of the republic.

“Posterity owes to Washington’s administration the policy and measures, the force and direction which made possible this glorious result. Upon the plan marked out by the Constitution, this great architect, with unflinching faith and unflinching courage, builded the republic. He gave to the Government the

principles of action and sources of power which carried it successfully through the wars with Great Britain in 1812, and Mexico in 1848, which enabled Jackson to defeat nullification and recruited and equipped millions of men for Lincoln, and justified and sustained his Proclamation of Emancipation.

"No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. But Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were burned in effigy, were stoned, but he with unerring judgment was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, 'that war made him great, peace greater.' The superiority of Washington's character and genius were more conspicuous in the formation of our Government and in putting it on indestructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. 'The Union in any event,' is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation.

"Chatham, who, with Clive, conquered an empire in the east, died broken-hearted at the loss of the empire in the west by follies which even his power and eloquence could not prevent. Pitt saw the vast creations of his diplomacy shattered at Austerlitz, and fell murmuring: 'My country! how I leave my country!' Napoleon caused a noble tribute to Washington to be read at the head of his armies, but unable to rise to Washington's greatness, witnessed the vast structure erected by conquest and cemented by blood, to minister to his own ambition and pride, crumble into fragments, and an exile and a prisoner he breathed his last babbling of battlefields and carnage. But Washington, with his finger upon his pulse, felt the presence of death, and, calmly reviewing the past and forecasting the future, answered to the summons of the grim messenger, 'It is well,' and as his mighty soul ascended to God the land was deluged with tears and the world united in his eulogy. Blot out from the page of history the names of all the great actors of his time in the drama of nations and preserve the fame of Washington, and that country will be renowned."

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH

The headquarters at Newburgh presents a great point of attraction to tourists on the Hudson during the summer season. It is a rather small, old-fashioned Dutch house, fronting the river, and now belongs to the State of New York, it having come into possession by foreclosure of a mortgage. It is in charge of the authorities at Newburgh, and has been thoroughly repaired, care having been taken to preserve the ancient form of every part that was renewed. It was dedicated to the public service with appropriate ceremonies, on the 4th of July, 1850, when Major-General Winfield Scott, who was present, hoisted the Ameri-

can flag upon a lofty staff that had just been erected near. At the foot of that flagstaff, the last survivor of Washington's lifeguard is interred.

The front door of this mansion opens into a large square room, which was used by Washington for his public audience, and as a dining-hall. It is remarkable for having seven doors, and only one window. In the December number of the "New York Mirror," for 1834, is an interesting account of this old building, by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. He relates the following anecdote con-



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, Newburgh, N. Y.

nected with this room, which he received from Colonel Nicholas Fish (father of the late Governor of the State of New York).

"Just before Lafayette's death, himself and the American Minister, with several of his countrymen, were invited to dine at the house of the distinguished Frenchman, Marbois, who was the French Secretary of Legation here during the Revolution. At the supper hour the company were shown into a room which contrasted quite oddly with the Parisian elegance of the other apartments where they had spent the evening. A low, boarded, painted ceiling, with large beams, a single small, uncurtained window, with numerous small doors, as well as the general style of the whole, gave, at first, the idea of the kitchen, or largest room of a Dutch or Belgian farmhouse. On a rough table was a repast, just as little in keeping with the refined kitchens of Paris as the room was with its architecture. It consisted of a large dish of meat, uncouth-looking pastry, and wine in decanters and bottles, accompanied by glass and silver mugs, such as indicated other habits and tastes than those of modern Paris. 'Do you know

where we now are?' said the host to Lafayette and his companions. They paused for a few moments in surprise. 'They had seen something like this before, but when and where? 'Ah! the seven doors and one window,' said Lafayette, 'and the silver camp-goblets, such as the marshals of France used in my youth! We are at Washington's headquarters on the Hudson, fifty years ago!''



George Washington's Book Plate.

CHAPTER XI

DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNERS

“In the autumn of 1782,” writes L. B. Proctor, “Washington while on a tour of military inspection, accompanied by Lafayette, Kosciuszko, Hamilton, Steuben, Generals Knox and Greene, visited Albany. They were received by the mayor, Abraham Ten Broeck, and the common council at the famous tavern of Hugh Dennitson, then standing on the northwest corner of Beaver and Green streets. Here Washington and his associates were tendered the freedom of the city with imposing ceremonies. In the evening they were entertained at the Schuyler mansion with an elegance and grace worthy of the occasion and the illustrious chieftains, by their gallant host and accomplished hostess.

“The next year Washington again visited Albany; this time accompanied only by his aides. He was again tendered the freedom of the city, at the Denniston hotel, by the mayor, John Jacob Beekman. He spent the succeeding evening in consultation with General Schuyler, at his mansion house, where he spent the night.”



Lafayette

THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE

A French Soldier and Statesman

“In the year 1730 there appeared in Paris a little volume entitled, ‘Philosophic letters,’ which proved to be one of the most influential books produced in modern times.

“It was written by Voltaire, who was then thirty-six years of age, and contained the results of his observations upon the English nation, in which he had resided for two years. Paris was then as far from London, for all practicable purposes, as New York now is from Calcutta; so that when Voltaire told his countrymen of the freedom that prevailed in England,—of the tolerance given to religious sects,—of the honors paid to untitled merit,—of Newton, buried in Westminster Abbey with almost regal pomp,—of Addison, Secretary of State, and Swift, familiar with prime ministers,—and of the general liberty, happiness, and abundance of the kingdom,—France listened in wonder as to a new revelation. The work was, of course, immediately placed under the ban by the French government, and the author exiled, which only gave it increased currency and deeper influence.

“This was the beginning of the movement which produced, at length, the French Revolution of 1787, and which will continue until France is blessed with a free and constitutional government. It began in the higher classes of the people, for at that day not more than one-third of the French could read at all; and a much smaller fraction could read such a work as the ‘Philosophic letters,’ and the books which it called forth. Republicanism was fashionable in the drawing-rooms of Paris for many years before the mass of the people knew what the word meant.

“Among the noblemen who were early smitten in the midst of a despotism with a love of liberty was the Marquis de La Fayette, born in 1757. Few families in Europe could boast a greater antiquity than his. A century before the discovery of America, we find the La Fayette spoken of as an ‘ancient house;’ and in every generation, at least, one member of the family had distinguished himself by his services to his king. This young man coming upon the stage of life when republican ideas were teeming in every cultivated mind, embraced them with all the ardor of youth and intelligence. At sixteen he refused a high post in the household of one of the princes of the blood, and accepted a commission in the army. At the age of seventeen he was married to the daughter of a duke, whose dowry added a considerable fortune to his own ample possessions. She was an exceedingly lovely woman, and tenderly attached to her husband, and he was as fond of her as such a boy could be.

“The American Revolution broke out. In common with all the high-born

republicans of the time, his heart warmly espoused the cause of the revolted Colonies, and he immediately conceived the project of going to America and fighting under her banner. He was scarcely nineteen years of age when he sought a secret interview with Silas Deane, the American envoy, and offered his services to Congress. Mr. Deane, it appears, objected to his youth.

“ ‘When,’ said he, ‘I presented to the envoy my boyish face, I spoke more of my ardor in the cause than of my experience; but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our mutual agreement.’

“ His intention was concealed from his family and from all his friends except two or three confidants. While he was making preparations for his departure, most distressing and alarming news came from America,—the retreat from Long Island, the loss of New York, the battle of White Plains, and the retreat through New Jersey. The American forces, it was said, reduced to a disheartened band of three thousand militia, were pursued by a triumphant army of thirty-three thousand English and Hessians. The credit of the Colonies at Paris sunk to the lowest ebb, and some of the Americans themselves confessed to La Fayette that they were discouraged, and persuaded him to abandon his project. He said to Mr. Deane: ‘Until now, sir, you have only seen my ardor in your cause, and that may not at present prove wholly useless. I shall purchase a ship to carry out your officers. We must feel confidence in the future; and it is especially in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortune.’

“ He proceeded at once with all possible secrecy to raise the money and to purchase and arm a ship. While the ship was getting ready, in order the better to conceal his intention, he made a journey to England, which had previously been arranged by his family. He was presented to the British king, against whom he was going to fight; he danced at the house of the minister who had the department of the Colonies; he visited Lord Rawdon, afterward distinguished in the Revolutionary struggle; he saw at the opera Sir Henry Clinton, whom he next saw on the battlefield of Monmouth; and he breakfasted with Lord Shelburne, a friend of the Colonies.

“ ‘While I concealed my intentions,’ he tells us, ‘I openly avowed my sentiments. I often defended the Americans. I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and it was my spirit of opposition that obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne.’

“ On his return to France his project was discovered and his departure forbidden by the king. He sailed, however, in May, 1777, cheered by his countrymen, and secretly approved by the government itself. On arriving at Philadelphia, he sent to Congress a remarkably brief epistle to the following effect:

“ ‘After my sacrifices, I have the right to ask two favors: one is, to serve at my own expense; the other, to begin to serve as a volunteer.’

“ Congress immediately named him a major-general of the American army, and he at once reported himself to General Washington. His services at the Brandywine, where he was badly wounded; in Virginia, where he held an important command; at Monmouth, where he led the attack,—are sufficiently well known.

When he had been in America about fifteen months, the news came of the impending declaration of war between France and England. He then wrote to Congress that, so long as he had believed himself free, he had gladly fought under the American flag; but that his own country being at war, he owed to it the homage of his services, and he desired their permission to return home. He hoped, however, to come back to America; and assured them that, wherever he went, he should be a zealous friend of the United States. Congress gave him leave of absence, voted him a sword, and wrote a letter on his behalf to the King of France.

“‘We recommend this noble young man,’ said the letter of Congress, ‘to the favor of your Majesty, because we have seen him wise in counsel, brave in battle, and patient under the fatigues of war.’

“‘He was received in France with great distinction, which he amusingly describes: ‘When I went to court, which had hitherto only written for me orders for my arrest, I was presented to the ministers. I was interrogated, complimented, and exiled—to the hotel where my wife was residing. Some days after, I wrote to the king to acknowledge *my fault*. I received in reply a light reprimand and the colonelcy of the Royal Dragoons. Consulted by all the ministers, and, what was much better, embraced by all the women, I had at Versailles the favor of the king, and celebrities at Paris.’

“‘In the midst of his popularity he thought always of America, and often wished that the cost of the banquets bestowed upon him could be poured into the treasury of Congress. His favorite project at that time was the invasion of England,—Paul Jones to command the fleet and himself the army. When this scheme was given up he joined all his influence to that of Franklin to induce the French government to send to America a powerful fleet and a considerable army. When he had secured the promise of this valuable aid, he returned to America and served again in the armies of the young republic.

“‘The success of the United States so confirmed him in his attachment to republican institutions, that he remained their devoted adherent and advocate as long as he lived.

“‘May this revolution,’ said he once to Congress, ‘serve as a lesson to oppressors, and as an example to the oppressed.’

“‘And in one of his letters from the United States occurs this sentence: ‘I have always thought that a king was at least a useless being; viewed from this side of the ocean, a king cuts a poor figure indeed.’

“‘By the time he had left America, at the close of the war, he had expended in the service of Congress seven hundred thousand francs,—a free gift to the cause of liberty.

“‘One of the most pleasing circumstances of La Fayette’s residence in America was the affectionate friendship which existed between himself and General Washington. He looked up to Washington as to a father as well as a chief, and Washington regarded him with a tenderness truly paternal. La Fayette named his eldest son George Washington, and never omitted any opportunity to testify

his love and veneration for the illustrious American. Franklin, too, was much attached to the youthful enthusiast, and privately wrote to General Washington, asking him, for the sake of the young and anxious wife of the marquis, not to expose his life except in an important and decisive engagement.

“In the diary of the celebrated William Wilberforce, who visited Paris soon after the peace, there is an interesting passage descriptive of La Fayette’s demeanor at the French court: ‘He seemed to be the representative of the democracy in the very presence of the monarch,—the tribune intruding with his veto within the chamber of the patrician order. His own establishment was formed upon the English model, and, amidst the gayety and ease of Fountainebleau, he assumed an air of republican austerity. When the fine ladies of the court would attempt to drag him to the card table, he shrugged his shoulders with an air of affected contempt for the customs and amusements of the old régime. Meanwhile, the deference which this champion of the new state of things received, above all from the ladies of the court, intimated clearly the disturbance of the social atmosphere, and presaged the coming tempest.’ From the close of the American war for independence, to the beginning of the French Revolution, a period of six years elapsed, during which France suffered much from the exhaustion of her resources in aiding the Americans. La Fayette lived at Paris, openly professing republicanism, which was then the surest passport to the favor both of the people and of the court. The Queen of France herself favored the republican party, though without understanding its objects or tendencies. La Fayette naturally became the organ and spokesman of those who desired a reform in the government. He recommended, even in the palace of the king, the restoration of civil rights to the Protestants; the suppression of the heavy and odious tax upon salt; the reform of the criminal courts; and he denounced the waste of the public money upon princes and court favorites.

“The Assembly of the Notables convened in 1787, to consider the state of the kingdom. La Fayette was its most conspicuous and trusted member, and it was he who demanded a convocation of the representatives of all the departments of France, for the purpose of devising a permanent remedy for the evils under which the French were suffering.

“‘What, sir,’ said one of the royal princes to La Fayette, ‘do you really demand the assembling of a General Congress of France?’

“‘Yes, my lord,’ replied La Fayette, ‘and more than that.’

“Despite the opposition of the court, this memorable Congress met at Paris, in 1789, and La Fayette represented in it the nobility of his province. It was he who presented the ‘Declaration of Rights,’ drawn upon the model of those with which he had been familiar in America, and it was finally adopted. It was he, also, who made the Ministers of the Crown responsible for their acts, and for the consequences of their acts.

“When this National Assembly was declared permanent, La Fayette was elected its Vice President, and it was in that character that, after the taking of the Bastille, he went to the scene, at the head of a deputation of sixty members,

to congratulate the people upon their triumph. The next day, a city guard was organized to preserve the peace of Paris, and the question arose in the Assembly who should command it. The president rose and pointed to the bust of La Fayette, presented by the State of Virginia to the City of Paris. The hint was sufficient, and La Fayette was elected to the post by acclamation. He called his citizen soldiers by the name of the National Guard, and he distinguished them by a tri-colored cockade, and all Paris immediately fluttered with tri-colored ribbons and badges.

“ ‘This cockade,’ said La Fayette, as he presented one to the National Assembly, ‘will make the tour of the world.’ ”

“ From the time of his acceptance of the command of the National Guard, the career of La Fayette changed its character, and the change became more and more marked as the Revolution proceeded. Hitherto, he had been chiefly employed in rousing the sentiment of liberty in the minds of his countrymen; but now that the flame threatened to become a dangerous conflagration, it devolved upon him to stay its ravages. It was a task beyond human strength, but he most gallantly attempted it. On some occasions he rescued with his own hands the victims of the popular fury and arrested the cockaded assassins who would have destroyed them. But even his great popularity was ineffectual to prevent the massacre of innocent citizens, and more than once, overwhelmed with grief and disgust, he threatened to throw up the command.

“ On that celebrated day when sixty thousand of the people of Paris poured in a tumultuous flood into the park of Versailles, and surrounded the palace of the king, La Fayette was compelled to join the throng, in order, if possible, to control its movements. He arrived in the evening, and spent the whole night in posting the National Guard about the palace, and taking measures to secure the safety of the royal family. At the dawn of day he threw himself upon the bed for a few minutes’ repose. Suddenly the alarm was sounded. Some infuriated men had broken into the palace, killed two of the king’s body guard, and rushed into the bedchamber of the queen, a minute or two after she had escaped from it. La Fayette ran to the scene, followed by some of the National Guard, and found all the royal family assembled in the king’s chamber, trembling for their lives. Beneath the windows of the apartment was a roaring sea of upturned faces, scarcely kept back by a thin line of National Guards. La Fayette stepped out upon the balcony, and tried to address the crowd, but could not make himself heard. He then led out upon the balcony the beautiful queen, Marie Antoinette, and kissed her hand; then seizing one of the body guard, embraced him, and placed his own cockade upon the soldier’s hat. At once, the temper of the multitude was changed, and the cry burst forth: ‘Long live the General! Long live the Queen! Long live the Body Guards!’ ”

“ It was immediately announced that the king would go with the people to Paris; which had the effect of completely allaying their passions. During the long march of ten miles, La Fayette rode close to the door of the king’s car-

riage, and thus conducted him, in the midst of the tramping crowd, in safety to the Tuileries. When the royal family was once more secure within its walls, one of the ladies, the daughter of the late king, threw herself into the arms of La Fayette, exclaiming: 'General, you have saved us.' From this moment dates the decline of La Fayette's popularity; and his actions, moderate and wise, continually lessened it. He demanded, as a member of the National Assembly, that persons accused of treason should be fairly tried by a jury, and he exerted all his power, while giving a constitution to his country, to preserve the monarchy.

"To appease the suspicions of the people that the king meditated a flight from Paris, he declared that he would answer with his head for the king's remaining.

"When, therefore, in June, 1791, the king and queen made their blundering attempt to escape, La Fayette was immediately suspected of having secretly aided it. Danton cried out at the Jacobin Club: 'We must have the person of the king, or the head of the commanding general!' It was in vain that after the king's return, he ceased to pay him royal honors; nothing could remove the suspicions of the people. Indeed, he still openly advised the preservation of the monarchy, and, when a mob demanded the suppression of the royal power, and threatened violence to the National Guard, the general, after warning them to disperse, ordered the troops to fire,—an action which totally destroyed his popularity and influence. Soon after, he resigned his commission and his seat in the Assembly, and withdrew to one of his country seats. He was not long allowed to remain in seclusion. The allied dynasties of Europe, justly alarmed at the course of events in Paris, threatened the new republic with war. La Fayette was appointed to command one of the three armies gathered to defend the frontiers. While he was disciplining his troops, and preparing to defend the country, he kept an anxious eye upon Paris, and saw with ever increasing alarm the prevalence of the savage element in politics. In 1792, he had the boldness to write a letter to the National Assembly, demanding the suppression of the clubs, and the restoration of the king to the place and power assigned him by the Constitution. Learning soon after the new outrages put upon the king, he suddenly left his army and appeared at the bar of the Assembly, accompanied by a single Aide-de-camp; there he renewed his demands, amid the applause of the moderate members; but a member of the opposite party adroitly asked: 'Is the enemy conquered? Is the country delivered, since General La Fayette is in Paris?' 'No,' replied he, 'the country is not delivered; the situation is unchanged; and, nevertheless, the general of one of our armies is in Paris.' After a stormy debate, the Assembly declared that he had violated the Constitution in making himself the organ of the army legally incapable of deliberating, and had rendered himself amenable to the minister of war for leaving his post without permission. Repulsed thus by the Assembly, coldly received at court, and rejected by the National Guard, he returned to his army despairing of the country. There he made one more attempt to save the king by inducing him to come to his camp and fight for his throne. This pro-

ject being rejected, and the author of it denounced by Robespierre, his bust publicly burned in Paris, and the medal formerly voted him broken by the hand of the executioner, he deemed it necessary to seek an asylum in a neutral country. Having provided for the safety of his army, he crossed the frontiers, in August, 1792, accompanied by twenty-one persons, all of whom on passing an Austrian post were taken prisoners, and La Fayette was thrown into a dungeon. His noble wife, who had been for fifteen months a prisoner in Paris, hastened, after her release, to share her husband's captivity. For five years, in spite of the remonstrances of England, America, and the friends of liberty everywhere, La Fayette remained a prisoner. To every demand for his liberation, the Austrian government replied, with its usual stupidity, that the liberty of La Fayette was incompatible with the safety of the governments of Europe. He owed his liberation at length, to General Bonaparte, and it required *all his* great authority to procure it. When La Fayette was presented to Napoleon to thank him for his interference, the First Consul said to him: 'I don't know what the devil you have done to the Austrians; but it cost them a mighty struggle to let you go.' La Fayette voted publicly against making Napoleon consul for life, and against the establishment of the empire. Notwithstanding this, Napoleon and he remained very good friends. The Emperor said of him one day: 'Everybody in France is corrected of his extreme ideas of liberty except one man, and that man is La Fayette. You see him now tranquil: very well; if he had an opportunity to serve his chimeras, he would reappear upon the scene more ardent than ever.' Upon his return to France he was granted the pension belonging to the military rank he had held under the republic, and he recovered a competent estate from the property of his wife. Napoleon also gave a military commission to his son, George Washington, and when the Bourbons were restored, La Fayette received an indemnity, of four hundred and fifty thousand francs. Napoleon's remark proved correct. La Fayette, though he spent most of the evening of his life in directing the cultivation of his estates, was always present at every crisis in the affairs of France to plead the cause of constitutional liberty. He made a fine remark once in its defence, when taunted with the horrors of the French Revolution: 'The tyranny of 1793,' he said, 'was no more a republic than the massacre of St. Bartholomew was a religion.' His visit to America, in 1824, is well remembered. He was the guest of the Nation, and Congress, in recompense of his expenditures during the Revolutionary war made him a grant of two hundred thousand dollars and an extensive tract of land. It was La Fayette who, in 1830, was chiefly instrumental in placing a constitutional monarch upon the throne of France. The last words he ever spoke in public were uttered in behalf of the French refugees who had fled from France for offences merely political: and the last words he ever wrote recommended the abolition of slavery. His son, George Washington, always the friend of liberty, like his father, died in 1849. Two grandsons of La Fayette are still living in France, both of whom have been in public life."

By JAMES PARTON.

"In 1824 the marquis made his triumphal journey through the United States. A steamboat was taken off the line and placed at his disposition in New York, and he and his suite proceeded immediately up the Hudson, and paid General Lewis (Morgan) a visit at Staatsburgh. A collation was ready for them, and

after remaining with us a few hours he returned to the steamboat, which was waiting at the general's private dock, and we were all invited to join his party and accompany him to Clermont.

"When we arrived abreast of Rhinebeck landing, the steamboat was hailed by a rowboat. The captain stopped, and Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston, who had been the colonel of one of La Fayette's regiments, was assisted up the side of the steamer. La Fayette received him as he put his foot on the deck; the old men fell into each others arms, and there was not a dry eye in the crowd.



LA FAYETTE MEDAL.

"At Clermont a fête to the tenantry, a ball and fireworks were in preparation to celebrate his arrival. A rainy afternoon interfered with the outdoor amusements, but the dance was a success. Before anyone was allowed to take the floor, the band played, and La Fayette gave his arm to Mrs. Montgomery (widow of General Richard). They opened the ball by walking twice around the room. The dancing then commenced.

"The supper table was set under the orange trees in the greenhouse; my seat was next to George Washington La Fayette. He was a grave, middle-aged man, and looked more like a German than a Frenchman.

"In the evening we were a little disturbed by a delegation from Hudson, requiring that La Fayette should be given up to them, as if he had become a State prisoner. They wanted their share of the guest of the nation. General Lewis, who was a member of the committee who had him under their protection, was steady in his refusal, and secured for the veteran a quiet sleep, which he greatly needed."



LA FAYETTE MEDAL.

THE LA FAYETTE MEDAL

When General La Fayette, by invitation of Congress, revisited the United States in 1824, bronze medals were struck off in his honor. One of them lies before me. On the obverse side is a bust of La Fayette surrounded by the words, "General La Fayette." The reverse side is encircled by a wreath of laurel, in

the centre of which is the legend, "The defender of American and French liberty, 1777-1824. Born in Chavaniac, the 6 September, 1757."

The three following letters have never appeared in print.

"MORRISTOWN, Jan. the 7th, 1780.

"DEAR SIR:

"I take this opportunity of inquiring from you what are your present prospects of settling the unhappy and disgracing dispute which has taken place—having nothing to do here in the presence of Genl. St. Clair I should have liked to stay with you—whatever has been said by some on this occasion, I cannot yet believe that the soldiers of your line and particularly those of the light infantry have forgot their sentiments for one whom they must know to be their friend—however dissatisfied I may be with their present mode of conduct which makes me more unhappy than anything I have experienced, I shall therefore try to render them service if it comes within the reach of my power.

"General Washington is expected here at every minute—What he must feel you will easily guess—I am sure he will be disposed to do anything that may prove serviceable to the soldiers—But they ought to be sensible of his disposition and therefore apply to him through your mediation.

"With the most sincere affection, I am,

"Yours

"LAFAYETTE.

"To

"COLONEL WALTER STEWART."

"NEW WINDSOR, January the 30th, 1781.

"DEAR SIR:

"As I have promised to let you know the time of my going to Rhode Island, I hasten to inform you that His Excellency and myself intend to set out in a few days for that place. The Pennsylvania business must be now pretty far advanced, and I fancy you'r staying with Genl. Waine and Col. Butler is not for the present necessary. I therefore advise you to come here as soon as possible, where we may make arrangements for our journey.

"Adieu,

"Yours affectionately,

"To COL. WALTER STEWART,"
"at Trenton.

"LAFAYETTE.

"Have General Waine and Colonel Butler any intention to go to Rhode Island this time? Give them my best compliments, and to the other gentlemen if you are with them."

"LAGRANGE, Feby. 19th, 1826.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"This letter will be delivered by Mr. Pascal, a young French gentleman who intends, with his mother, a very amiable lady, to settle themselves in the U. S., probably in the State of New York, and in your part of the country. They live for each other and think, with much reason, that nowhere on this side of the Atlantic they could find so much liberty, quiet and happiness. Young Pascal goes first to make inquiries and fix upon a choice of purchase. I beg you to favor him with your kind advice and the benefit of your experience. Happy I am in the opportunity to remind you of the old friend of your Beloved parents, to present my re-

spects to Mrs. Church doubly dear to my most precious recollections and to your amiable daughters, whom a friendly image engraved in my heart has made me recognize before they were named to me. Let me hear from you all. Remember me to my friends in your vicinity, and believe me forever,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ LAFAYETTE.

“ PHILIP CHURCH, ESQ.

“ My son, and LeVallens beg to be remembered to you. I had the pleasure to see Mrs. Cruger and family before their departure as she will have informed you, and would be happy to hear you contemplated a family party on this side of the Atlantic.”



KOSCIUSZKO.—From a sketch made by himself.

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO

A Polish Patriot

“Kosciuszko, Tadeusz (Thaddeus) Polish patriot, born near Novogrudok, Lithuania, 12 February, 1746; died in Solothurn, Switzerland, October 15th, 1817. He was descended from a noble Lithuanian family, studied at the military academy in Warsaw, and, completing his education in France at the expense of the state, returned to Poland, entered the army and rose to the rank of captain. An unrequited passion for the daughter of the Marquis of Lithuania, induced him to leave Poland in 1775, and offer his assistance to the Americans in their war for independence. The number of foreign auxiliary officers had become numerous, and Washington had complained to Congress in October, 1776, that he was unable to employ many of them owing to their ignorance of English. Kosciuszko, however, arrived with letters of recommendation from Benjamin Franklin to Washington, who inquired what he could do. ‘I come to fight as a volunteer for American independence,’ replied Kosciuszko. ‘What can you do?’ asked Washington. ‘Try me,’ was the reply. He received his commission as a colonel of engineers, October 18th, 1776, and repaired to his post with the troops under General Gates who described him as an ‘able engineer’ and ‘one of the best and neatest draughtsmen that he ever saw,’ and selected him for the northern service ordering him ‘after he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the works, to point out where and in what manner the best improvements and additions could be made thereto.’ Kosciuszko, therefore, planned the encampment and post of Gates’ army at Bemis Heights, near Saratoga, from which, after two well-fought actions, Burgoyne found it impossible to dislodge the Americans. Kosciuszko was subsequently the principal engineer in executing the works at West Point. He became one of Washington’s adjutants and aided General Nathaniel Greene in the unsuccessful siege of ninety-six, receiving for his services the thanks of Congress, and the brevet of brigadier-general, October 13th, 1783. One of Washington’s latest official acts was to intercede with Congress for the bestowal of these honors. He was also made a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. At the end of the war he returned to Poland where he lived several years in retirement. When the Polish army was reorganized in 1789, he was appointed a major-general and fought in defence of the constitution of May 3d, 1791, under Prince Poniatowski, against the Russians. He was in the battle of Zielence, June 18th, 1792, and in that of Dubienka, July 17th, 1792, where, with only four thousand men, he kept fifteen thousand Russians at bay for six hours, making his retreat without great loss. But the patriots were overwhelmed by numbers, and when King Stanislas submitted to the second partition of Poland, Kosciuszko resigned his commission and retired to Leipsic, where he received

from the National Assembly the citizenship of France. He determined to make a second effort for Poland, and a rising of his countrymen was secretly planned. Kosciuszko was elected dictator and general-in-chief. On March 24, 1794, he suddenly appeared in Cracow, issued a manifesto against the Russians, and hastily collected a force of about five thousand peasants, armed mostly with scythes. At Raclawice he routed a Russian corps that was almost twice as strong, and returned in triumph to Cracow. He committed the conduct of government affairs to a national council that was organized by himself, and after receiving reinforcements moved forward in quest of the Russian army. The march was opposed by the King of Prussia at the head of forty thousand men, and Kosciuszko, whose force was only thirteen thousand, was defeated at Szczekociny, June 6, 1794. Unable to check the prevailing anarchy, Kosciuszko resigned the dictatorship and retired with his army to Warsaw, and defended it against the Prussians and Russians, whom he compelled to raise the siege. Austria now took part against him with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and he was routed at Maciejowice, October 10, 1794. Kosciuszko fell, covered with wounds. He was imprisoned at St. Petersburg for two years, until the death of Catharine, when the Emperor Paul gave him his liberty, with many marks of esteem. The czar, in releasing him, offered him his sword; but Kosciuszko refused to accept it, saying 'I have no need of a sword; I have no country to defend.' Subsequently his countrymen in the French army of Italy presented him with the sword of John Sobieski. On crossing the Russian frontier he returned to the czar the patent of his pension and every testimonial of Russian favor, and passed the rest of his life in retirement. He visited the United States in 1797, where he was received with distinction and obtained from Congress a grant of land, in addition to the pension that he had received after the Revolutionary war. He then resided at Fountainbleau until 1814, engaged in agriculture. When Napoleon was about to invade Poland in 1806, he wished to employ Kosciuszko, who, being under parole not to fight against Russia, refused to enlist, and the proclamation to the Poles, that appeared in the 'Moniteur' under his name in 1806, he declared to be a forgery. In 1816 he removed to Solothurn, Switzerland, and in the following year sent a manumission to all serfs on his Polish estate. His death was caused by a fall from his horse over a precipice. The Emperor Alexander had him interred beside Poniatowski and Sobieski in the cathedral of Cracow, near which city the people raised to his memory a mound one hundred and fifty feet high, the earth of which was brought from every great battlefield of Poland. From a fancied resemblance to this mound the loftiest mountain in Australia has received the name of Kosciuszko.

"A monument of white marble, designed by John H. B. Latrobe, and represented in the illustration, was erected to his memory at West Point by the United States Military academy cadet corps of 1828, at a cost of \$5,000.

By GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON.



Stewben
M. of G. H. H.

BARON STEUBEN

A Prussian Soldier

“Frederic William Augustus von Steuben, was born in the fortress of Magdeburg, November 15, 1730. His father stood high in the Prussian Army as an able and scientific officer,—poor in money, but rich in fame and children, having had ten. His biographer coolly remarks it was fortunate most of them died, as he had not the means to educate them. Fortunately for America, Frederic was destined to live, and was splendidly educated at the Jesuit College at Breslau, then frequented by Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. He was a fine mathematician and his whole education far superior to that usually received by the sons of poor noblemen, as besides his technical education he could read and write French and German fluently, thereby eclipsing the Great Frederic himself.

“From his childhood Steuben saw nothing and heard of nothing but war and soldiers. At the age of fourteen he served as a volunteer under his father in the war of the Austrian Succession, and at seventeen he entered as cadet in the famous Infantry Regiment Tauenzien. When the Seven Years war broke out he served as lieutenant and often referred to the fact that he was at the battle of Rossbach, and helped make the Frenchmen run away. He was among the chosen number of talented young officers, whom Frederic personally instructed in the most difficult branches of military art and prepared for the most responsible duties of staff officers, and he was made one of the quartermaster lieutenants.

“Soon after the close of the Seven Years war, Steuben quitted the Emperor's service, for which many reasons are given—the famous parsimony of Frederic is prominently mentioned, as well as his manner of replying when complaints were made by even such men as Blücher and York, ‘Let them go to the devil’—and some of them went; but our baron was made Grand Marshal of the Court of Prince Henry of Hohenzollern, Hechingen, then a distinguished post, which he filled for ten years, and then entered the service of the Margrave of Baden, who in 1760 had him decorated with the Cross of the Order ‘de la Fidelité,’ which was never a Prussian Order and consisted at the time of only thirty members. This Cross (sometimes erroneously called the Star) was always worn by the baron and by his request was buried with him. In 1777, Steuben arrived in Paris en route for England; but it was New England he was destined to serve and not Old England. France was at that time resolved to give her rival a blow and had espoused the cause of the Americans. Various overtures were made to Steuben and after many plans he finally consented to sail for America and offer his services as volunteer to Congress. Franklin and Deane, the American Commissioners, were then in Paris, and the idols of the French Court and salons;

but although anxious to secure the services of this great officer they could offer no terms, nor even his expenses across the Atlantic. To quiet the jealousy of the Americans at having foreigners placed in command over them, strategy was resorted to, and advantage was taken of their ignorance of foreign courts and titles. Our hero was introduced as having been lieutenant-general of the Great Frederic, instead of aide-de-camp only and lieutenant. Even Franklin confounded this title with the one of general in the service of the Margrave of Baden, of which court probably not one member of Congress had ever heard. The ruse was perfectly successful—and soon after joining Washington as a volunteer at Valley Forge, Steuben was raised to the rank of inspector general, without opposition, and became, in spite of his ignorance of our language, his quick temper and strict discipline, a general favorite with the soldiers and officers. He resorted to all manner of devices to lessen the hardships and strengthen their courage during the terrible winter at Valley Forge, 1777-8. It is to him we owe the origin of the term 'Sans Culottes' which afterward became of such terrible meaning during the French Revolution. He invited the officers to dine with him, the stipulation being, no officer could come who had a whole pair of trousers to his name, and all were requested to bring their own provisions. Tough beefsteak and potatoes—with walnuts made up the bill of fare. 'Instead of wine,' writes Duponceaux, 'we had Salamanders; that is we filled our glasses with spirits of some kind, set it on fire and drank it flames and all. Never was there such a set of ragged and at the same time merry fellows. The baron always loved to speak of that dinner and his "Sans Culottes."'

"Too much praise cannot be given to Steuben for his splendid drill of our army, and from the time of his appointment as inspector general began the long series of victories leading up to Yorktown and the final surrender of Cornwallis. A dark side of the picture comes before us in the long delay of Congress on fixing the amount of his payment; and some members even refused that he had any claim for rank or distinction beyond that of an ordinary drill sergeant, a slander that Washington did his utmost to put down, and in 1780 he was allowed a pension for life of fifteen hundred dollars a year. Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York made him grants of land. On his estate in Oneida county of sixteen thousand acres, reaching as far south as Oriskany creek, our baron spent the remaining summers of his life, returning in winter to New York where he lived with Colonel Benjamin Walker. He was of too generous and even extravagant a nature to be ever anything but a poor man, and numberless deeds are recorded of his gifts to those poorer than himself, and especially to the poor soldiers of the Continental Army; to these, his house and purse were always open, however little there might be contained in either.

"Immediately after Yorktown he sold some of the silver furnishing of his camp chest, brought from Europe, that he might give a feast. 'I can stand it no longer. We are continually dining with these people and cannot even give them a bite of sausage meat in return. One grand dinner shall they have, if I eat forever after with a wooden spoon.' On the 4th of July, 1780, he gave a

feast to all his settlers and neighbors in Steuben ; and when he found a worthy soldier he gave him a lot of land, varying from forty to one hundred acres.

“ He was a frequent guest at the Mappas and Vander Kemps in Trenton village, and like oft told tales have been to me the traditions of the great state and ceremony attending his visits ; when such feasts were prepared by ‘Tante Michi,’ the famous housekeeper and friend, that linger still in the memory of those who came next after these heroes. When it was time for the baron to return to his home on Steuben Hill, the whole household formed in line and escorted him to



BARON STEUBEN'S RESIDENCE.—“The Palace of Logs.”

the edge of the forest, which at that time came almost down to the village. Chess was a favorite game with them all, and if the battle could not be ended, the board was left untouched until the next time. In the cultivated society of this little Dutch community in Trenton village, or Olden Barneveld as it was often called, he took much pleasure and we often imagined the old trees could tell of possible love affairs between the baron and some of the Mappas and Vander Kemps, and perhaps both ! He was an elegant horseman and rode all over his vast estate with all the pleasure of a fearless rider.

“ Before me on the table as I write, rests a chess or backgammon board of rare beauty of design and workmanship, whose history carries us back to the time when Frederic the Great challenged the admiration of all Europe, and when Prussia was at the height of its military power and greatness. This chess board, which formed a part of the furnishings of the military chest our baron brought from Europe with him, is made in the usual oblong shape of rosewood, finely inlaid with white ivory and black horn squares for the chessmen, which were all finished at the end with a sharp prong made to fit into a hole in the centre of each square, to secure steadiness when playing on shipboard or on long carriage journeys. The inner part of the board, for backgammon, is finished with beautifully inlaid ‘points,’ and in the centre is a diamond-shaped figure with fac similes of the different faces of the dice. The cups are of white ivory and black horn, of very graceful shape and proportions. To such an able tactician and strategist as Von Steuben, we can well imagine the fascination the game of chess would have, and as he moved and arranged his pieces and formed his skillful combinations for attack or defence, the memory of past battlefields and visions of future conquests, may also have moved across the board and mingled with the moves of the chessmen. The king may have taken the semblance of George III. as represented by Lord Cornwallis, and our baron himself may have personified the valiant knight, who by his skillful moves aided so effectually in giving the final checkmate at Yorktown. Kings and queens, knights, bishops and pawns have moved with startling rapidity across the chess board of Europe during the hundred years that have elapsed since his death, while only twice has war broken out in America, the country of his adoption, where his bones rest in peace among us to this day, on the slope of Starrs Hill, (also named after a soldier of the Continental Army) in a beautiful grove, where the forest trees stand as a silent guard of honor, around his grave, which is now marked by an impressive monument.

“ It is to the baron we owe the plan of a National School, as now realized at West Point; and he was one of the founders of the Order of the Cincinnati for which he wrote nearly all the first invitations. His decoration of the Cross ‘de la Fidelité’ suggested its badge and insignia; he was the vice president of the New York State Society from 1785 to 1786, and its president from 1786 to 1790, when he resigned—having most fully exemplified its motto.

“ ‘ Let us relinquish all to serve the Republic.’

“ He was a great favorite in the best New York society of that day and was an intimate and valued friend of such families as the Duers, Jays, Livingstons, Fishes, and Varicks, where he added much to all social gatherings by his wit and pleasantry and polished manners, while among the Germans he was held in the highest esteem and veneration. He was everywhere spoken of as simply the baron and everyone knew exactly who was meant. At his country house in Steuben in November, 1794, while preparing to return to New York for the winter, Steuben was seized with an attack of paralysis. His faithful friend,

John W. Mulligan, was with him and also his body servant, William. A messenger was instantly sent to Mr. Mappa who was unfortunately away from home. The nearest physician was at Whitesboro, eighteen miles away and it was not until Thursday, the 27th of November that he reached his bedside, too late to render any aid. November 28th, the baron breathed his last. On the 30th he was laid to rest, followed to the grave by about thirty of his immediate neighbors and friends. A few handfuls of earth and the tears of a few sincere, manly friends, were the last tributes paid to the citizen soldier, who had contributed so much toward the achievement of American independence.

"His aide, Colonel North, caused a mural tablet to be erected to his memory in the German Reformed Church in Nassau street, New York. When the Baptists afterward came in possession of the building, they courteously allowed it to be transferred to the new building in Forsyth street. The slab is of clouded bluish marble, of an obelisk form, the lower urn has upon it a representation of the Cross de la Fidelité. The inscription is by Colonel North, so beautiful it might well be inscribed on a granite monument over his grave."

BLANDINA DUDLEY MILLER.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

"MON AMI

"je consens d'ecire au Gouverneur de jersey mais comme cette Excellence n'eu tend pas le francais, il faut que Vous ayez la Conte d'ecire la lettre. Vous pouvez me l'envoyez pour Signes.

"Parté cependent a notre bon ami Steward peut etre at-il quelque influence Sur ce bon gre de Haring.

"Pour Niel nous troverons bien Moyen de le chasser quand nous sommes une fois en possession.

"je suis d' accord de toutes, les Reparations, que vous juges nessessaire.

"Allez voir le frere de ce Haring Membre du Congres de cet Etat, on le dit honnete homme, peut etre peut-il Efectres quelque chose.

"STEUBEN.

"To

"COLONEL WALKER."

CHAPTER XII

PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT

Of Van Cortlandt Manor

“HE was the eldest son of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt and his wife Johanna, daughter of Gilbert Livingston, and a great-grandson of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, who married Gertrude, the daughter of Philip Pieterse Van Schuyler. His grandfather, Philip Van Cortlandt, upon his decease, entailed the manor to his eldest male descendent; but his eldest grandson, Philip, whose father sided with the crown, became a colonel in the British service, and so was unable to substantiate his claim after the war.

“At the age of fifteen he was placed at the Coldenham Academy, under the care of Professor Adams, until at the completion of his studies, when he became proficient in the profession of a land surveyor. Governor Tryon commissioned him major of Colonel Ver Planck’s regiment, raised on the manor, before the Revolutionary war broke out. When it came he threw his commission in the fire, and, notwithstanding the earnest requests of his family relations, took issue with his father and espoused the cause of the opponents of the crown. Governor Tryon and his wife visited the manor house in hopes of persuading the family to remain loyal; but finding it useless, left, when young Philip offered his services to and was recommended by the military committee, and on the 18th of June, 1775, was commissioned by Congress, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fourth Battalion of the New York Continental Infantry, marching with it to Ticonderoga. Having procured a leave of absence, and meeting Washington at the house of his relative, James Van Cortlandt, in Westchester county, he appointed him at Kingsbridge on his staff.

“General McDougall wrote to the military committee: ‘As Lieutenant-Colonel Van Cortlandt is the oldest of that rank, I take it for granted, as he is a young gentleman of family and spirit, he will be appointed to the command of my old regiment.’

“Washington now filled up a commission for him as colonel, dated the 30th of November, 1776, assigning him to the command of the Second New York Regiment, in place of Colonel Ritzema. He reached his new command at Trenton the morning after the battle, when it was ordered to Fishkill, where it assisted in the protection of the passes of the Hudson, until ordered to the relief of Fort Schuyler, up the Mohawk Valley. When St. Leger was defeated, it was ordered back, and joined General Poor’s brigade, opposing the advance of Burgoyne in Saratoga, until his surrender, on the 17th of October, 1777, when it moved down the river to Kingston, which Sir Henry Clinton had burned, just



L. H. V. Cortlandt

before his hasty retreat to New York, and joined Washington at White Marsh, going into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

“At the request of Washington he remained in command of the post at Radner’s meeting house, while his regiment, in pursuit of the British retreating from Philadelphia, was engaged without him in the action of Monmouth. He rejoined it at Poughkeepsie, and resumed the command during the winter in the cantonments on the Hudson at New Windsor. In the spring of the next year, 1779, his regiment, consisting of six hundred men, was ordered to join General Sullivan at Fort Penn. Defeating the Indian chief Brant, in a skirmish on the way, he reached Wilkesbarre, marching thirty miles through the wilderness in thirty days, and took part in the defeat and total rout of Butler’s Tories and Brant’s Indians, laying their country waste all the way to Tioga. He then brought his regiment to Morristown, going into winter quarters there, and sitting on Arnold’s court martial at Philadelphia in January.

“In the spring of 1780, he brought his regiment again to the defence of the Hudson, with his camp at West Point, when he was selected to command one of the regiments of light infantry, of the two brigades under La Fayette contemplated for a secret expedition, but which was temporarily abandoned. La Fayette then went to Virginia, joining General Greene in the southern campaign.

“On the 21st of October, 1780, Congress passed the act consolidating the regiments of the different states, and New York’s quota was reduced to two, as follows: The first and third, under Colonel Van Schaick, the second, fourth, fifth and what was left of Colonel James Livingston’s, and the New York portion of Colonel Spencer’s (additional) regiment, under Colonel Van Cortlandt, taking effect by the general order of the 1st of January, 1781. In the following fall he was ordered by Washington to proceed with his regiment as the rear guard of the army, on the way to Yorktown. There he joined La Fayette and Steuben, and during the siege commanded the New York brigade in the trenches until Cornwallis surrendered, when he took charge of the British prisoners in their march to Fredericksburgh, and finally went into winter quarters at Pompton, N. J.

“In the summer of 1782, his command encamped at Ver Planck’s point, on the Hudson, near his home, and in the following winter went into huts at New Windsor. He was present there at the meeting called by the commander-in-chief, to consider the disaffection that had arisen among the troops.

“Upon the disbandment of the army, he presented the colors of the Second New York Regiment, to Governor George Clinton, at Poughkeepsie, and retired to his home.

“In 1783, Congress gave him the rank of brigadier-general, for his services and gallant conduct, at the siege of Yorktown. He served as a member of the New York Assembly and State Senate for several sessions, and held his seat in Congress, from 1793 to 1809.

“When La Fayette visited the United States, in 1824, he entertained and accompanied him on his tour.

“For many years he served as treasurer of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati. He died at his residence, in the eighty-second year of his age; and this great and distinguished veteran’s remains now lie mouldering in the private burying-ground of the family, near the old manor house, overlooking the most picturesque and romantic portion of the Hudson.”

Extract from “The Society of the Cincinnati,” by

JOHN SCHUYLER, Secretary.

MANOR OF CORTLANDT, 10th day of April, 1748.

“I do hereby Certify that I have agreed with Salomon Burtis for the farm where Rich^d Roads did live on for him to enter upon & to keep for his lifetime at the Rate of four Pounds ten Shillings a yeare, payable in money or County Produce yearly. If he should Incline to Dispose of said farm then he must pay me, such a part of said Disposal as we can agree upon—Witness my hand

“PHILIP CORTLANDT.”



VAN CORTLANDT ARMS.



GERTRUYD VAN CORTLANDT.—1688—1777.

LEAVES FROM THE ACCOUNT BOOKS OF AN ORIGINAL
COLONIAL DAME*Aunt of General Schuyler*

“The magic influence of Colonial days asserts itself in this latter part of the nineteenth century, and we treasure as never before, the possessions, and the traditions of our ancestors.

“We imagine them sitting in our old carved chairs, pouring their mulled wine from our tankards, and sipping their Bohea from our handleless teacups.

“How much more vividly are they pictured in our imaginations, when we find their written words in faded ink, on paper, yellow with age—some letter, or diary, that gives us an insight into their manner of life and way of thinking.

“While searching through old papers, in the interest of a Colonial dame of to-day, we find the quaint old time record of one, who was born more than two centuries ago, and one, who, in her day, was a belle and a beauty.

“When the Colonies were young, the Honorable Stephanus Van Cortlandt had seven sprightly daughters, who, with their brothers, made life bright in his home; all beautiful, sensible, and devoted to each other; all greatly admired, and in time, each married to men of high standing in the colony—men of social and political power, a power that many of their descendents wield to-day.

“One of these seven damsels, Gertruyd by name, was a person of much decision of character. Although very young when her father died in 1700, she grew to be her mother’s adviser and helper in the household, and business cares.

“Her picture shows a fair face, and the costume of Queen Anne’s time sets off her figure to great advantage.

“During her youth, Lord Cornbury was Governor of the province, and my Lady Cornbury brought some old world customs to New York. She held a court in imitation of England, and introduced the fashion of forming her household of young ladies of good birth, as was done in great English households, and of employing them in sewing, embroidery, and other useful avocations.

“Gertruyd Van Cortlandt was one of these favored girls, and the memory and influence of the court etiquette remained always with her. Long after, when she was well on in years, she tried to teach her step-granddaughter the manners of Lady Cornbury, and the ladies of her court, to sit very upright on the edge of her chair, and to fold her hands before her as they used to do, but by that time a new era was dawning on New York, a governor’s court was of the past, and it was a difficult matter to impress her teachings on this gay young Gertruyd.

“In 1726, three years after her mother’s death, she married Colonel Henry Beekman—the son of the Colonel Henry Beekman, who owned many thousand acres, in Ulster and Dutchess counties, about whom a story has been often told,

that during his lifetime, a boy asked a Dutch farmer in Ulster county, 'if there was land in the moon?' his answer was, 'Go ask Colonel Beekman, if there is, he surely has a patent for most of it.' The records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York, chronicle the births of two children, a boy and a girl:

“Gertruyd, born March 17th, 1728.

“Henricus, born December 7th, 1729.’

“Nowhere else is there any mention of them, so the little lives must have been very brief, and no other children ever came to gladden Gertruyd’s life.



THE BEEKMAN HOUSE, Rhinebeck, N. Y.

“After her father’s death, she lived with her mother, in their house, in Stone street. She seems as her mother advanced in years, to have been the real head of the household;—that it was a large one we know, for in 1703, ‘Widow Cortlandt had nine slaves; five males, two females, and two children,’ no one else in the city, except Colonel de Peyster, having so many.

“Stone street was the first street paved in New York. The cobble stones were used, we read, ‘as well for ornament as for use.’ It had been Brouwer street until this event. The old accounts show that *the Paver* was regularly paid to keep the street in order, before the Van Cortlandt house.

“What the house was like, we find in an old newspaper of December 16th, 1751, where appears this advertisement:

“To be Lett, a large Dwelling House with a Stable, Outhouse, Bolting House and Garden lying in Stone Street.

“Enquire of Stephen Van Cortlandt.’

“Gertruyd found much to employ her time and her carefully written note-books, would be something for a Colonial dame of 1896, to be proud of, they were so neatly kept, and ‘mother Cortlandt’s’ money, so wisely expended, she must have been a notable housekeeper; she frequented the Vly Market; she bought food and clothing for family and household, she attended to the payment of the doctor’s and the minister’s accounts, cared for the slaves in sickness and in health, and saw that the supply of fuel was always undiminished. The lists of the articles she purchased are many and various, from ‘a purrel necklace’ to a pound of nails.

“To show the difference in the prices now, and one hundred and seventy-eight years ago, we have gathered here and there, some items from her note-books, which covered a period of many years’ duration.

	£	s.	d.
For one Kow & calf & for ye Ferrying over	3	2	
To Meat & Oysters		3	6
“ Strawberrys		4	4
Butler		2	6
“ Paid to the Paver		12	6
To 1 lb. Bohe tea		13	
“ Water Millions & Cowcubmers			7½
“ Fish, meat, bread, melasses,		4	6
“ 2 plectures	2		
“ nails, & ¼ lb. Bohe tea		7	
“ 12 yd. Gresian Lining silk, & silk, corranths & raisins, bt at Blagg’s in the “ Fly	4		
“ Bran & schocolat		10	9
To Kabadges		5	6
Ye minister’s money		7	6
Pd. Appolonia for cleaning feathers		9	
To Cotton for Kandles		3	
“ Duks & schocolat		18	
“ Nails for ye fence in ye Broadway		1	9
“ Minister & poor tax	1		8
“ A leather pr of Britches for ye negro		16	6
To veal, bread & Greens		4	5
To Negro’s stockings		7	6
To ½ Doz. Evory handle knives & forks	1		4
To quilting a petecoat		15	
To 1 cask of Butor		10	
“ Cleaning the well		1	3
To shocklat fish & cranberrys, greens & eggs	1		4 7½
To silk & Ferreton		9	6
To cash to Folkert Herman’s wife for ye whitening of Linnen		9	3
Cash for one pr. of gloves		2	9
To ye widow Rutgers for milk		3	4½
Cash for a Schafindish		9	
To Elizabeth Marrot for sowing		6	6
A haer brush		3	
A pair of brass hand Irons	1		11
To Chikins & pease		4	10½
To The tallow Chandelaer	2		6
“ Robert Livingston for salt		2	6
“ A rope & a Bukket for ye house on ye Broadway		8	
“ Cash paid Sister Schuyler’s ac. which she hath bought for ye family		19	
To one pr of Thongs & shovel with brass nob		11	
Paid the Wascher woman		3	
To Jenny & Molley the sowing girls	2		2 4½

	£	s.	d.
To Loaf Suggar		6	
“ The Dr. for ye servants		3	
To Sowing for ye slaves		1	6
“ Quinces & long pepper		2	4½
“ Meat flower eggs & bread		6	2
“ The Canoe		11	3½
“ Buckweit		13	
“ The Smith mending ye pomp		2	9
“ Blue, starch		1	10
“ Wool		6	
“ Lime & sand		1	6
“ Making 2 bedds		10	
“ Dr Dennis for Thom		12	
“ A shirt for Thom		6	3
“ Rum for the work people		4	
“ Melasses & Bier		2	9
“ Wale bone		6	9
“ Geeses		3	
“ Turkeys, & Cranberrys		5	9
“ One Lock for ye gate		3	
“ Sheet Lead bt of Mr. Bayard		5	
“ 1 day's work to E Brevoort		6	
“ 2 bush lime		3	
“ 1 White Washing Brush		2	
“ Market & Scrobbing brushes		7	
“ 1 Hatt mother presented to Dr. Cobus pd Cadweis	1	2	
To Wood & riding		5	5
“ 1 qr of Bief		17	6
“ Venson		3	3
“ mending old Pewter		6	
“ 1 ox belly & 2 heads		6	6
“ A woman for quilting for mother	2	5	9
To Dying stockings		3	7½
“ Wood & Brooms		8	
“ Silk for 2 beds		8	
“ Ve miller		10	
“ Unloading the boat		2	
“ Mr Finch 1 Hatt & 2 Spactikles		11	2
“ 1 qr. motton		2	6
“ 3 Cedar Posts for ye Cellar door in Stone St.		9	
To mending 2 doors in the brew house		5	
To mending the Citchin Floor	1	7	6
To a bench along the big house, & for painting the same		4	
To a Mason 5½ days for mending the Tile Roof of Tiles which were blown of, & plastering the inside of the house in Sundry places	1	7	6
To Silver, & by 2 chany dishes	1	4	11¾

“The entries are much the same from month to month interspersed with ‘sundries at Markod,’ written in the same unvarying even hand, and the spelling far above the average of that time, when Dutch and English were so oddly intermingled, and used so indiscriminately. We cannot help commending the regularity with which ‘ye minister’s money’ and ‘ye poor tax’ were paid, and also we note how exceedingly fond of ‘schocolat’ ‘mother’s family’ seem to have been. Appolonia and Claudy were called upon continually for such varied services, that we feel a pang of regret that there are no Claudys and Appolonias with such versatile talents to take places in our households of to-day.

“Jenny and Molley ‘the sowing girls’ also found work in plenty for their willing hands in the Stone Street house, the ‘scrobbing brushes,’ brooms, lime.

and sand, found so often on the lists, show that it must have been a neat house, and we can well believe that many good Dutch dishes were warmed in the 'Schafindish.'

"Gertruyd seems to have been very conscientious in her dealings with her mother, every cent received, and expended was recorded, and when in 1723, the dear mother who had been such a heroine in her day, went to her honored rest, (followed by nearly five hundred people, a very large number for that time,) she made a careful list of the funeral expenses, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
To Daniel Gautier for mother's coffin	5		
To The Dutch Choerch for ye grave & bell ringing	3	17	
" James Welsh for bel ringing		18	
" The french bell ringer		12	
" The Porters	1	16	
" Mr. Short for tending the Burial		10	
" Mary Thomson for tending the burial		6	
" Susanna Wells for glasses & spice.		14	6
Pd Claudy for making mourning		13	
To a mourning suit of crape & Tafety	8		
To do for sister Elizabeth	8		
To silk & gloves		4	6
To 1 of silk		4	
To Karting of 3 Bls wyne		2	3
To cash pd John Smith for Candles	2	6	½
To Cash pd Waldron ye Baker on his acct	3	3	9

"And lest it should be forgotten who had done honor to her mother by attending her funeral, she prepared a list headed, '*Begraaf Lyst van moeder Geertruyd van Cortlandt over leide—Primo November anno 1723,*' and beginning it with her mother's descendants (who made a goodly procession by themselves) and the relatives and personal friends, there followed the names of every person who was present, numbering among them all the Clergy, the officers of the Fort, and those from the ships, all the physicians, lawyers and merchants of the day. We find even the names of all the Jews then in the city. After her mother's death she continued for several years to keep the family accounts, and after her marriage to Colonel Henry Beekman (whose first wife was Janet Livingston) she found another and a different sphere of usefulness.

"She was a mother to his only daughter, and we find him providing that she should receive at his death,

"From my mills at Rhinebeck yearly 2 bbls fine flower.

"3 barrels bread,

"2 barrels Indian Corn meel.

"50 hushels Brand, & out of my orchard at Rhinebeck 10 Barrels of the best fruits, and have eggs to my Contry Seat there, and the use of things as she used to have, as when I was alive.

"The one half of the furniture of the house we live in here at York to be disposed of as she pleases after my death and during her life the aforesaid house we live in and furniture and stable there unto Belonging, and the Choise of 3 slaves, & £100 pr annum, to be paid out of my Estate during her Life in Lieu of Dower, &c., &c.'

“ He also allowed her to dispose of her own estate and personal property ‘ as she pleases.’ ”

“ Mrs. Beekman left a paper with the following instructions in addition to her will :

“ ‘ There must be mourning rings for my daughter-in-law, Mrs. Livingston and Each of her daughters Each one, for Mrs. Hawes one, for each of my executors one, for the Pall bearers Each one.

“ ‘ The ring on my finger must be for Elizabeth who now tends me, for Mr. and Mrs. Cockroft, Each one, for Coll. Stuyvesant one, for Each of my Daughter Livingston’s Sons, Each one ; what I have given Mrs. Gage I desire it to be made in a piece of plate with my name on it.

“ ‘ GERTRUYDT BEEKMAN.’ ”

“ Mrs. Gage was the wife of General Gage and the mother of Viscount Gage, she was Mrs. Beekman’s niece and God-daughter. Gertruyd Beekman lived to see her eighty-ninth birthday, and although childless, she had affectionate God-children (all remembered in her will). She was much beloved by the children and grandchildren of her brothers, to whom she left her large estate, (on part of which was situated Anthony’s Nose Mountain) and many of their descendants still keep fresh the memory of ‘ Aunt Beekman.’ ”

By her great-great-great-niece,
CATHARINE T. R. MATHEWS.



VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE.

THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE

Croton-on-Hudson

“Near the mouth of the Croton river stands the Cortlandt Manor House, late the residence of General Philip van Cortlandt, but now (1847) in possession of Colonel Pierre van Cortlandt, his nephew. This venerable mansion was built soon after the erection of the manor by Johannes van Cortlandt, oldest son of Stephanus van Cortlandt, first lord of the manor of Cortlandt. The basement story still retains the old embrasures for fire arms, and the steep flight of steps in front, powerfully reminds the visitor of those sanguinary times, when its noble owners never knew when they were secure from the inroads of the savages, but in proportion to the strength and security of their habitations. The front commands the most extensive and beautiful views of the Croton bay and Hudson river, with the additional interest of a lawn and neat garden, laid out at the foot of the building. It is sheltered on the north by a high hill covered with luxuriant forest trees. The approach to the house is by a road formed on the banks of the Croton river.

“The entrance hall is adorned with several stags’ heads, the only remains of that wild race which anciently spread from the Hudson to Connecticut.

“The library contains a valuable collection of books, interesting autographs and old letters; among the latter an original letter from General Washington, dated Mount Vernon, April 3d, 1797, to Mrs. Clinton, near which is the following, ‘Mrs. Washington presents her compliments to Mrs. Clinton, and finding that Congress will, contrary to their usual practice on Saturdays, assemble to-

morrow, proposes to Mrs. Clinton to visit the Federal building, at six o'clock to-morrow afternoon if it should be convenient to her. Friday afternoon.'

"In the same apartment, is a fine bust of the Honorable Pierre van Cortlandt, from the original painting by Jarvis; and a portrait of General Pierre van Cortlandt, executed in crayons, by Valdemut, 1797. Also the silver mounted pistols of the lieutenant-governor.

"What a variety of illustrious visitors may fancy summon up and set down in this ancient mansion. At one time the illustrious Franklin, seated in the parlor, upon seeing General Pierre van Cortlandt, (then a boy,) walk in with a handful of prickly pears, requested a few of the pins as he was shortly going to France and would like to exhibit in that country pins of domestic manufacture.

"At another time, we have the neighboring tenantry assembled on the lawn, while the eloquent Whitfield addresses them from the piazza.

"The year preceding the commencement of hostilities between the mother country and her Colonies, His Excellency, William Tryon, and suite, paid an unlooked for visit here, of which General Philip van Cortlandt thus speaks: 'I remember Governor Tryon came in a vessel bringing his wife and a young lady, who was a daughter of the Honorable John Watts, a relation of my father, and Colonel Edmund Fanning, his friend and secretary; and after remaining a night, he proposed a walk, and after proceeding to the highest point of land on the farm, being a height which affords a most delightful prospect, when the governor commenced with observing what great favors could be obtained if my father would relinquish his opposition to the views of the king and parliament of Great Britain, what grants of land could and would be the consequence, in addition to other favors of eminence, consequence, &c. My father then observed that he was chosen a representative by the unanimous approbation of a people who placed confidence in his integrity to use all his ability for their benefit and the good country as a true patriot, which line of conduct he was determined to pursue. The governor then turned to Colonel Fanning and said, "I find our business here must terminate, for nothing can be effected in this place, so we will return;" which they did by taking a short and hasty farewell, and embarked on board the sloop and returned to New York.' This was in the year 1774.

"A long walk leads through the old garden or pleasance to the ancient ferry house. This building was occupied by a continental guard during the Revolution, and occasionally favored with the presence of Washington and other distinguished military officers.

"The following orders from the Baron de Kalb bear date,

"CAMP NEAR CROTON BRIDGE, 19th July, 1778.

"Colonel Malcolm's regiment is ordered to march at 2 o'clock to-morrow morning to the fort at West Point, on Hudson's River, with the regiment commanded by Lieut. Col. Parker, which is to join on the road near Croton Bridge. The commander of the two regiments (Col. Burr) will make all convenient dispatch, marching ten miles a day, as water and ground will admit.

"THE BARON DE KALB.'

“ A beautiful lane leads from the ferry house east to the Croton bridge. Below the bridge the river is seen expanding into a wide bay, ornamented with picturesque islands, points of land, and lofty banks, covered with clusters of rich foliage. On the evening of October the 1st, 1609, Henry Hudson anchored the Half-Moon at the mouth of the Croton.

“ The Van Cortlandt cemetery is situated on the summit of a hill west of the mansion. To the west of the cemetery, at the entrance of the neck proper, stood the Indian castle or fort of Kitchawan, one of the most ancient fortresses south of the highlands.

“ There are numerous Revolutionary incidents connected with Croton or Teller's Point deserving of notice. It was off the western extremity that the



VAN CORTLANDT SILVERWARE.
17th Century.

Tea Kettle. Sugar Sifter. Christening Bowl.
Gold Pap Spoon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt's
Watch.

Vulture sloop of war came to anchor on the morning of the 21st of September, 1780, having brought up André for the purpose of holding an interview with Arnold, &c.

“ Stephanus van Cortlandt, first lord of the Manor of Cortlandt, (area eighty-six thousand acres) was the son of the Honorable Oloff Stephenson van Cortlandt, immediately descended from one of the most noble families in Holland, their ancestors having emigrated thither, when deprived of the sovereignty of Courland—the ancient Duchy of Courland in Russia.

“ Courland in Russia (says Schiutzler,) formerly constituted a portion of Livonia, but was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in 1561. It subsequently became a fief of Poland. After the fall of that power it remained for a short time independent under its own Dukes, but in 1795 was united to Russia.

“ In the early part of the 17th century, we find the Dukes of Courland engaged in the military service of the United Netherlands. The ducal troops are said to have rendered great assistance in the reduction of the towns of Karverden and Minden.

“The Dukes of Courland appear to have been represented in 1610 by the Right Honorable Steven van Cortlandt, in South Holland, father of the above mentioned Oloff Stevenson van Cortlandt.

“Like his illustrious ancestors, Oloff Stevenson van Cortlandt chose the military profession. As early as 1639, we find him attached to the military service of the Dutch West India Company. He subsequently emigrated to this country, and was soon after his arrival at New Amsterdam, advanced to the civil department as commissary of cargoes, at a salary of thirty guilders.

“Of this individual, the historian of New Netherland remarks, ‘Oloff Stevenson, or Oloff Stevens van Cortlandt, as he subsequently signed his name, left the company’s service in 1648. On becoming a freeman he embarked in trade, built a brewery in New Amsterdam, and became wealthy. He was Colonel of the Burghery, or City Train Bands, in 1649, in which year he was also appointed one of the nine men. He was one of the signers to the remonstrance transmitted to Holland against the administration of Director Kieft, and the high-handed measures of Director Stuyvesant. In 1654 he was elected Schepen of the City of New Amsterdam, and in 1655 appointed Burgomeester, which office he filled almost uninterruptedly to the close of the Dutch government. His place of residence was in Brouwer-straat, now Stone street. He had the character of being a worthy citizen, and a man most liberal in his charities.’ By his wife, Ann Loockermans, ‘he had issue—seven children—Stephanus, who married Gertrude Schuyler; Maria, who married Jeremias van Rensselaer, Catharine, who married first, John Derval, and secondly, Frederick Philips; Cornelia, who married Barent Schuyler; Jacob, who married Eva Philips; Sophia, who married Andrew Teller, and John, who died unmarried.’”

“Stephanus van Cortlandt died in the year 1700, leaving by his wife Gertrude Schuyler, eleven children, who intermarried with the DePeysters, DeLanceys, Beeckmans, Skinners, Bayards, Johnsons, Van Rensselaers, and Schuylers.”

The beautiful old manor house—with its surrounding glens and woods now consisting of six hundred acres—is still owned and occupied by his descendants.



VAN CORTLANDT MANSION.

THE VAN CORLTANDT MANSION

“Cortlandt house, the ancient residence of the Van Cortlandt family, stands in the vale below, about one mile north from Kingsbridge, on the road leading to the village of Yonkers.

“Jacobus van Cortlandt, the first of the name who enjoyed this estate (eight hundred and fifty acres) was the second son of the Right Honorable Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt. Jacobus married Eva Philipse, daughter of the Honorable Frederick Philipse of the manor of Philipsburgh. Besides the Yonkers, Jacobus van Cortlandt was a landed proprietor of the town of Bedford, in this county.

“Frederick van Cortlandt, only son of Jacobus, married Francis Jay, daughter of the Huguenot, Augustus Jay, by his wife Anna Maria Bayard.

“Upon the death of Frederick van Cortlandt, 12th February, 1749, the estate devolved by the will of Jacobus, Sr., to Jacobus van Cortlandt, Jr., eldest son and heir at law of Frederick. This individual, better known as Colonel James van Cortlandt, nobly used his influence (while residing here during the war) in ameliorating the condition of his suffering countrymen. It not unfrequently happened that a poor neighbor was robbed of everything he possessed; upon application to Colonel van Cortlandt he would assume his red watch coat, and mounting his horse ride down to the city, to intercede in their behalf. He seldom applied in vain, such was the universal respect for his character.

“The present mansion house, a large edifice of stone, was erected by Fred-

erick van Cortlandt, A. D. 1748 ; it forms a noble object when viewed from the lawn. The situation commands nearly the whole length of the vale of Yonkers ; stretching south, the view terminates only by the high hills of New York Island, and Heights of Fordham. The pleasure grounds in front, appear to have been laid out in the ancient Dutch style, with high artificial banks, adorned with rows of stately box, venerable for their height and antiquity ; while below are still visible the remains of old fish ponds and jets d'eau. Above the old-fashioned windows, grim visages in the shape of corbels seem to frown upon the beholder. We suppose them to be a kind of 'genus loci.'

"Two eagles surmount the posts of the old gateway facing the stables. These were part of the spoils taken from a Spanish privateer during the war ; and presented to Augustus van Cortlandt, by Rear Admiral Robert Digby of the British navy. To the east of the house, the Mosholu (Tippetts brook) pent up by the milldam, forms an extensive sheet of water, which is greatly enriched by the vicinity of green meadows, orchards and neighboring hills. South of the pond is situated the old mill.

"During the early period of the Revolutionary war this house was garrisoned by a piquet guard of the Green Yagers, whose officers held their headquarters here.

"His Excellency, General Washington, and aids, dined in one of the apartments on the memorable July of 1781, when the British piquets were driven within the lines upon New York Island. In another room the unfortunate Captain Rowe expired in the arms of his bride elect.

"To the north of the mansion is seen rising Vault Hill, so called from the family sepulchre, which is seated upon its summit. It was upon this hill that General Washington stationed his troops and lighted camp fires for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, whilst he secretly withdrew to join La Fayette before Yorktown in Virginia, A. D. 1781."

In 1889 the property was purchased by the City of New York for a public park.

"Placed in the custody of the Colonial Dames of the State of New York by the Board of Park Commissioners, for a term of twenty-five years pursuant to an Act of the Legislature in 1896.

"Opened as a public museum by the Society of Colonial Dames of the State of New York, on May 27th, 1897, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of Governor Petrus Stuyvesant on the Island of Manhattan."



PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE, Yonkers, N. Y.

THE MANOR OF PHILIPSBURGH

The Philipse family—controllingly identified with Yonkers, N. Y., from 1672 to the time of the Revolutionary war—sprang from a noble house of Bohemia.

“The spelling of the name was F-e-l-y-p-s-e. The earlier generations, we are told, were Hussites, and their descendants continued firm in the faith. The famous ‘Thirty Years’ war, which broke out in 1618, and afterward involved the peace of all Western Europe, started in Bohemia. The Bohemians rose for liberty, and this introduced the conflict. The wildest persecutions followed. At least thirty thousand Bohemian families sought refuge in Saxony, Sweden, Poland, Holland, etc. Bolton says the furthest known back ancestor of the Yonkers Philipse family was the widow of the Right Honorable Viscount Philipse. She fled from Bohemia, taking with her her children, and whatever of her property she could carry, and settled in Friesland, somewhere between 1618 and 1626. Among her children was a son Frederick, who, after settling in Friesland, married Margaret Dacres, of England.

“In the year 1658, Frederick Philipse, (having previously obtained the consent of the Stadtholder and States General,) emigrated from East Friesland to the New Netherlands, carrying with him money, plate and jewels. Upon his arrival in the city of New Amsterdam, (as New York was then called,) he purchased a large estate, and soon became one of its wealthiest merchants. On the 9th of February, 1658, Governor Stuyvesant granted certain lots within the City

of New Amsterdam to Frederick Philipse, which were subsequently confirmed to him by the English governor, on the 12th of April, 1667."

In 1693, out of the favor he enjoyed with the English government, he received the grant of the great Manor of Philipsburgh.

After the death of his first wife, Margaret Hardenbroek, he married, in 1692, Catharine, daughter of Oloff Stenvensen Van Cortlandt; she was born October 25th, 1652, and was the widow of Colonel John de Witt, or Jan der Vall.

Frederick Philipse, the first lord of the Manor of Philipsburgh, died in 1702. He left his valuable property in New York City and New Jersey to his two daughters, Eva and Anna. "His son Philip died before his father, leaving one child, a son, named Frederick. To this grandson (but two years old at his death) and to his own son Adolphus, he left the Philipsburgh Manor. The grandson became the second Lord Philipse. Before he came to his estate, in 1619, his uncle Adolphus, who never married, had died, and left him his share of the manor. So, upon his arrival at manhood, he became owner and lord of the entire Philipsburgh estate, and was, as stated, the second lord of the manor."

His eldest son, Colonel Frederick Philipse, was the third and last lord of the manor.

Robert Bolton writing in 1847, says: "At a short distance above the village landing, facing the post road, is the old manor hall. The present front was erected cir. 1745, the rear at a much earlier period, which is reported to have been built soon after the Philipse family purchased here, A. D. 1682. Although the favorite residence at first, appears to have been Castle Philipse, in Sleepy Hollow.

"The front of the manor hall presents quite a handsome elevation for a country residence of the olden time. It is built in the Dutch style, so fashionable at that period; its roof is surmounted by a heavy line of balustrade forming a terrace, that commands extensive views of the river.

"The principal entrance is through the eastern porch, ornamented with light columns and corresponding pilasters. There are likewise two porches on the eastern front, looking upon the lawn. The interior is fitted up with wainscoted walls, ceilings highly ornamented in arabesque work, and carved marble mantels. The hall is capacious, and its wide staircase with antique balustrades and banister, has a fine effect. The bedrooms are large panelled apartments with old-fashioned fireplaces faced in Dutch tile, representing thereon, Scripture stories with appropriate references.

"In this mansion the lords of the manor on the great rent days, feasted their tenantry. Some idea may be formed of this establishment which maintained thirty white and twenty colored servants.

"In 1779, the lands in this town together with the rest of the Manor of Philipsburgh, became by the attainder of Colonel Frederick Philipse (who fled to England) vested in the State of New York, after having been in the possession of the Philipse family nearly a century. In the year 1784, the state by commission parceled out these lands to various individuals. One of the principal

grantees was Gerard G. Beeckman, Esq., who purchased one thousand six hundred acres in the vicinity of Tarrytown, upon which is situated the old manor house. Mr. Beeckman married Cornelia van Cortlandt; thus after the forfeiture of the Philipses a portion of the manor again reverted to a connection of the ancient family; Jacobus van Cortlandt, having married, 1691, Eva Philipse," daughter of the Honorable Frederick Philipse, first lord of the manor.

An American gentleman who visited the grand old Cathedral at Chester, England, in 1869, relates: "The guide was showing us around, telling us about this thing and that in parrot-like speeches, when at last we reached a slab in the wall and he said: 'Here lies buried the body of Frederick Philipse, who lived in America; and when the American Revolution broke out he was ever loyal to his Majesty, to his country and to his government; he owned a vast estate upon the Hudson; there is now upon that estate a village called Yonkers, and the old manor house in which Frederick Philipse lived still stands in Yonkers, and is regarded as an architectural curiosity, because one of the oldest buildings in the United States. Now, Frederick Philipse, by reason of his virtues, was ordered to be buried here.'" (May, 1785.)

Through the efforts of the Yonkers' Historical and Library Association the ancient manor hall and grounds surrounding it are to be preserved intact as a representative of the feudal system that was established in America.

THE OLD CHURCH AT SLEEPY HOLLOW

In this church, (erected two hundred years ago), so the legend goes "did the tall, spare Ichabod Crane, the same who rode so hurriedly across the bridge to escape the headless horseman of Irving's story, swing his baton in the ancient gallery of the church, and, it is said, that in the minds of the simple Dutch folk, he divided the honors equally with the dominie. The old church, built of stone and furnished with the habiliments of two centuries ago, is the point about which centres a great amount of legendary and romantic literature of the beautiful and historic country in which it is located. It is related that when Vreedryck Felypsen, or Frederick Philipse, as his English neighbors called him, was building the church on his manor of Philipsburg, he delayed the work when he had completed the foundations, in order to build a dam in the river. The dam being finished, a freshet came and washed it away. The operation was repeated with no better success, and in his distress Philipse was approached by an ancient negro who said he had had a vision that the church must be completed first if the dam were to stand. The advice was followed, so the story runs, and both the church and dam remained for many years. The edifice has been placed in as near its original condition as is possible. Many changes have been wrought by time; the raised thrones for the lord and lady of the manor were taken out after the revolution, in accordance with the new democratic ideas, and at that time the third lord of the manor, who had remained loyal to England and King George, was obliged to flee for safety. Services are still held in the old church during the summer months."

PHILIP VER PLANCK

Of Van Cortlandt Manor

“He was the second son of Jacobus Ver Planck and Margaret Schuyler (a daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler, of Albany), and after the death of his father, and his mother’s marriage to John Collins, an English officer at Albany, he continued to live there several years.

“Philip married Gertrude, daughter of Johannes Van Cortlandt, April 10th, 1718. By the will of Stephanus, Johannes (his son) became the owner of what is now Ver Planck’s Point on the Hudson.

“The estate was bought by Stephanus Van Cortlandt in 1683, from the Indians. Endorsed on the back of the deed is the following: A Chedull or list of goods paid by Stephanus Van Cortlandt for the Land in this Deed expressed, viz:

Eight Guns
 Nine Blancoats
 Five Coats
 Fourteen fathem of (wampun?)
 Fourteen Kettles
 Fourteen fathem off black wampum
 Eighty fathem off white wampum
 Two anckers off Rum
 Five half fatts (vats) off strong Beer
 Twelve Shirts
 Fifty Pounds off Powder
 Thirty bars off Lead
 Eighteen Hatches
 Eighteen Saws
 Fourteen Knives
 A small Coat
 Six fathem off Stroutwater cloth
 Six Pr. off Stockins
 Six Earthen Juggs
 Six tobacco boxes

“Stephanus Van Cortlandt subsequently obtained a patent from the Crown for this and adjoining land, bought also from the Indians, which together went to make up ‘Cortlandt Manor.’ The manor covered the whole of the upper part of Westchester county, and extended from ‘Anthony’s Nose,’ on the Hudson, to the mouth of the Croton river. The area was eighty-six thousand acres. By a law of the Province of New York the manor was given one Representative in the Legislature, a position which Philip Ver Planck held for several terms.



PHILIP VER PLANCK.

“ Before the partition of the Van Cortlandt Manor, Philip was sheriff of Albany county. Several of the writs issued to him are still preserved. Among the papers is a declaration in ejectment containing the now obsolete phraseology of that technical common law action, not omitting the Casual Ejector and the Loving Friend. It was issued in 1721 against Jacob Hallenbeck and others, at the suit of John Van Loon. The declaration and notice are endorsed ‘good.’ In September of the same year a commission was issued by Cadwallader Colden, Surveyor General, appointing Philip Ver Planck of the City of Albany, Gent., ‘one of my lawful deputys for surveying of Lands.’ This old document is all in the handwriting of Colden, and has his seal attached. Philip was made a ‘freeman and citizen’ of Albany, in 1724, under Van Brugh’s authority as mayor. The evidence of these facts are the commission and patent still preserved and now in the possession of Mr. Philip Ver Planck, of Yonkers, from whom I have obtained other facts connected with Philip of Cortlandt Manor; Mr. Ver Planck having placed all the papers at my disposal.

“ Philip seems to have held the office of sheriff of Albany until as late as 1725. One of the unlucky incidents of his career in that office was the escape of a prisoner, for which the suit was ordered to be instituted against him.

“ Philip was also a partner of his half-brother, Edward Collins, in Albany, for some years.

“ Among the papers in Dutch there is an invoice dated Amsterdam, 11th March, 1720, of a quantity of linen, silk and other dry goods consigned to John Schuyler, in New York, for the risk and account of Philip Ver Planck, of Albany. This may have been a shipment of goods to the partnership which Philip had with Edward Collins, in Albany, for there are other papers to show that such an association existed between them at Albany.

“ Philip and his wife became the owners of the whole of the Point under the will of her grandfather, who devised it to her father, Johannes Van Cortlandt, of whom she was the only child. On this property Philip built his manor house, placing it near the river, not far from the present steamboat landing of the Point.

“ In order to secure good local government, Philip took the office of Commissioner of Highways and of Justice of the Peace. A few of his warrants and other official papers referring to local affairs are in existence. He was also a practical surveyor. Some of his technical books, as well as surveys and maps are still preserved. An interesting one is a map of lands for Colonel Henry Beekman. His technical knowledge Philip was able to put to good use in the partition of the remaining part of the manor, which was rendered necessary after the death of Madame Gertrude, the widow of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. There were ten shares into which his property was to be divided. He had land also in Dutchess county, i. e., one-third of the Rombout Patent, and valuable property in the City of New York.

“ On the 12th of April, 1746, a commission was issued by George II. to Philip Ver Planck, Philip Livingston, Joseph Murray and others to confer with commissioners from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, to confer and take measures

'for the annoyance of the enemy and for securing and preserving the Six Nations of Indians, * * * and for engaging them to enter with us into the war against the French.' Instructions from the Governor, George Clinton, were also given to the New York commissioners. Meetings accordingly were had with the commissioners of the other colonies and a plan of action unanimously agreed upon at New York, September 28, 1747, by the commissioners from New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts Bay. It was resolved: 'I. That an expedition be formed and carried on against the French at Crown Point for the reduction of that fortress. II. That it will be necessary that four thousand men (officers included) be Raised, with as many of the Six Nations of Indians and their Allies as can be obtained to carry on the said expedition * * * and that those troops be at Albany by the 15th of April next.'

"The French and Indian war dragged on with various successes and defeats for the English. In this war Philip's sons, James and John, each took part.

"The massacre of the English prisoners at Fort William Henry, on Lake George, in 1757, aroused the people of New York to the gravity of the situation. The government called on Philip Ver Planck to convey the troops up the Hudson. A few of the accounts of the masters of the sloops are still preserved. They are in the form of vouchers, which were audited in 1757-58 by Philip Ver Planck and John Cruger. Some of these are entitled 'Expenses of Carrying the Forces toward Albany from the Manor of Cortlandt, Westchester county, at the alarm of Fort William Henry.' From them are taken the following items:

	£	s.	d.
Sloop Ranger Caleb Haux for carrying Men being absent 8 dayes at 18	7	4	
Sloop Good Intent Jacob Lent 8 Dayes	7	4	
6 Sheep from Daniel Strang	2	14	
4 Bushels Wheat, ground & Baked Dan'l Birdsall	1	1	3
To Joseph Travis for Rum for the Soldiers to Albany 24 galls at 5	6	0	0
10 lbs Sugar at 17d		6	2
Expenses on Board the Sloop	1	1	9
179 lbs pork at 5d	3	14	7

"Philip was himself the owner of a sloop, the Clinton, which he bought in 1740 from Pieter Winne, of Albany, the bill of sale of which is still preserved. Her name does not appear in the list of sloops which went to Albany. Of the Clinton, John Ver Planck was master. He sailed in connection with the business of his brother James, who as a civilian had a general store at Cortlandt Manor, from which he supplied his father's household, his tenants, and the other people of the neighborhood. The sloop Clinton remained in the family as late as 1772, for her name appears in the inventory of Philip's estate.

"Besides the different occupations of Philip already described, he sat for several terms in the Legislature as the representative for the Manor of Cortlandt. Several of the certificates signed by the Speaker showing the number of days attendance in the Legislature are still preserved. He was also one of the Governors of Kings (afterward Columbia) College, being named in the charter of

1754, which chair he held until his death. Philip had large landed interests in Dutchess county, and also became the owner of another part of the Rombout Patent through his wife Gertrude, who was one of the ten heirs of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, her grandfather.

"It seems to be clear that Philip and his family had the confidence if not the favor of the government, and doubtless he was a good Tory. Had he lived during the Revolution he would have been sorely tried by the destruction of his homestead, and the probable confiscation of his property. His death, October 13, 1771, spared him all this. His wife had died previously, viz, September 30, 1766. They were buried with other members of the family in the family burial ground at Cortlandt Manor. In the next century when the property had passed out of the family, the bodies were removed to St. George's Cemetery, Newburgh.

"After his father's death James, the eldest son, took possession of the manor house and the other property given him by the will.

"In October, 1772, the year after James' accession to the manor property, he received a letter from Philip Schuyler, in Albany, in which he says that he was prevented writing before on account of his 'recent ill health * * * and the attention I was under of a necessity of paying to the Governor when he was here.' He then adds that he sends the letter by the hand of his brother Rensselaer, and with it a deed of a piece of land 'of which I beg leave to desire your acceptance as a small acknowledgement of the many obligations conferred on me by you and the other Branches of your family. * * *

" 'I am Dear Sir

" 'Your affectionate Kinsman & Humble Servant

" 'PHILIP SCHUYLER.

" 'To

" 'COLONEL JAMES VER PLANCK.

" 'at his seat in the Manor of Cortlandt.' "

This sketch of Philip Ver Planck and that of Mount Gulian which follows are extracts from the "History of the Ver Planck Family," by William Edward Ver Planck.

("The Manor House of Philip Ver Planck and most of its contents were destroyed in 1777, by being fired upon by a British Man-of-War, in passing up the river by Ver Planck's Point where the homestead stood. The house afterward built by Philip's descendants was also burned, so that branch of the family have lost a good many of its heirlooms."—W. E. V. P.)

THE VER PLANCK HOUSE

" MOUNT GULIAN "

At Fishkill-on-the-Hudson

"During the Revolutionary war, Ver Planck's Point and Stony Point, directly opposite, were occupied successively by the English and American armies. The

Ver Planck property was then in charge of Samuel Ver Planck, acting as executor of Philip Ver Planck, its late owner, who had devised it to his son, Philip, then in his minority, and living on the homestead at the mills near Fishkill Plains, with his aunts.

"Gulian Ver Planck, the first settler, was born May 31st, 1698, and died November 11th, 1751, at 'three o'clock in the morning very suddenly.' His remains are interred in the New Dutch Church.



THE VER PLANCK HOUSE.—"Mount Gulian."

"The will of Gulian makes the first reference to Mount Gulian, but not in connection with Fishkill, for that name was not then applied to this neighborhood. The house was very probably used as a country residence by Gulian. To this theory a good deal of force is given by the allusion in the will to the old house. It seems to have been fully furnished and the farm equipped by the owner, which would not be the case with farms on leases for long terms or for life, as was the case in those days. The name, too, goes to show Gulian's interest and attachment for the old place. So also the architecture is of the Colonial period of the early eighteenth century.

"Unfortunately no data remain to fix the date of the building of the old house. The usual custom was to put the date on the gable. Possibly when the addition on the north side was put up in 1804, the date mark had to be removed. At all events it was never replaced, nor is there any mark in the south gable indicating where a date may have been.

“Mount Gulian was occupied during the war by Baron Steuben, one of Washington’s chief officers, as a headquarters. Here Steuben established himself and remained until the close of the war and the disbanding of the army by Washington, at Newburgh, in 1783.

“On May 4th of that year the Order of the Cincinnati was established at Mount Gulian.”



VER PLANCK ARMS.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI

“The first suggestion of the organization into a society of the officers of the American Army of the Revolution appears in a paper, in the handwriting of General Knox, entitled ‘Rough draft of a Society to be formed by the American officers, and to be called the “Cincinnati.”’ It is dated ‘West Point, 15 April, 1783.’

“This paper, circulated among the officers of the army, then lying on the banks of the Hudson, in the neighborhood of Newburgh (in the State of New York), is understood to be referred to in the preamble to the institution of the ‘Society of the Cincinnati’ as the ‘proposals’ which had ‘been communicated to the several regiments of the respective lines.’

“The original paper of General Knox, and the ‘institution’ as adopted, both aimed at some bond which would still unite those who for long years had shared the hardships of the camp and the dangers of many a battlefield, now about to separate, many of them penniless, to find homes ruined, and families dispersed or dead: they sought some tie that should bring them together at intervals, in social reunions—above all they sought the means of providing for the necessities of the more unfortunate of their number, and for the support of the in-

digent widows and children of deceased associates. They wished that their children should inherit and maintain the friendship which bound them together. And conscious of their disinterestedness and proud of their claim to public gratitude and consideration, they followed in the line of that desire for recognition which is the life of the soldier's ambition, and which, in but too many instances, was all that they might transmit as a visible, actual inheritance to their children."

General George Washington, of Virginia, was the first president general of the general society.

Generals Schuyler and Hamilton were both members of the society. The former was elected vice president of the New York Society, 4th of July, 1786; the latter was vice president from 1788 to 1793, and president general on the death of Washington in 1799, until his own death in 1804.

THE CENTENNIAL

"On May 13, 1883, the centennial of the Order was pleasantly celebrated at the old house by a visit of many of its members. On this occasion the Cincinnati were welcomed by the late William Samuel Ver Planck, who then owned the property. One of the features of this visit was the reading of the Declaration of Independence by the vice president in the Cincinnati room, as had been done one hundred years before on the foundation of the order."

The late Hamilton Fish, president of the society, on account of lameness caused by an accident, was unable to be present.

The report of the special committee appointed to take charge of the celebration closes with these words:

"And so, this memorable day ended, without an accident to mar in the slightest degree its enjoyment. If, as Dr. Johnson said in that well-known passage—'That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon'—what ought to have been—what were our feelings—the representatives and descendants, in visiting the spot, the birthplace of our society, where, one hundred years ago, the officers of the Revolutionary army, as true patriots as ever honored humanity, founded an association based upon liberty, union, friendship and charity, as the closing act of eight years of unequalled fortitude and devotion. Everything served to heighten these feelings—the venerable house built in 1730, with its ample hall, oaken floors, paneled walls, generous wood fires, much as they were in 1783—the old ante-revolutionary trees surrounding it—the presence of the noted family, owners of the land from the seventeenth century to the present time—and, above all, the endearing Revolutionary memories, more than sufficient to rouse us from that 'frigid indifference,' to which Dr. Johnson refers with contempt in the passage alluded to. What wonder if moistened eyes and a quiet but deep interest pervaded the party assembled in that old hall, as we read from the institution those principles, simple, but earnest, in which, under the pledge to each other of their

sacred honor, our fathers declared their unalterable devotion to liberty, union, brotherly kindness and charity, in that very spot.

“In the providence of God, it shall, as we trust, be permitted to our successors to celebrate at the end of another century the formation of the Society. This brief record will at least show them that in our day we were not unmindful of what was due to the memory of the Founders.”

NEW YORK, 4th. July, 1883.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Chairman.

CHAPTER XIII

PERIOD 1777-1790

"IF the military life of General Schuyler," continues Chancellor Kent, "was inferior in brilliancy to that of some others of his countrymen, none of them ever surpassed him in fidelity, activity, and devotedness to the service. The characteristic of his measures was utility. They bore the stamp and unerring precision of practical science. There was nothing complicated in his character; it was chaste and severe, and, take him for all in all, he was one of the wisest and most efficient men, both in military and civil life, that the state or the nation has produced.

"He continued during the remainder of his life to be eminently useful in the civil departments of government; he was one of the commissioners from New York in 1784, and again in 1787, to settle the boundary line between that state and Massachusetts: the difficulty depended essentially on the variations of the magnetic needle, and the perusal of the correspondence shows that he executed his trust with great industry and skill.

"He had been elected to Congress in 1777, and he was reëlected in each of the three following years. On his return to Congress after the termination of his military life, his talents, experience and energy were put in immediate requisition; and in November, 1779, he was appointed to confer with General Washington on the state of the southern department. In 1781, he was in the Senate of this state; and wherever he was placed, and whatever might be the business before him, he gave the utmost activity to measures, and left upon them the impression of his prudence and sagacity. He took a zealous part in promoting the adoption of the constitution of the United States, and in 1789, he was elected to a seat in the first Senate; and when his term expired in Congress, he was replaced in the Senate of the State.

"July 19th, 1790, the Legislature of New York appointed General Schuyler and Rufus King, United States Senators. In the National Senate the former 'took decided ground in favor of Secretary Hamilton's funding system, and the creation of a National Bank.' "

The two following letters have never appeared in print.

"NEW YORK, 23d May, 1790.

"MY DEAR LOVE:

"I sent you yesterday by Capt. Marsellis, six lobsters, and six mackerel, with a request that if he had not a speedy passage to boil the former, and to salt the latter. He also had charge of one dozen oranges, and one dozen lemons; fruit of that kind is at present very scarce. I shall send you a further supply as soon as any arrives.

"Except a little cough, the remains of the influenza, I am now perfectly well, and was rejoiced to hear that you and the family are so.

"Hans forgot to carry the carrot seed on board which Johnny wrote for. I shall send it to-morrow.

"Enclose you a little muskmelon seed from Baron Polnitz. The cheese you sent is a very good one indeed—we did not get it until Friday last.

"The bill for funding the debt will be completed in the course of next week and Congress will adjourn the week after; but if they do not, I will procure leave of absence as soon as the funding is completed.

"The Baron's (Steuben) bill goes hard in the Senate. If it is passed at all, the allowance will be much short of the expectations.

"The President is so far recovered as to walk across his room; the physicians here had given him over, when Dr. Jones arrived from Philadelphia. Mrs. Washington whom I saw yesterday morning is well, and desires her respects to you.

"The children are all well, and join me in love to you and all the family.

"Adieu my dear love

"I am ever yours affectionately,

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"To Mrs. Schuyler,
"near Albany.
"Free Ph. Schuyler."

"NEW YORK, Wednesday, July 14th, 1790.

"MY DEAR LOVE:

"I was in hopes that when the question of the residence of Congress was settled that the public business would not have met with many more obstacles; but, contrary to my expectations, and my wishes, too, as many embarrassments occur as ever. Some in the Senate are for funding the debt on the Secretary's proposition—others for literally complying with the engagements of the former Congress—a third party for allowing only four per cent. interest—and a fourth do not wish to fund at all. Amidst this variety of jarring opinions, it is utterly impossible to guess at the event with any degree of precision. A few days must, however, bring us to an ultimate decision and perhaps something like a mean between the three first will be the result.

"If a sloop offers I shall send you some oranges, lemons, &c. I hope you, my Dear, and my beloved children are in perfect health; we are all well here and join in love to you and all with you.

"I am, my Dear Love, forever,

"most affectionately yours,

"PHILIP SCHUYLER.

"The post is not yet arrived and as

"he will go out before I can receive any Letters,

"with which I may be favored, I must close before I know if he bring any for me.

"To Mrs. Schuyler,

"near

"Albany.

"Free.

"Ph. Schuyler."

RUFUS KING

An American Statesman

“ Rufus King, statesman, born in Scarborough, Me., in 1755 ; died in New York City, April 29, 1827. He was the eldest son of Richard King a successful merchant of Scarborough, and was graduated at Harvard in 1777, having continued his studies while the college buildings were occupied for military purposes. He then studied law with Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport. While so engaged in 1778, he became aide to General Sullivan in his expedition to Rhode Island, and after its successful issue was honorably discharged. In due time he was admitted to the bar where he took high rank and was sent in 1783 to the general court of Massachusetts. Here he was active in the discussion of public measures, and especially in defeating against powerful opposition the assent of the Legislature to grant the five per cent. impost to the Congress of the confederation, which was requisite to enable it to ensure the common safety. In 1784, by an almost unanimous vote of the Legislature, Mr. King was sent a delegate to the old Congress, sitting at Trenton, and again in 1785 and 1786. In this body, in 1785, he moved ‘ that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states described in the resolution of Congress in April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of the crime whereof the party shall have been personally guilty ; and that this regulation shall be made an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitution between the original states and each of the states named in said resolve.’ Though this was not at the time acted upon, the principle was finally adopted almost word for word in the famous ordinance of 1787 for the government of the northwestern territory, a provision which had been prepared by Mr. King, and which was introduced into Congress by Nathan Dane, his colleague, while Mr. King was engaged in Philadelphia as a member from Massachusetts of the convention to form a constitution for the United States. He was also appointed by his state to the commissions to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts and New York, and to convey to the United States lands lying west of the Alleghanies. While in Congress in 1786 he was sent with James Monroe to urge upon the Legislature of Pennsylvania the payment of the five per cent. impost, but was not so successful as he had been in Massachusetts. In 1787, Mr. King was appointed one of the delegates from his state to the convention at Philadelphia to establish a more stable government for the United States. In this body he bore a conspicuous and able part. He was one of the members to whom was assigned the duty of making a final draft of the constitution of the United States. When the question of its adoption was submitted to the states, Mr. King was sent to the Massachusetts convention, and, although the opposition to it was carried on by most of the chief men of the state, his familiarity with its provisions, his clear explanation of them, and his earnest and eloquent statement of its advantages, con-



RUFUS KING.

tributed greatly to bring about its final adoption. Mr. King had now given up the practice of law, and having in 1786 married Mary, the daughter of John Alsop, a deputy from New York to the first Continental Congress, he took up his residence in New York in 1788. The next year he was elected to the assembly of the state, and while serving in that body 'received the unexampled welcome of an immediate election with Schuyler to the Senate' of the United States. In this body he was rarely absent from his seat, and did much to put the new government into successful operation. One of the grave questions that arose was that of the ratification of the Jay treaty with Great Britain in 1794.



RESIDENCE OF RUFUS KING, Jamaica, L. I.

Of this he was an earnest advocate, and when he and his friend General Hamilton were prevented from explaining its provisions to the people in public meeting in New York, they united in publishing under the signature of 'Cammillus' a series of explanatory papers, of which those relating to commercial affairs and maritime law were written by Mr. King. This careful study laid the foundation of much of the readiness and ability that he manifested during his residence in England as United States Minister, to which post, while serving his second term in the Senate, he was appointed by General Washington in 1796, and in which he continued during the administration of John Adams and two years of that of Thomas Jefferson. The contingencies arising from the complicated condition

of affairs, political and commercial, between Great Britain and her continental neighbors, required careful handling in looking after the interests of his country: and Mr. King, by his firm and intelligent presentation of the matters entrusted to him, did good service to his country and assisted largely to raise it to consideration and respect. In 1803 he was relieved, at his own request, from his office, and, returning to this country, removed to Jamaica, L. I. There, in the quiet of a country life, he interested himself in agriculture, kept up an extensive correspondence with eminent men at home and abroad, and enriched his mind by careful and varied reading. He was opposed on principle to the war of 1812 with England, when it was finally declared, but afterward gave to the government his support, both by money and by his voice in private and in the United States Senate, to which he was again elected in 1813. In 1814 he made an eloquent appeal against the proposed desertion of Washington after the British had burned the capitol. In 1816, without his knowledge he was nominated as Governor of New York, but was defeated, as he was also when a candidate of the Federal party for the Presidency against James Monroe. During this senatorial term he opposed the establishment of a national bank with \$50,000,000 capital; and, while resisting the efforts of Great Britain to exclude the United States from the commerce of the West Indies, contributed to bring about the passage of the navigation act of 1818. The disposal of the public lands by sales on credit was found to be fraught with much danger. Mr. King was urgent in calling attention to this, and introduced and carried a bill directing that they should be sold for cash, at a lower price, and under other salutary restrictions. In 1819 he was again elected to the Senate by a Legislature that was opposed to him in politics as before. Mr. King resisted the admission of Missouri with slavery, and his speech on that occasion, though only briefly reported, contained this carefully prepared statement: 'Mr. President, I approach a very delicate subject. I regret the occasion which renders it necessary for me to speak of it, because it may give offence where none is intended. But my purpose is fixed. Mr. President, I have yet to learn that one man can make a slave of another. If one man cannot do so, no number of individuals can have any better right to do it. And I hold that all laws or compacts imposing any such condition on any human being are absolutely void, because contrary to the law of nature, which is the law of God, by which he makes his ways known to man, and is paramount to all human control.' He was equally opposed to the compromise offered to Mr. Clay on principle, and because it contained the seeds of future troubles. Upon the close of the senatorial term he put upon record, in the Senate, a resolution which he fondly hoped might provide a way for the final extinction of slavery. It was to the effect that, whenever that part of the public debt for which the public lands were pledged should have been paid, the proceeds of all future sales should be held as a fund to be used to aid the emancipation of such slaves, and the removal of them and of free persons of color, as by the laws of the states might be allowed, to any territory beyond the limits of the United States. His purpose to retire to private life was thwarted by an

urgent invitation from John Quincy Adams, in 1825, to accept the mission to Great Britain. Mr. King reluctantly acquiesced and sailed for England where he was cordially received, but after a few months he was obliged through failing health, to return home.

“His wife, Mary, born in New York, October 17th, 1769, died in Jamaica, N. Y., June 5th, 1819, was the only daughter of John Alsop, a merchant and a member of the Continental Congress from New York, and married Mr. King, in New York on March 30th, 1786. He was at that time, a delegate from Massachusetts to the Congress, then sitting in that city. Mrs. King was a lady of remarkable beauty, gentle and gracious manners, and well cultivated mind, and adorned the high station, both in England and at home, that her husband's official position, and their own social relations entitled them to occupy. The latter years of her life, except while in Washington, were passed in Jamaica, L. I.”

By his grandson, Dr. Charles R. King.

(“It would be well to make the text correct thus—in defeating against powerful opposition, Etc.

“The original sketch says ‘carrying,’ but the present correction is made by the authority of Dr. Charles R. King, who wrote the sketch, but failed to correct the mistake when it was published.”)

MORGAN LEWIS

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence

“Morgan Lewis, the second son of Francis Lewis, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in New York, on the 16th of October, 1754, during the French war. His father's house was near the Battery, and the city was then so small, that the boy could hunt squirrels and even lose himself in the woods, without going far from home. He owed his early education to his mother, a lady of unusual cultivation, who, with none of our facilities for the training of the young, knew how to make solid studies interesting and acceptable to her son before he was in his teens. Morgan was first placed at a grammar school, in Elizabethtown, whence, he entered Princeton College. There, his favorite study was Greek, and his favorite companion was James Madison. He graduated from Princeton with distinction in 1773, after giving proof of the fine qualities which were to make his life distinguished.

“Lewis had chosen the Church as his profession, but his father, preferring the bar, he was preparing to go to London, to study at the Temple, when the growing disagreements between the Colonies and the mother country, made it evident that America would need the services of all her sons. Lewis sought for instruction in the military duties which then seemed all important, and in 1775, joined as a volunteer, the forces before Boston.

“In August, of the same year, when only twenty-one years old, he took command, with the title of major, of a company of volunteers which was soon taken into the Continental service, as the second New York. Almost immediately, by order of the provincial Congress, he was ‘posted with his company to cover a party of citizens, who, after nightfall, were engaged in removing the arms, ordinance and military equipments from the arsenal on the Battery. The “Asia,” a British ship of war, lay nearly abreast of the arsenal, and Major Lewis was specially instructed to prevent all intercourse between that ship and the shore, while the working party was engaged. Scarcely had the work of removal commenced, when a boat was discovered gliding slowly, with muffled oars, within musket shot of one of the sentinels, who, after hailing several times without receiving an answer, fired a shot over her and ordered her to come to the shore or pull out into the stream. No attention was paid to this, but a small blue light was exhibited under the bow of the boat, near the surface of the water. In an instant, the “Asia” was lighted from her topsail yards to her main deck, and her battery opened in the direction of the arsenal. A section of the guard was now brought up, who discharged their pieces into the boat, “wounding two seamen.” No further attempt at interference was made by the “Asia.”

“In June, 1776, when General Gates was appointed to the command of the army in Canada, Major Lewis accompanied him as chief of staff, with the rank



Morgan Lewis.

of colonel. After the army retired from Canada, Congress appointed him quartermaster-general for the northern department.' Lewis remained in the field with the army until December, when it went into winter quarters. The northern campaign opened in July, 1777, with the evacuation of Ticonderoga. In August, General Gates again assumed command, and the army, swelled by volunteers from every direction, advanced to a position on Bemis Heights. The conduct of Lewis in the engagement of September 19th, was commended by General Gates in general orders. On the morning of the 7th of October, the drums again beat to arms, and the information was received that the enemy was marching in force against the American left. Colonel Lewis received an order from headquarters to repair to the scene of action with six or eight of the most intelligent and best mounted men to act as messengers; to select the most commanding positions whence to watch the movements of the enemy and the tide of battle; and to transmit to headquarters an immediate report of every important event as it should occur. That this mark of confidence in the judgment and ability of Colonel Lewis was well bestowed, is sufficiently proved by the events that followed. General Gates himself did not see the battle, but relied for its conduct on the information thus received. The convention of Saratoga having been concluded on the 16th, the next day the rank and file of the British army descended from the heights to the plain on the margin of the Hudson river, where they were received by Colonel Lewis, and having stacked their arms, were conducted by him to the rear, through a double line of American troops, who observed perfect silence during the ceremony.

"In 1778 and again in 1780, Lewis accompanied General Clinton in expeditions against predatory parties of the British and Indians.

"The following interesting incident is related by Colonel Lewis' daughter:

"My father returned to his house in Maiden Lane, New York, in 1783, before the evacuation by the British troops. General and Mrs. Hamilton were staying at his house when the fire at the arsenal broke out. Terror seized upon all classes; the inhabitants who had just returned to their homes, feared that the fire was the work of British incendiaries, and hesitated to expose themselves. The British soldiers kept aloof lest they should be suspected, and should become the object of popular violence. The flames continued unchecked. Citizens formed a line and passed leather buckets from hand to hand. My father and General Hamilton arrived and were preparing to organize the citizens while the British soldiers stood idly by. At this moment, a soldier came up and announced that all was lost, as the arsenal contained several barrels of gunpowder which the fire had just reached. My father turned immediately toward the soldiers, exclaiming, "Come, my lads, won't you help us?" "Yes, sir; willingly," was the prompt reply. My father and Hamilton led the way, the soldiers followed, and calling them barrels of pork, they rolled out the casks of gunpowder through the fire and saved the city.'

"From about the period of the surrender of Burgoyne, the duties of Colonel Lewis brought him frequently in contact with Washington. Comfortable

quarters were hard to find in those days, and for some time he was honored by being permitted to share the sleeping apartment of the commander-in-chief! At the close of the war, Lewis was appointed colonel of a regiment of militia in the City of New York, at the head of which he had the honor of escorting General Washington at his first inauguration as president.

“After peace was established, Colonel Lewis took up with characteristic vigor the occupations of civil life. He studied law with such assiduity as to endanger his health, and soon after being admitted to the bar he established a lucrative practice. He was naturally adapted to public life, and, having once entered it, his progress in the confidence of his countrymen was rapid and distinguished. He represented New York City in the Assembly, and soon after Dutchess county, to which he had removed. He was next elected a judge of the Common Pleas, and in 1791, was appointed attorney-general of the state. In 1792, he was raised to the bench of the Supreme Court, and the next year he became chief justice. In 1804, he was elected Governor of the State of New York. His incumbency of the office was marked by his efforts on behalf of public education, and for the improved regulation of the militia of the state. In his first address to the Legislature, occurs the following passage :

“ ‘ In a government resting on public opinion, and deriving its chief support from the affections of the people, religion and morality cannot be too sedulously inculcated. To them science is a handmaid ; ignorance, the worst of enemies. Literary information should be placed within the reach of every description of citizens, and poverty should not be permitted to obstruct the path to the fane of knowledge. Common schools, under the guidance of respectable teachers, should be established in every village, and the indigent, educated at the public expense. The higher seminaries, also, should receive every support and patronage within the means of enlightened legislators.’ ”

“On the breaking out of the war of 1812, Lewis reentered the military service of his country. In May, he was appointed Quartermaster-General, and in March, 1813, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and was ordered to active service on the Canadian frontier, in which he remained during the rest of the war.

“Military operations had the effect of greatly impoverishing the farms of the part of the state in which General Lewis' property was situated. In consequence of this, the general remitted a year's rent to every farmer who served in one campaign in the army, or who had a son in the service. During the war, a number of American prisoners remained in the hands of the enemy in Canada, after they had been exchanged, because the British commissary refused bills on the United States government, in payment of their debts and expenses, on the ground that such bills were impossible to collect through the ordinary commercial channels. The American prisoners were in a suffering condition in Quebec, and their own government could not see its way to help them. In this emergency, General Lewis advanced fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars of his private funds to obtain the release of his countrymen. This sum was

credited to General Lewis, on the books of the treasury, but was never repaid to him. The unfortunate prisoners were relieved, but very few ever knew the source whence their relief came.

“The following letter is a specimen of others received by General Lewis, and shows the confidence felt in his willingness to exert himself in the cause of the unfortunate :

“DEAR GENERAL—In consequence of an unhappy misunderstanding relative to the exchange of prisoners having taken place between our government and his Excellency the Governor of the Canadas, we have been refused our parole. We proceed immediately to Quebec. For God's sake, endeavor to effect my exchange. Knowing my disposition, you know my sufferings. If darkness closes upon me here, I hope you will not think it too much trouble to inquire for my dear little daughter, now at Miss Hall's school, in the City of New York; also see that my name does not suffer in the adjustment of my affairs with the government.

“Yours sincerely,

“C. VAN DE VENTER.”

“The conclusion of the war of 1812 found General Lewis in his sixtieth year. But although his public life was now ended, he still had before him thirty years of active and happy private life. In 1779, he had married Gertrude, the daughter of Robert Livingston, and sister of Robert R. and Edward Livingston, who were successively ministers to the Court of France. Mrs. Lewis died at the age of seventy-six, after a union of forty-five years, and it is a remarkable fact that this was the first death that had occurred in the General's family during this period, although it then numbered thirty individuals.

“Age increased rather than diminished General Lewis' taste for reading. He was a deeply interested student of the Bible, and the copy which he habitually used is still preserved, considerably scorched by the flame of the candles close to which he was obliged to hold it. He studied the Old Testament closely in its bearings upon the subject of slavery, and he showed his conviction that this institution could not long continue in the United States by refusing advantageous offers to invest money in southern plantations. He had long been able to read the New Testament in Greek, and in his later life he learned the Hebrew in order to be able to read it in that language.

“At the age of seventy-nine years, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the birthday of Washington, he delivered an eloquent address upon the life of his illustrious commander. An interesting circumstance to which he alluded was the fact that during the three weeks he shared Washington's rooms, he never saw the General resting or idle. Whether Lewis sat up late at night or rose early in the morning, he never beheld Washington otherwise than at work.

“For many years he presided over the Historical Society and the Order of the Cincinnati, and held the office of Grand Master of the New York Masons. Keeping well abreast of his time and interested in everything that concerned the welfare of his country, he remained until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, a noble example of the men who fought in the Revolution and laid the foundations of the United States. He died in 1844. In the words of

his Masonic brethren, 'The summons to the Celestial Grand Lodge reached him on Sunday, the 7th meridian, when he departed from us, in the ninetieth year of his age.'"

Records of the Daughters of the Cincinnati."



"STAATSBURGH."

THE MANSION AT STAATSBURGH

"One of the most picturesque residences to be seen as one sails up the Hudson is the home of Mr. Ogden Mills at Staatsburg, originally the home of Maturin Livingston, Mrs. Mills's father. The old manor house was kept intact, and wings about the dimensions of the original building were added on each side, the house now being one hundred and sixty-eight feet by six hundred and seventy-five feet, and containing about ninety rooms. Though only two stories in height, the windows command views of the Hudson for many miles north and south. Many of the guest chambers are on the ground floor. The house is Grecian in design, and the exterior is a light grey stucco, with trimmings of white.

"Governor Lewis purchased the property at Staatsburg in 1793, and built his house in 1795. It was destroyed by fire in 1832, and rebuilt by Governor Lewis in 1833.

"The second house has been much altered but the property has descended in a direct line to his great-granddaughter who now resides there."

GERALDINE L. HOYT.



Timothy Pickens

COLONEL TIMOTHY PICKERING

An American Statesman

“Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Mass., in the year 1745. He was a lineal descendant of John Pickering who emigrated from Yorkshire, England, in the reign of Charles I., about 1636. He was a Puritan. Colonel Pickering was the youngest of a family of nine children, seven sisters and two brothers. They all lived to an advanced age—three of the sisters living to be upwards of ninety and one of them, the wife of the Honorable Paine Wingate of New Hampshire (a member of the first Continental Congress) reaching the extraordinary age of one hundred years and eight months. The subject of this sketch was educated at the Grammar School in Salem. When fourteen years old he entered Harvard College, graduating at eighteen. On leaving college he studied law, and subsequently became a clerk in the office of Mr. Higginson, register of deeds for the county of Essex. Being appointed an officer in the militia of the county he gave particular attention to the study of military science, and in the efficiency of his regiment he observed ‘that it became men of weight, influence, and fortune more than others to encourage military exercises in order to do their country service; that in consequence of the unconcern of the best citizens, unworthy personages were appointed, thus bringing the militia into contempt.’ He wrote articles and published them, giving instruction to officers in the manner of drilling their men—in the Manual of Arms.

“The ending of the war and peace with France left the colonists time to consider their relations with the mother country. The oppressive measures of the British parliament under the Ministry of Lord North, and their efforts to raise a revenue from the Colonies, together with the enactment of the odious Stamp Act aroused their indignation to a high pitch; and stirred up great hostility toward England. It was in vain that Edmund Burke, the Earl of Chatham and the men of most ability in England opposed these measures, the vox populi of England was on the side of the Ministry and the Colonies were obliged to submit to these impositions.

“When in 1774 Parliament by an act called the Boston Port Bill shut up the Capital of Massachusetts from the sea, thereby prostrating its active and extensive commerce, the government of the province was removed from Boston to Salem. The inhabitants of that town in full town meeting voted an address to the new Governor, General Gage, in hopes to procure relief for their brethren in Boston. That address was written by Colonel Pickering. It concluded with these remarkable words: ‘By shutting up the Port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither to our benefit. But nature in the formation of our Harbor, forbid our becoming rivals in commerce with that

convenient mart ; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors.' Colonel Pickering was one of a committee to present this address in person to Governor Gage.

"Discontent was taking strong hold on the community of Massachusetts at this time. In February, 1775, Colonel Leslie from Castle William was ordered by Governor Gage to seize some military stores deposited in Salem, and marched with one hundred and forty men toward Salem through Marblehead. A determined resistance was made at the drawbridge leading from Danvers to Salem by Colonel Pickering with forty men to prevent their object. The British troops were delayed an hour and a half at the bridge and darkness coming on and their object rendered impracticable, they returned without entering Salem. This resistance to the authority of the government was the herald of the approaching storm.

"Colonel Pickering was married to Rebecca White in April, 1776. It was a most happy union ; she was a woman of great firmness of character united with gentleness and was in every way fitted to endure the vicissitudes of the long and anxious separations which the continuance of war and public stations involved on her and her husband. It is related of her that when the wives of those of her acquaintance were repining and grieving over the absence of their relatives in the war, she told them she should ' never stand between her husband and his duty.' She lived until her seventy-fifth year, retaining always her fair complexion and delicate bloom. Her portrait painted by Gilbert Stuart bears evidence to her personal charms. She was born in England, her father being in the Naval Service of Great Britain—although born in Boston. He commanded the 'Weymouth,' a sixty-four gun ship at the taking of Manilla from the Spaniards in 1745.

"In the autumn of 1776, the army under Washington being greatly reduced in numbers a large reinforcement of militia was called for ; the quota of Massachusetts was five thousand. Colonel Pickering took command of the regiment of seven hundred men from Salem. When the orders came he assembled the militia in Salem, harangued and exhorted them to step forward to the defence of their country in her hour of peril. After sending round the drum and fife as a signal for volunteers he stepped forward as the first. This patriotic example was followed by large numbers. The quota of Salem was composed of volunteers. This term of militia duty was performed in the winter of 1776-77, terminating at Bound Brook, N. J.

"Washington's headquarters being at Morristown, Colonel Pickering often dwelt on the hardships of that long winter march, which he shared with his men ; of their sleeping at night on the frozen ground, or in barns ; and lending his horse to any of his command who were too fatigued or unwell to march with the soldiers as he was able to do himself.

"Shortly after his return to Salem, Colonel Pickering received an invitation



MRS. PICKERING

from General Washington to accept the office of Adjutant General of the Army. Washington addressed a letter to Congress recommending him to that position :

“GENTLEMEN :

“Immediately on receipt of your resolve recommending the office of Adjutant General to be filled by a gentleman of ability and unsuspected attachment to our cause, I wrote to Col. Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts. This choice I was induced to adopt from the high character I had of him both as a great military genius, cultivated by an industrious attention to the art of war, and as a gentleman of liberal education, distinguished zeal and great method and activity in business. This character I had of him from gentlemen of merit and distinction on whom I could rely.

“GEO. WASHINGTON.”

“While in this office Colonel Pickering formed part of the military family of the Commander-in-Chief, and chiefly during this campaign on the Hudson, the headquarters being at Newburgh. In the battles of Brandywine and Germantown Colonel Pickering was at the side of Washington or carrying orders in the field. In 1777 he was made a member of the Board of War, together with General Gates, General Mifflin and Richard Peters. On the resignation of General Green, Colonel Pickering was appointed by Congress, Quarter-master-General of the Army, which difficult and arduous office he held until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

“After the disbanding of the Continental Army he became a resident of Philadelphia, and in 1790 he was made delegate to the convention for revising the constitution of Pennsylvania together with Thomas Mifflin, Thomas McKean, William Lewis, Albert Gallatin, James Ross and Samuel Fitzreaves. At the instance of Colonel Pickering a wise and benevolent provision was inserted in that constitution ; namely, the establishment of free schools in that state.

“From the year 1790 to 1794, Colonel Pickering was charged by President Washington with several negotiations with the Indian Nations on our frontiers, in a joint commission with Beverly Randolph of Virginia, and General Lincoln. In 1794 he was appointed sole agent for settling our disputes with the Six Nations of Western New York. Parkman, the Historian of the Indians, tells us these nations were all included in the tribe of Iroquois ; and furthermore adds that female suffrage prevailed among them. Great delay was occasioned in making this treaty as it took the women and children three weeks to reach Painted Post where the council was to be held. Red Jacket was the orator at this council and there was a full collection of all the principal chiefs. Two Indians had been killed by the whites and this was a great grievance to be assuaged by presents and words of conciliation. It was ended satisfactorily ; the hatchet buried and the calumet of peace smoked. At the close of the war, Colonel Pickering was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania to organize the county of Lucerne. For this purpose he removed his family to the beautiful valley of Wyoming. The disputes between the settlers from Connecticut and those from Pennsylvania were ripe, and the former were in open rebellion

against the state. A company formed in Connecticut called the Susquehanna Company, had induced settlers to go from that state, claiming the land in the great bend of the Susquehanna belonged to Connecticut, they having purchased it from the Indians. The prime agent of the Susquehanna Company was John Franklin, a resolute and determined man, who with the title of Colonel, stirred up the settlers to armed resistance to the laws of Pennsylvania. A warrant was issued for his arrest and he was lodged in jail at Philadelphia. In consequence of aiding in his arrest, (which was a military one) Colonel Pickering became the person on whom they meant to wreak their vengeance. A band of men disguised as Indians, with their faces blackened, entered his bedroom at night, ordered him to get up and follow them. One of them followed his wife (when she went to bring his coat) and told her if she made any noise they would tomahawk her. They told him to take an overcoat with him as he would be long away and would need one. They pinioned his arms behind his back and tied another cord to them with which to lead their prisoner. In the darkness of the night they marched silently through the town, one of them walking in front, one behind, and the others on both sides of their captive. When they had gone twelve miles, they halted and said to Colonel Pickering, 'Now if you will intercede with the Executive Council for Franklin's pardon, we will release you.' To which their prisoner replied, 'The Executive Council better know their duty than to release a traitor to procure the liberty of an innocent man.' This reply angered them to such a degree that one of their number exclaimed, 'Damn him, why don't you tomahawk him.' During his captivity of nearly three weeks in the woods, this proposition to ask for the pardon of Franklin was frequently asked, but always receiving a prompt and decided negative, they finally released him, after having carried him forty-four miles from his home, on the promise that he would ask the Executive to grant their pardon. This they did not wait to receive, but most of them took their departure for the State of New York. On their way thither one of their number was fired on by the Pennsylvania militia and mortally wounded. The family sent to Mrs. Pickering for a winding sheet, which she gave them.

"In the year 1794, Colonel Pickering was drawn from his retirement in the valley of Wyoming by his appointment by Washington to the office of Postmaster-General. The seat of government was at Philadelphia. This office he held until August, 1795, when on the resignation of General Knox he was appointed by Washington, Secretary of War. There was no Secretary of the Navy then, its duties being included in those of the Secretary of War. During his administration of that office, the three famous frigates were built—the Constitution, the Philadelphia, and the Constellation. Colonel Pickering had much to do in equipping and arming these vessels and always took great interest in our warships. One of his sons was a midshipman with Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and also sailed with Commodore (then Captain) Decatur, on the Philadelphia.

"In the year 1795, on the resignation of Mr. Edmund Randolph as Secretary

of State, Washington gave Colonel Pickering the temporary charge of that office. Sometime before the meeting of Congress in the following December, the President rendered him the office of Secretary of State. This from unaffected diffidence he declined. But as soon as Congress assembled, without speaking to Colonel Pickering again, he nominated him as Secretary of State and he was confirmed by the Senate. He continued in this office until the year 1800, when he was removed by President Adams and was succeeded by his lifelong friend and correspondent, John Marshall, who afterward became Chief Justice of the United States.

“Shortly after this, by the solicitations of his friends in Massachusetts and their purchase of his lands in the valley of Wyoming, he returned to his native state. These valuable lands were, after the death of Alexander Hamilton, presented to his heirs by the gentlemen composing the company who had purchased them.

“In 1803, Colonel Pickering was elected by the Legislature to fill the unexpired term of Davigne Foster in the United States Senate. In 1805 he was again elected to the Senate for six years. At the expiration of this term he was engaged in the pursuits of agriculture. In this occupation he was much interested and was the founder of the agricultural society in his state; its president, and wrote many valuable papers on the subject. He also introduced the culture of buckwheat in America. In 1814 he was elected to the House of Representatives and held his seat until the year 1817. Thus ended his long career of public service. It is safe to say that no man ever held as many public offices in the gift of Washington as the subject of this memoir. The friendship thus formed continued unbroken during fifteen years of constant association and correspondence. His official letters of Washington to him when Secretary of State are signed yours sincerely and affectionately G. Washington.

“The exalted patriotism of Washington is thus set forth by Colonel Pickering in this anecdote, just as it fell from his lips: ‘You mention the General’s equanimity under the severest embarrassments and disasters. In this I entirely concur. But I once saw him overcome with great good news. The cabal in the army embraced many officers, and is understood to have had considerable support among members of Congress. It will never be known how far it had spread; but for some time it had been extending its influence, and had become quite seriously formidable. After the unfortunate battles of Brandywine and Germantown it acquired much strength, and those engaged in it began to speak freely and were confident of success. The officer who had been generally thought of to supplant Washington was Horatio Gates, then in command of the Northern army. He had seen much service and was possessed of many attractive qualities. At the very moment when this intrigue had reached its head and was about to break out—when in fact its managers had begun to speak openly, a rumor was found circulating in camp and at headquarters that Gates had won a brilliant and decisive victory. It could not be traced to any source and how it got into currency was never explained. Days passed without any intelligence

whatever to sustain or contradict it. Of course a state of intense excitement was created. All were anxiously awaiting information. In the meantime the sentiment was freely and widely expressed that if true it would be fatal to Washington; that his days as commander-in-chief would be numbered; and Gates carried by an irresistible enthusiasm to the head of the army. The recently and repeatedly defeated General would have to give way to the triumphant one.

“ ‘ Washington was fully acquainted with this state of things and with what it was thought would be the consequence to himself if the rumor should be found to be true. At this very crisis one afternoon, Colonel Pickering was with him for the transaction of business. Colonel William Palfrey, the paymaster-general of the army, was also present. The General’s quarters were in a house on the Shippack road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. After business was dispatched, the General inquired as to the rumor and some conversation was had in relation to it. The road led southwardly, to York in Pennsylvania, where Congress was then in session; and was open to view from the General’s windows for some distance toward the north. A horseman was seen coming from that direction. They watched his approach with eager interest. Soon they noticed that he had the appearance of an express rider. Palfrey was requested to go out and accost him. He did so and found him bearing a despatch to Congress. Knowing the superscription to be in the handwriting of one of his deputies, Jonathan Trumbell, then at Albany or its neighborhood, he took the document from the expressman to shew it to the General. The rider told him the news. Meeting Pickering on his way he communicated to him the information. They went into the General’s room together. Colonel Palfrey drew out the end of an envelope and then the letter, handing it to the General. Not a word was spoken. Washington unfolded the document and proceeded to read it aloud. As he read his voice began to falter, his articulation became slow and broke under the intensity of his feelings; as it became apparent the letter was an announcement of the surrender of Burgoyne and his entire army, he could read no more, but passed it to Colonel Palfrey, signifying that he wished him to finish it, which he did aloud. As he concluded, Washington lifted his countenance to Heaven and was lost in a transport of adoring gratitude. He shewed a mind incapable of envy or selfishness, overjoyed at a victory the honor of which would be another’s and fatal to his own ascendancy and fame.’ Colonel Pickering used to say that the spectacle was truly sublime, that he beheld humanity in its noblest grandeur, a man to whom self was nothing, his country everything. The image and personification of a patriot was transfigured before him.

“ Colonel Pickering said further: ‘ Whoever came into the presence of Washington regarded him with profound respect. The dignity of his person, large and manly, increased by a steady, firm and grave countenance, forbidding absolutely all approach to familiarity, even from those whose frequent official intercourse brought them constantly into his presence.’ A short time before Washington’s death, a large company was assembled at Mount Vernon when he expressed this sentiment, ‘ If there is a genuine patriot in this country (and I think

there are many) Timothy Pickering is preëminent.' The subject of this sketch was said to be the only man in 'Congress whom the eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke, the leader of the Democratic party in Virginia, had not been made to feel the sting of his biting sarcasm.' When the compensation bill was before the House of Representatives in 1817 Randolph expressed himself thus: 'No man in the United States has been more misunderstood, no man more reviled than Alexander Hamilton and this is a bold declaration for me to make, unless perhaps the venerable member from Massachusetts (pointing to the seat usually occupied by Colonel Pickering), whom whatever may be said of him all will allow to be an honest man. The other day when on the compensation question he spoke of his own situation, when his voice faltered and his eyes filled at the mention of his own poverty I thought I would have given the treasures of Dives himself for his feelings at that moment; for his poverty, Mr. Speaker, was not the consequence of idleness, extravagance or the gambling spirit of speculation, it was an honorable poverty after a life spent in a laborious service and in the highest offices of trust under Government during the War of Independence, as well as under the present Constitution. Sir, I have not much, although it would be gross affectation in me to plead poverty; but such as I have I would freely give to the venerable gentleman if he would accept it, to have it said over my grave as it may in truth be said over his "Here lies the man who enjoyed the confidence of Washington and the enmity of his successor."'

"A warm friendship had sprung up between Colonel Pickering and Alexander Hamilton. They were constantly associated together when in the Cabinet; the former had great admiration for the exalted talents of the latter. When the news of his death reached Colonel Pickering his grief was extreme. One of his family said it was like a death in his own household. He not only mourned the loss of a valued friend but the loss of such a man to his country. The manner of his taking off was a great distress to one who held such a hatred of duelling. Colonel Pickering considered duelling an absurd and barbarous practice. He lamented the false sense of honor which induced Hamilton to accept the challenge of a man like Burr. Colonel Pickering had been challenged himself and refused to fight, expressing freely his opinion of this custom. 'That he had a large family dependent on him for support, that he should always be ready to defend his person from assassins, that he did not fear man but God.' This last reason was consistent with his character and the tenor of his life for he was an eminently religious man. During his absences from his wife he composed a prayer and sent it to her in order that although far apart they might be together in their devotions. On the declaration of peace he thus concluded his letter to his wife:

"My heart's joy—You have already exulted in the happy news, soon I shall be restored to you by God's will, then we shall pour out the grateful effusions of our souls to that Great and Merciful being who has brought us through a calamitous war. Oh! for a country deserving of such blessings! But God is gracious even to the unthankful and unjust. His mercy endureth forever. Ex-

alted be his name.' The answer to Washington's address to the army at the conclusion of the war was written by Colonel Pickering. He relates that when Washington began to deliver his address which he had written out, he paused (while taking his glasses out of his waistcoat pocket) saying 'Gentlemen will permit me to put on my spectacles. I have not only grown grey but almost blind in the service of my country.' This remark with the mode and manner of saying it drew tears from the eyes of many of the officers.

"Toward the latter years of Colonel Pickering's life he was requested by the family of Alexander Hamilton to write the life of that great man. He had collected and arranged the materials and was about to commence writing it, when taking a severe cold, (from going to church on an intensely cold day) pleurisy developed, which ended his life in a very few days, in his eighty-fourth year. He remarked to the clergyman who visited him in his illness that he had hoped to live long enough to write the life of his friend Hamilton. He bore his painful illness without a murmur, and when told that his end was approaching, raised his eyes to Heaven, with these words on his lips, 'I bow to the will of God, I am ready and willing to die.'

"The writer has no desire to dwell on the violent political controversies of the period succeeding the Revolution. Even Washington was often openly attacked. During his administration the illustrious John Jay and Colonel Pickering were both burned in effigy in the northern liberties of Philadelphia. 'Tis license they mean when they cry liberty,' could apply to these assailants of the administration. Colonel Pickering held a vigorous pen and was often drawn into controversies with his opponents. With him right was right, and wrong was wrong. He believed in no compromise with the evil when it came to his notice in high places and he denounced it unsparingly. An article which appeared in a scurrilous sheet, 'The Aurora,' accused the Secretary of State of selling a passport to Europe, when they were given on application to the State Department gratis. On investigation it was found that one of his clerks had sold one for five dollars. The clerk was summarily dismissed by Colonel Pickering. This violent attack on a faithful public servant excited the indignation of Washington, who was then at Mt. Vernon, and brought from him a letter to Colonel Pickering containing the following words: 'Notwithstanding there existed no doubt in my mind that the charge in "The Aurora" against you was a malignant falsehood, yet, satisfied as I am of the *motive* and *end* to be answered by its publication, I have read with much pleasure your disavowal of its application. But the more I know of the views of those who are opposed to the measures of our government, the less surprised I am at the attempts and the means—*cowardly, illiberal, and assassin-like*—which are used to subvert it and to destroy all confidence in those who are entrusted with the administration thereof.' In the same letter, speaking of attacks on himself, Washington said 'I should treat the essays, made to injure me with the contempt they deserve; but when it is evident that the shafts which are aimed *at me* are calculated for a more important purpose than simply to wound my reputation, it becomes a mat-

ter of more magnitude, and merits consideration, which if you have leisure to bestow I will thank you for the result, being with much truth and very great regard, dear sir, yours, George Washington.'

"Could there be a greater proof of the confidence of Washington than the sentiments of this letter?"

"To the abilities of Colonel Pickering his state papers bear evidence. President Monroe said they had seldom been equalled, never surpassed. Disinterested in public service, pure in his life, simple in manners, benevolent toward the poor, tender in his domestic relations, constant and faithful in his friendships—he died revered and honored by those among whom his life was passed.



THE PICKERING HOUSE.

THE PICKERING HOUSE

"The Pickering house in Salem was built in 1651, and is now inhabited by the ninth generation of that family. It is kept in good repair and with its pointed gables, and low ceilings, is a good suggestion of the Elizabethan age. A pear tree in its garden, planted on the day of the battle of Lexington is still in bearing or was two years ago.

"The remains of Timothy Pickering and Rebecca his wife rest under a massive slab of Quincy granite in the old Broad street burying-ground a few hundred yards from the old mansion."

By his granddaughter, MARY E. PICKERING DONALDSON, March, 1896.

CHAPTER XIV

A BATTEAU VOYAGE IN 1796

CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER was the youngest and favorite child of General Schuyler, by whom she was always called "My Kitty." During his old age "she was his traveling companion, and constantly enjoyed the refined society by which he was surrounded. Although the stirring scenes of the Revolution were passed before the years of her infancy were numbered, her intercourse with the great and honorable men of that generation during her youth and early womanhood, brought facts and circumstances so forcibly to her vigorous mind, that their impressions were as vivid and truthful as if made by actual observation." In 1796, she accompanied her father to Oswego with a view of visiting the falls of Niagara; but, arrived at Fort Ontario, they failed to obtain transportation and were obliged to return.

It was an arduous journey of two weeks through a region which a Pullman car now traverses in four hours, regardless of seasons. They traveled by batteaux—rudely constructed of logs and planks, broad and without a keel. They



A BATTEAU.

had small draught, and would carry large loads in quite shallow water. When the wind was favorable, a sail was hoisted. In still water and against currents they were propelled by long driving poles. The flat boats on the southern rivers are not unlike the old batteaux. They were sometimes furnished with a mast for lakes and other deep water, and cabins were erected on them.

Mrs. Grant in "The American Lady" gives a pleasing account of the trip which she made in 1759, with her father and other officers. "Never, certainly, was a journey so replete with felicity. I luxuriated in idleness and novelty; knowledge was my delight, and it was now pouring in on my mind from all sides. What a change from sitting down pinned to my sampler by my mother till the hour of play, and then running wild with children as young, and still simpler than myself. Much attended to by all my fellow-travelers, I was absolutely intoxicated with the charms of novelty, and the sense of my new-found importance. The first day we came to Schenectady, a little town situated in a rich and beautiful spot, and partly supported by the Indian trade. The next day we embarked, proceeded up the river with six batteaux, and came early in

the evening to one of the most charming scenes imaginable, where Fort Hendrick was built; so called, in compliment to the principal sachem, or king of the Mohawks. The castle of this primitive monarch stood at a little distance on a rising ground, surrounded by palisades. He resided, at the time, in a house which the public workmen, who had lately built this fort, had been ordered to erect for him in the vicinity. We did not fail to wait upon his majesty; who, not choosing to depart too much from the customs of his ancestors, had not permitted divisions of apartments, or modern furniture to profane his new dwelling. It had the appearance of a good barn, and was divided across by a mat hung in the middle. King Hendrick, who had indeed a very princely figure, and a countenance that would not have dishonored royalty, was sitting on the floor beside a large heap of wheat, surrounded with baskets of dried berries of different kinds; beside him, his son, a very pretty boy, somewhat older than myself, was caressing a foal, which was unceremoniously introduced into the royal residence. A laced hat, a fine saddle and pistols, gifts of his good brother the great king, were hung round on the crossbeams. He was splendidly arrayed in a coat of pale blue, trimmed with silver; all the rest of



KING HENDRICK.

his dress was of the fashion of his own nation, and highly embellished with beads and other ornaments. All this suited my taste exceedingly, and was level to my comprehension. I was prepared to admire King Hendrick, by having heard him described as a generous warrior, terrible to his enemies, and kind to his friends: the character of all others calculated to make the deepest impression on ignorant ignorance, in a country where infants learned the horrors of war, from its proximity. Add to all this, that the monarch smiled, clapped my head, and ordered me a little basket, very pretty, and filled by the officious kindness of his son with dried berries. Never did princely gifts, or the smile of royalty, produce more ardent admiration and profound gratitude. I went

out of the royal presence overawed and delighted, and am not sure but what I have liked kings all my life the better for this happy specimen, to which I was so early introduced. Had I seen royalty, properly such, invested with all the pomp of European magnificence, I should possibly have been confused and over-dazzled. But this was quite enough, and not too much for me; and I went away, lost in a reverie, and thought of nothing but kings, battles, and generals, for days after.

“This journey, charming my romantic imagination by its very delays and difficulties, was such a source of interest and novelty to me, that above all things I dreaded its conclusion, which I well knew would be succeeded by long tasks and close confinement. Happily for me we soon entered upon Wood creek, the most desirable of all places for a traveler who loves to linger, if such another traveler there be. This is a small river, which winds irregularly through a deep and narrow valley of the most lavish fertility. The depth and richness of the soil here were evinced by the loftiness and nature of the trees, which were hickory, butternut, chestnut, and sycamores of vast circumference as well as height. These became so top-heavy, and their roots were so often undermined by this insidious stream, that in every tempestuous night some giants of the grove fell prostrate, and very frequently across the stream, where they lay in all their pomp of foliage, like a leafy bridge, unwithered, and forming an obstacle almost invincible to all navigation. The Indian lifted his slight canoe, and carried it past the tree; but our deep-loaded batteaux could not be so managed. Here my orthodoxy was shocked, and my anti-military prejudices revived, by the swearing of the soldiers; but then, again, my veneration for my father was, if possible increased, by his lectures against swearing, provoked by their transgression. Nothing remained for our heroes but to attack these sylvan giants, axe in hand, and make way through their divided bodies. The assault upon fallen greatness was unanimous and unmerciful, but the resistance was tough, and the process tedious; so much so, that we were three days proceeding fourteen miles, having at every two hours' end at least a new tree to cut through.

“It was here, as far as I recollect the history of my own heart, that the first idea of artifice ever entered into my mind. It was, like most female artifices, the offspring of vanity. These delays were a new source of pleasure to me. It was October; the trees we had to cut through were often loaded with nuts; and while I ran lightly along the branches to fill my royal basket with their spoils, which I had great pleasure in distributing, I met with multitudes of fellow-plunderers in the squirrels of various colors and sizes, who were here numberless. This made my excursion amusing. But when I found my disappearance excited alarm, they assumed more interest: it was so fine to sit quietly among the branches and hear concern and solicitude expressed about the child.

“I will spare the reader the fatigue of accompanying our little fleet through

“‘Antres vast and deserts wild;’

only observing, that the magnificent solitude through which we traveled was

much relieved by the sight of Johnson Hall, beautifully situated in a plain by the river; while Johnson Castle, a few miles further up, made a most respectable appearance on a commanding eminence at some distance.

“ We traveled from one fort to another; but in three or four instances, to my great joy, they were so remote from each other that we found it necessary to encamp at night on the bank of the river. This, in a land of profound solitude, where wolves, foxes, and bears abounded, and were very much inclined to consider and treat us as intruders, might seem dismal to wiser folks. But I was so gratified by the bustle and agitation produced by our measures of defence, and actuated by the love which all children have for mischief that is not fatal, that I enjoyed our night’s encampment exceedingly. We stopped early wherever we saw the largest and most combustible kind of trees. Cedars were great favorites, and the first work was to fell and pile upon each other an incredible number, stretched lengthways; while every man who could, was busied in gathering withered branches of pine, etc., to fill up the interstices of the pile and make the green wood burn the faster. Then a train of gunpowder was laid along to give fire to the whole fabric at once, which blazed and crackled magnificently. Then the tents were erected close in a row before this grand conflagration. This was not merely meant to keep us warm, though the nights did begin to grow cold, but to frighten wild beasts and wandering Indians. In case any such, belonging to hostile tribes, should see this prodigious blaze, the size of it was meant to give them an idea of a greater force than we possessed.

“ In one place, where we were surrounded by hills, with swamps lying between them, there seemed to be a general congress of wolves, who answered each other from opposite hills in sounds the most terrific. Probably the terror which all savage animals have at fire, was exalted into fury by seeing so many enemies whom they durst not attack. The bull-frogs, those harmless though hideous inhabitants of the swamps, seemed determined not to be outdone, and roared a tremendous bass to this bravura accompaniment. This was almost too much for my love of the terrible sublime: some women, who were our fellow-travelers, shrieked with terror; and finally, the horrors of that night were ever held in awful remembrance by all who shared them.

“ The last night of this eventful pilgrimage, of which I fear to tire my readers by a further recital, was spent at Fort Bruerton, then commanded by Captain Mungo Campbell, whose warm and generous heart, whose enlightened and comprehensive mind, whose social qualities and public virtues, I should delight to commemorate did my limits permit; suffice it, that he is endeared to my recollection by being the first person who ever supposed me to have a mind capable of culture, and I was ever after distinguished by his partial notice. Here we were detained two days by a premature fall of snow. Very much disposed to be happy anywhere, I was here particularly so. Our last day’s journey, which brought us to Lake Ontario and Fort Oswego, our destined abode, was a very hard one: we had people going before, breaking the ice with paddles, all the way.

* * * * *

“I cannot quit Ontario without giving a slight sketch of the manner in which it was occupied and governed while I was there and afterward, were it but to give young soldiers a hint how they may best use their time and resources, so as to shun the indolence and ennui they are often liable to in such situations. The Fifty-fifth had by this time acquired several English officers; but with regard to the men, it might be considered as a Scotch regiment, and was indeed originally such, being raised but a very few years before in the neighborhood of Stirling. There were small detachments in other forts; but the greatest part were in this, commanded by Major (afterward Colonel) Duncan, of Lundie, elder brother of the late Lord Duncan of Camperdown. He was an experienced officer, possessed of considerable military science, learned, humane, and judicious, yet obstinate, and somewhat of a humorist withal. Wherever he went, a respectable library went with him. Though not old, he was gouty and warworn, and therefore allowably carried about many comforts and conveniences that others could not warrantably do. The fort was a large place, built entirely of earth and great logs; I mean the walls and ramparts, for the barracks were of wood, and cold and comfortless. The cutting down the vast quantity of wood used in this building had, however, cleared much of the fertile ground by which the fort was surrounded. The lake abounded with excellent fish and varieties of water fowl, while deer and every kind of game were numerous in the surrounding woods. All these advantages, however, were now shut up by the rigors of winter. The officers were all very young men, brought from school or college to the army; and since the dreadful specimen of war which they had met with on their first outset, at the lines of Ticonderoga, they had gone through all possible hardships. After a march up the St. Lawrence, and then through Canada here,—a march, indeed, (considering the season, and the no road) worthy the hero of Pultowa,—they were stationed in this new built garrison, far from every trace of civilization. These young soldiers were, however, excellent subjects for the forming hand of Major Duncan. As I have said on a former occasion of others, if they were not improved, they were not spoiled, and what little they knew was good.”

FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES

In the Revolutionary period there were no less than twenty forts and block-houses between Schenectady and Lake Ontario.

Castle or Fort Johnson, two and one-half miles west of Amsterdam on the north bank of the Mohawk, “was built by Sir William Johnson in 1742 (where he resided some twenty years previous to his erection of Johnson Hall, at Johnstown, N. Y.)” In 1757, a writer thus described it: “Colonel (Sir William) Johnson’s mansion is situated on the border of the left bank of the river Mohawk. It is three stories high; built of stone, with portholes (crenelee’s) and a parapet, and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion, there are two small houses; that on the

right of the entrance is a store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes, and domestics. The yard gate is a heavy swing gate well ironed; it is on the Mohawk river side; from this gate to the river there is about two hundred paces of level ground. The high road passes there. A small rivulet coming from the north empties into the Mohawk river, about two hundred paces below the enclosure of the yard. (This stream is now called 'Old Fort Creek'.) On this stream there is a mill about forty paces distant from the house; below the mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek, one hundred paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and



FORT JOHNSON.

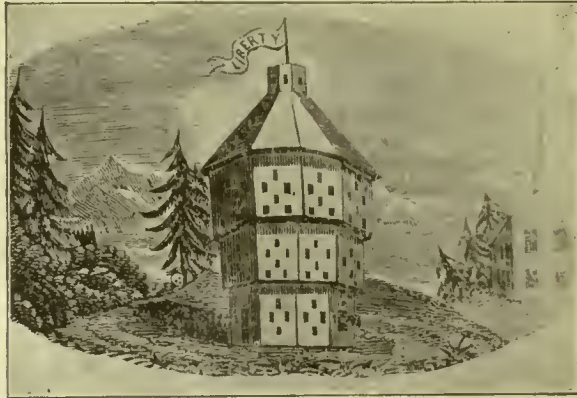
fodder are kept. One hundred and fifty paces from Colonel Johnson's mansion, at the north side, on the left bank of the creek, is a little hill on which is a small house with portholes, where is ordinarily kept a guard of honor of twenty men, which serves also as an advanced post." Sir William Johnson "was never given credit for great military skill or personal bravery, and was more expert in intriguing with Indian warriors, and sending them to the field, than in leading disciplined troops boldly into action. He died at Johnson Hall, on the 11th of July, 1774, aged sixty years."

The castle is still standing, a substantial specimen of that period.

FORT PLAIN BLOCKHOUSE

In his "Field Book of the Revolution," Benson J. Lossing writes: "Fort Plain was eligibly situated upon a high plain in the rear of the village, and commanded an extensive sweep of the valley on the right and left. A sort of defence was thrown up there by the people in the early part of the war, but the fort proper was erected by the government after the alarming demonstrations of the Indians in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys in 1778. For a while it was an important fortress, affording protection to the people in the neighborhood, and forming a

key to the communication with the Schoharie, Cherry valley, and Unadilla settlements. Its form was an irregular quadrangle, with earth and log bastions, embrasures at each corner, and barracks and a strong blockhouse within. The plain on which it stood is of peninsular form, and across the neck, or isthmus, a breastwork was thrown up. The fort extended along the brow of the hill northwest of the village, and the blockhouse was a few rods from the northern declivity. This blockhouse was erected in 1780, after the fort and barracks were found to be but a feeble defence, under the supervision of a French engineer employed by Colonel Gansevoort. The latter, by order of General Clinton, then in command of the Northern department, had repaired thither with his regiment, to take charge of a large quantity of stores destined for Fort Schuyler. Ramparts of logs and earth were thrown up, and a strong blockhouse was erected, a view



FORT PLAIN BLOCKHOUSE.

of which is here given. It was octagonal in form, three stories in height, and composed of hewn timbers about fifteen inches square. There were numerous portholes for musketry, and in the lower story three or four cannon were placed. * * *

“Soon after the completion of the work, doubts were expressed of its being cannon-ball proof. A trial was made with a six-pounder placed at a proper distance. Its ball passed entirely through the blockhouse, crossed a broad ravine, and lodged in the hill on which the old parsonage stands, an eighth of a mile distant.

* * * “This place was included in the Canajoharie settlement, and in 1780 felt severely the vengeance of the Tories and Indians, inflicted in return for terrible desolations wrought by an army under Sullivan, the previous year, in the Indian country west of the white settlements. The whole region on the north of the Mohawk, for several miles in this vicinity, was laid waste. The approach of the dreaded Thayendanega (Brant) along the Canajoharie creek, with about five hundred Indians and Tories, to attack the settlement at Fort

Plain, was announced to the people, then engaged in their harvest fields, by a woman who fired a cannon at the fort. The larger portion of militia had gone with Gansevoort to guard provisions on their way to Fort Schuyler, and those who remained, with the boys and old men, unable to defend their lives or property, fled into the fort for protection. In their approach the enemy burned every dwelling and barn, destroyed the crops, and carried off everything of value."

* * * Although the fort had been greatly strengthened, "they marched boldly up within cannon-shot of the entrenchments, burned the church, the parsonage, and many other buildings, and carried off several women and children prisoners. * * *

"With the destruction of Fort Plain the devastation was for the time, stayed. In a day the fairest portion of the valley had been made desolate."

THE OLD STONE CHURCH

"On the German Flats, four miles west of Little Falls, on the south side of the river," Lossing says in his Field Book, "is one of the churches which were erected under the auspices and by the liberal contributions of Sir William Johnson. The church is of stone, but is somewhat altered in its external appearance. The walls are very thick, and it has square buttresses at the corners.



OLD STONE CHURCH

It was altered and repaired in 1811, at an expense of nearly four thousand dollars. The roof (formerly steep) was raised, an upper row of windows was formed, and a gallery was constructed within. The height of the old windows is indicated by the arches seen over the present square ones, and the eaves were just above the keystones. The original tower, or belfry, was open, and in it was placed a swivel for the protection of the inhabitants against the Indians, or to sound an alarm to the people on the neighboring hills. The pulpit, although newly constructed, when the church was repaired, is precisely the same, in

style, as the original. The sounding-board and panels in front are handsomely painted in imitation of inlaid work, and the whole has an elegant appearance.

* * *

“A few rods west of the church was the large stone mansion of the Herkimer family, which was stockaded and called Fort Herkimer. Around this, and the church, the humbler dwellings of the farmers were clustered, for so frequently did the Indian marauder (and as frequently the unprincipled Tory, in the Revolution) disturb them, that they dared not live in isolation. * * *

“Two miles further westward, on a gravelly plain upon the north side of the river, is the pretty little village of Herkimer. It occupies the site of old Fort Herkimer, erected in the early part of the Seven Years' war, and known as Fort Dayton during the Revolution. This beautiful region, like the ‘sweet vale of Wyoming,’ was disturbed and menaced in the earlier periods of the war, and in 1778 it was made a desolation.

“Owing to the distant situation (about thirty-five miles) of Fort Schuyler, its garrison afforded very slight protection to this portion of the valley.”

FORT SCHUYLER

“This fort has quite a history. In 1758, General John Stanwix, who came to America in 1756, as colonel of the First battalion of the Sixtieth Royal Americans, was sent by General Abercrombie after his defeat at Ticonderoga to build a fort on the ruins of old Fort Williams near the rise of the Mokawk river on the Oneida carrying place at the head of boat navigation, the site of the present city of Rome, N. Y. ‘It was a strong, square fortification, having bombproof bastions, a glacis, covert way, and a well picketed ditch around the ramparts.’ Its position was important in a military point of view, for it commanded the Mohawk and Wood creek, and was a key to communication between the Mohawk valley and Lake Champlain. The works cost the British and Colonial government two hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred dollars, yet when the Revolution broke out the fort and its outposts were in ruins.”

In 1776, Fort Stanwix was partially repaired by Colonel Dayton, and by him was renamed Fort Schuyler in honor of General Schuyler in whose military department it was situated. It has been confounded by some with Old Fort Schuyler, which was built during the French and Indian wars and named in honor of Colonel Peter Schuyler, an uncle of the general.

On the celebration of the Centennial, August 7th, 1877, the patriotic people of the state paid tribute to the memory of the brave men who took part in the battle of Oriskany and the defence of Fort Schuyler. Honorable Ellis H. Roberts delivered an eloquent address on the occasion, of which the following is an extract :

“The plans for its reconstruction were yet in progress when St. Leger appeared before it. But care and labor had been so effectual that the broken walls had been restored, and the ruins which the invader came to overrun had



Barry St. Leger

given place to defences too strong for his attack. Colonel Peter Gansevoort was in command. * * *

“The garrison consisted of seven hundred and fifty men. It was composed of Gansevoort's own regiment, the third New York, with two hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Mellon of Colonel Wesson's regiment of the Massachusetts line. Colonel Mellon had fortunately arrived with a convoy of boats filled with supplies, on the second of August, when the enemy's fires were already in sight only a mile away. This was the force with which Gansevoort was to hold the fort.

“The British advance appeared on the 2d of August. The investiture was complete on the fourth. The siege was vigorously prosecuted on the fifth, but the cannon ‘had not the least effect on the sod-work of the fort,’ and ‘the royals had only the power of teasing.’”

ST. LEGER'S INVASION

“The corps before Fort Schuyler was formidable in every element of military strength. The expedition with which it was charged, was deemed by the war secretary at Whitehall of the first consequence, and it had received as marked attention as any army which King George ever let loose upon the Colonies. For its leader Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger had been chosen by the king himself, on Burgoyne's nomination. He deserved the confidence, if we judge by his advance, by his precautions, by his stratagem at Oriskany, and by the conduct of the siege, up to the panic at the rumor that Arnold was coming. In the regular army of England, he became an ensign in 1756, and coming to America the next year, he had served in the French war, and learned the habits of the Indians, and of border warfare. In some local sense, perhaps as commanding this corps, he was styled a brigadier. His regular rank was lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-fourth regiment. In those days of trained soldiers, it was a marked distinction, to be chosen to select an independent corps on important service. A wise commander, fitted for border war, his order of march bespeaks him. Skillful in affairs, and scholarly in accomplishments, his writings prove him. Prompt, tenacious, fertile in resources, attentive to detail, while master of the whole plan, he could not fail where another could have won. Inferior to St. Leger in rank, but superior to him in natural powers and in personal magnetism, was Joseph Brant¹—Thayendanega—chief of the Mohawks. He had been active in arraying the Six Nations on the side of King George, and only the Onedias and Tuscaroras had refused to follow his lead. He was now thirty-five years of age; in figure the ideal Indian, tall and spare and lithe and quick; with all the genius of his tribe, and the training gained in Connecticut schools, and in the family of Sir William Johnson; he had been a ‘lion’ in London,

¹While Brant was in England, the Earl of Warwick caused Romney, the eminent painter, to make a portrait of him for his collection, and from a print, after that picture, this was reproduced. His life has been written by William Leete Stone.

and flattered at British headquarters in Montreal. Among the Indians he was preëminent, and in any circle he would have been conspicuous.

“As St. Leger represented the regular army of King George, and Brant the Indian allies, Sir John Johnson led the regiments which had been organized from the settlers in the Mohawk valley. He had inherited from his father, Sir William, the largest estate held on the continent by any individual, William Penn excepted. He had early taken sides with the king against the colonists, and having entered into a compact with the patriots to preserve peace and remain at Johnstown, he had violated his promise, and fled to Canada. He came now with a sense of personal wrong, to recover his possessions and to resume the almost royal sway which he had exercised. He at this time held a commission as Colonel in the British army, to raise and command forces raised among the loyalists of the valley. Besides these was Butler—John Butler, a brother-in-law of Johnson; lieutenant-colonel by rank, rich and influential in the valley, familiar with the Indians and a favorite with them, shrewd, and daring and savage, already father of that son Walter, who was to be the scourge of the settlers, and with him to render ferocious and bloody the border war. He came from Niagara, and was now in command of Tory rangers.

“The forces were like the leaders. It has been the custom to represent St. Leger’s army as a ‘motley crowd.’ On the contrary, it was a picked force, especially designated by orders from headquarters in Britain. He enumerates his ‘artillery, the Thirty-fourth in the king’s regiment, with the Hessian riflemen and the whole corps of Indians,’ with him, while his advance consisting of a detachment under Lieutenant Bird, had gone before, and ‘the rest of the army, led by Sir John Johnson,’ was a day’s march in the rear. Johnson’s whole regiment was with him together with Butler’s Tory rangers, with at least one company of Canadians. The country from Schoharie westward, had been scoured of loyalists to add to this column. For such an expedition the force could not have been better chosen. The pet name of the ‘King’s regiment’ is significant. The artillery was such as could be carried by boat, and adapted to the sort of war before it. It had been especially designated from Whitehall. The Hanau Chasseurs were trained and skillful soldiers. The Indians were the terror of the land. The Six Nations had joined the expedition in full force, except the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras. With the latter tribes, the influence of Samuel Kirkland had overborne that of the Johnsons, and the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras were by their peaceful attitude, more than by hostility, useful to Congress to the end. The statement that two thousand Canadians accompanied him as axemen, is no doubt an exaggeration, but exclusive of such helpers and of non-combatants, the corps counted not less than seventeen hundred fighting men. King George could not then have sent a column better fitted for its task, or better equipped, or abler led, or more intent on achieving all that was imposed upon it. Leaving Montreal, it started on the 19th of July, from Buck Island, its rendezvous at the entrance of Lake Ontario. It had reached Fort Schuyler without the loss of a man, as if on a summer’s picnic. It had come through in



THAYENDANEGA.

good season. Its chief never doubted that he would make quick way with the fort. He had even cautioned Lieutenant Bird, who led the advance, lest he should risk the seizure with his unaided detachment. When his full force appeared, his faith was sure that the fort would 'fall without a single shot.' So confident was he, that he sent a dispatch to Burgoyne on the 5th of August, assuring him that the fort would be his directly, and they would speedily meet as victors in Albany. General Schuyler had in an official letter expressed a like fear.

THE PATRIOT RISING IN TRYON COUNTY

"St. Leger was therefore surprised as well as annoyed by the news that the settlers on the Mohawk had been aroused, and were marching in haste to relieve the fort. He found that his path to join Burgoyne was to be contested. He watched by skillful scouts the gathering of the patriots; their quick and somewhat irregular assembling; he knew of their march from Fort Dayton and their halt at Oriskany. Brant told him that they advanced, as brave, untrained militia, without throwing out skirmishers, and with Indian guile the Mohawk chose the pass in which an ambush should be set for them. The British commander guarded the way for several miles from his position, by scouts within speaking distance of each other. He knew the importance of his movement and he was guilty of no neglect.

THE AMBUSCADE

"From his camp at Fort Schuyler, St. Leger saw all, and directed all. Sir John Johnson led the force thrown out to meet the patriots, with Butler as his second, but Brant was its controlling head. The Indians were most numerous; 'the whole corps' a 'large body,' St. Leger testifies. And with the Indians he reports were 'some troops.' The presence of Johnson and Butler, as well as of Claus and Watts, of Captains Wilson, Hare and McDonald, the chief loyalists of the valley, proves that their followers were in the fight. Butler refers to the New Yorkers whom we know as Johnson's Greens, and the Rangers, as in the engagement in large numbers. St. Leger was under the absolute necessity of preventing the patriot force from attacking him in the rear. He could not do less than send every available man out to meet it. Quite certainly the choicest of the army were taken from the dull duty of the siege for this critical operation. They left camp at night and lay above and around the ravine at Oriskany, in the early morning of the 6th of August. They numbered not less than twelve hundred men under chosen cover.

GENERAL HERKIMER'S RALLY

"The coming of St. Leger had been known in the valley for weeks. Burgoyne had left Montreal in June, and the expedition by way of Lake Ontario,

as the experience of a hundred years prophesied, would respond to his advance. Colonel Gansevoort had appealed to the Committee of Safety for Tryon county, for help. Its chairman was Nicholas Herckheimer, (known to us as Herkimer,) who had been appointed a brigadier-general by Congress in the preceding autumn. His family was large, and it was divided in the contest. A brother was captain with Sir John Johnson, and a brother-in-law was one of the chief of the loyalists. He was now forty-eight years of age, short, slender, of dark complexion, with black hair and bright eyes. He had German pluck and leadership, but he had also German caution and deliberation. He foresaw the danger, and had given warning to General Schuyler at Albany. On the 17th of July he had issued a proclamation, announcing that the enemy, two thousand strong, was at Oswego, and that as soon as he should approach, every male person being in health, and between sixteen and sixty years of age, should immediately be ready to march against him. Tryon county had strong appeals for help also from Cherry valley and Unadilla, and General Herkimer had been southward in June to check operations of the Tories and Indians under Brant. The danger from this direction delayed and obstructed recruiting for the column against St. Leger. The stress was great, and Herkimer was bound to keep watch south as well as west. He waited only to learn where need was greatest, and he went thither. On the 30th of July, a letter from Thomas Spencer, a half-breed Oneida, read on its way to General Schuyler, made known the advance of St. Leger. Herkimer's order was promptly issued, and soon brought in eight hundred men. They were nearly all by blood Germans and low Dutch, with a few of other nationalities. The roster so far as can now be collected, indicates the presence of persons of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and French blood, but these are exceptions, and the majority of the force was beyond question German. They gathered from their farms and clearings, carrying their equipments with them. They met at Fort Dayton, near the mouth of the West Canada creek. This post was held at the time by a part of Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts regiment, also represented in the garrison at Fort Schuyler. The little army was divided into four regiments or battalions. The first, which Herkimer had once commanded, was now led by Colonel Ebenezer Cox, and was from the district of Canajoharie; of the second, from Palatine, Jacob Klock was colonel; the third was under Colonel Frederick Vischer, and came from Mohawk; the fourth, gathered from German Flats and Kingsland, Peter Bellingher commanded.

GENERAL HERKIMER'S ADVANCE

“Counsels were divided whether they should await further accessions, or hasten to Fort Schuyler. Prudence prompted delay. St. Leger's force was more than double that of Herkimer; it might be divided, and while one-half occupied the patriot column, the Indians under Tory lead might hurry down the valley, gathering reinforcements while they ravaged the homes of the patriots.

The blow might come from Unadilla where Brant had been as late as the early part of that very July. Herkimer, at Fort Dayton, was in position to turn in either direction. But the way of the Mohawk was the natural and traditional warpath. The patriots looked to Fort Schuyler as their defence. They started on the fourth, crossed the Mohawk, where is now Utica, and reached Whites-town on the fifth. Here it was probably that a band of Oneida Indians joined the column. From this point or before, Herkimer sent an express to Colonel Gansevoort arranging for coöperation. He was to move forward when three cannon signaled that aid was ready. The signal was not heard; the messengers had been delayed. His chief advisors, including Colonel Cox and Paris, the latter a member of the Committee of Safety, urged quicker movements. Fort Schuyler might fall, while they were delaying, and the foe could then turn upon them. Herkimer was taunted as a coward and a Tory. His German phlegm was stirred. He warned his impatient advisors that they would be the first in the face of the enemy to flee. He gave the order 'March on!' Apprised of the ambuscade, his courage which had been assailed prevented the necessary precautions.

"He led his little band on. If he had before been cautious, now he was audacious. His course lay on the south side of the river, avoiding its bends, where the country loses the general level which the road sought to follow, when it could be found. For three or four miles the hills rose upon valleys, with occasional gulleys. The trickling springs and the spring freshets had cut more than one ravine where even in the summer, the water stilled moistened the earth. These run toward the river, from southerly toward the north. Corduroy roads had been constructed over the marshes, for this was the line of such travel as sought Fort Schuyler and the river otherwise than by boat. Herkimer had come to one of the deepest of these ravines, ten or twelve rods wide, running narrower up to the hills at the south, and broadening toward the Mohawk into the flat bottom land. Where the forests were thick, where the rude roadway ran down into the marsh, and the ravine closed like a pocket, he pressed his way. Not in soldierly order, not watching against the enemy, but in rough haste, the eight hundred marched. They reached the ravine at ten o'clock in the morning. The advance had gained the higher ground. Then, as so often, the woods became alive. Black eyes flashed from behind every tree. Rifles blazed from a thousand unexpected coverts. The Indians rushed out, hatchet in hand, decked in paint and feathers. The brave band was checked. It was cut in two. The assailants aimed first of all to seize the supply train. Colonel Vischer, who commanded its guard, showed his courage before and after and doubtless fought well here, as the best informed descendants of other heroes of the battle believe. But his regiment was driven northward toward the river, was cut up or in great part captured with the supplies and ammunition. In the ravine and just west of it, Herkimer rallied those who stood with him. Back to back, shoulder to shoulder, they faced the foe. Where shelter could be had, two stood together, so that one might fire while the other loaded. Often the

fight grew closer, and the knife ended the personal contest. Eye to eye, hand to hand, this was a fight of men. Nerve and brawn and muscle, were the price of life. Rifle and knife, spear and tomahawk were the only weapons, or the clubbed butt of the rifle. It was not a test of science, not a weighing of enginery, not a measure of caliber; nor an exhibition of the choicest mechanism. Men stood against death, and death struck at them with the simplest implements. Homer sings of chariots and shields. Here were no such helps, no such defences. Forts or earthworks, barricades or abbattis, there were none. The



GEN. HERKIMER.

“I will face the enemy.”

British force had chosen its ground. Two to one it must have been against the band which stood and fought in that pass, forever glorious. Herkimer, early wounded and his horse shot under him, sat on his saddle beneath a birch tree, just where the hill rises at the west a little north of the centre of the ravine, calmly smoking his pipe while ordering the battle. He was urged to retire from so much danger; his reply is the eloquence of a hero, ‘I will face the enemy.’

“The ground tells the story of the fight. General Herkimer was with the advance, which had crossed the ravine. His column stretched out for nearly half a mile. Its head was a hundred rods west or more of the ravine, his rear-

guard reached as far east of it. The firing began from the hills into the gulf. Herkimer closed his line on its centre, and in reaching that point his white horse was shot under him. The flagstaff to-day on the hill marks his position. Then as to-day the hills curved like a cimeter, from the west to the east on the north side of the river. Fort Schuyler could not be seen but lay in the plain just beyond the gap in the hills, six miles distant. * * *

“ During the carnage, a storm of wind and rain and lightning brought a respite. Old men preserve the tradition that in the path by which the enemy came, a broad windfall was cut, and was seen for long years afterward. The elements caused only a short lull. In came at the thick of the strife, a detachment of Johnson's Greens; and they sought to appear reinforcements for the patriots. They paid dearly for the fraud, for thirty were quickly killed. Captain Gardenier slew three with his spear, one after the other. Captain Dillenbeck assailed by three, brained one, shot the second, and bayoneted the third. Henry Thompson grew faint with hunger, sat down on the body of a dead soldier, ate his lunch, and refreshed, resumed the fight. William Merckly, mortally wounded, to a friend offering to assist him said, ‘Take care of yourself, leave me to my fate.’ Such men could not be whipped. The Indians finding they were losing many, became suspicious that their allies wished to destroy them, giving unexpected aid to the patriot band. Tradition relates that an Oneida maid, only fifteen years old, daughter of a chief, fought on the side of the patriots, firing her rifle, and shouting her battle cry. The Indians raised the cry of retreat, ‘Oonah!’ ‘Oonah!’ Johnson heard the firing of a sortie from the fort. The British fell back, after five hours of desperate fight. Herkimer and his gallant men held the ground.

THE SORTIE

“ The sortie from Fort Schuyler which Herkimer expected, was made as soon as his messengers arrived. They were delayed, and yet got through at a critical moment. Colonel Willett made a sally at the head of two hundred and fifty men, totally routed two of the enemy's encampments, and captured their contents, including five British flags. The exploit did not cost a single patriot life, while at least six of the enemy were killed and four made prisoners. It aided to force the British retreat from Oriskany. The captured flags were floated beneath the stars and stripes, fashioned in the fort from cloaks and shirts; and here for the first time the flag of the republic was raised in victory over British colors. * * *

THE SEIGE

“ St. Leger's advance was checked. His junction with Burgoyne was prevented. The rising of loyalists in the valley did not occur. He claimed indeed ‘the completest victory’ at Oriskany. He notified the garrison that

Burgoyne was victorious at Albany, and demanded peremptorily the surrender of the fort, threatening that prolonged resistance would result in general massacre at the hands of the enraged Indians. Johnson, Claus and Butler issued an address to the inhabitants of Tryon county, urging them to submit because 'surrounded by victorious armies.' Colonel Gansevoort treated the summons as an insult, and held his post with sturdy steadiness. The people of the valley sided with Congress against the king. For sixteen days after Oriskany, St. Leger lay before Fort Schuyler, and heard more and more closely the rumbles of fresh resistance from the valley.

RELIEF UNDER ARNOLD'S LEAD

"Colonel Willett, who led the gallant sortie, accompanied by Major Stockwell, risked no less danger on a mission through thickets and hidden foes, to inform General Schuyler at Albany of the situation. In a council of officers, bitter opposition arose to Schuyler's proposal to send relief to Fort Schuyler, on the plea that it would weaken the army at Albany, the more important position. Schuyler was equal to the occasion, acting promptly, and with great energy. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'I will take the responsibility upon myself. Where is the brigadier who will command the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers tomorrow.' Benedict Arnold, then unstained by treason, promptly offered to lead the army. On the next day, August 9th, eight hundred volunteers were enrolled, chiefly of General Larned's Massachusetts brigade. General Israel Putnam ordered the regiments of Colonel Cortlandt and Livingston from Peekskill to join the relief 'against those worse than infernals.' Arnold was to take supplies wherever he could get them, and especially not to offend the already unfriendly Mohawks. Schuyler enjoined upon him also, 'as the inhabitants of Tryon county were chiefly Germans, it might be well to praise their bravery at Oriskany, and ask their gallant aid in the enterprise.' Arnold reached Fort Dayton, and on 20th of August issued as commander-in-chief of the army of the United States of America on the Mohawk river, a characteristic proclamation, denouncing St. Leger as 'a leader of a banditti of robbers, murderers and traitors, composed of savages of America and more savage Britons.' The militia joined him in great numbers. On the 22d Arnold pushed forward, and on the 24th he arrived at Fort Schuyler. St. Leger had raised the siege and precipitately fled.

"St. Leger had been frightened by rumors of the rapid advance of Arnold's army. Arnold had taken pains to fill the air with them. He had sent to St. Leger's camp a half-witted loyalist, Yan Yost Schuyler, to exaggerate his numbers and his speed. The Indians in camp were restive and kept track of the army of relief. They badgered St. Leger to retreat, and threatened to abandon him. They raised the alarm 'they are coming' and for the numbers of the patriots approaching, they pointed to the leaves of the forest.

ST. LEGER'S FLIGHT

“On the 22d of August while Arnold was yet at Utica, St. Leger fled. The Indians were weary; they had lost goods by Willett's sortie; they saw no chance for spoils. Their chiefs killed at Oriskany beckoned them away. They began to abandon the ground, and to spoil the camp of their allies. St. Leger deemed his danger from them, if he refused to follow their counsels, greater than from the enemy. He hurried his wounded and prisoners forward; he left his tents, with most of his artillery and stores, spoils to the garrison. His men threw away their packs in their flight. He quarreled with Johnson, and the Indians had to make peace between them. St. Leger indeed was helpless. The flight became a disgraceful rout. The Indians butchered alike prisoners and British who could not keep up, or became separated from the column. St. Leger's expedition, as one of the latest, became one of the most striking illustrations to the British of the risks and terrors of an Indian alliance.

* * * * *

“The siege of Fort Schuyler was raised. The logic of the battle of Oriskany was consummated. The whole story has been much neglected, and the best authorities on the subject are British. The battle is one of a series of events which constitute a chain of history as picturesque, as exciting, as heroic, as important, as ennoble any part of this or any other land.

* * * * *

CONCLUSION

“Extravagant eulogy never honors its object. Persistent neglect of events which have moulded history, is not creditable to those who inherit the golden fruits. We do not blush to grow warm over the courage which at Plataea saved Greece forever from Persian invasion. Calm men praise the determination which at Lepanto, set limits to Turkish conquests in Europe. Waterloo is the favorite of rhetoric among English-speaking people. But history no less exalts the Spartan three hundred who died at Thermopylae, and poetry immortalizes the six hundred whose leader blundered at Balaklava. Signally negligent have the people of Central New York been to the men and deeds that on the soil we daily tread, have controlled the tides of nations, and fashioned the channels of civilization. After a hundred years we begin to know what the invasion of St. Leger meant. A century lifts up Nicholas Herkimer, if not into a consummate general, to the plane of sturdy manliness and of unselfish, devoted patriotism, of a hero who knew how to fight and how to die. History begins to appreciate the difficulties which surrounded Philip Schuyler, and to see that he appeared slow in bringing out the strength of a patriot state, because the scales of destiny were weighted to hand New York over to Johnson and Burgoyne and Clinton and King George. His eulogy is, that when popular impatience, and jealousies

in other colonies, and ambitions in the army, and cliques in Congress, superseded him in the command of the Northern armies of the United States, he had already stirred up the Mohawk valley to the war blaze at Oriskany; he had relieved Fort Schuyler and sent St. Leger in disgraceful retreat; Bennington had been fought and won (Gates had nothing to do with Bennington); he had thus shattered the British alliance with the Indians, and had trampled out the tory embers in the Mohawk valley; he had gathered above Albany an army flushed with victory and greatly superior to Burgoyne's forces in numbers, and it was well led and adequate to the task before it. * * * E. H. ROBERTS.'



Peter Gannwoort

GENERAL PETER GANSEVOORT, JR.

“ ALBANY, June 1st, 1896.

“ MY DEAR MRS. BAXTER :

“ You ask me for some account of my grandfather, General Peter Gansevoort, Jr. I can give no personal recollections of him, as he died in 1812 when my father was a young man and many years before his marriage.

“ He was at the time of his death a brigadier-general in the United States army ; and it was during his service upon the court-martial convened for the trial of General Wilkinson over which he was presiding, that he was taken ill at Washington, and returning to Albany died at his home in North Market street, in this city, at the age of sixty-two.

“ Family history preserves a tradition that my grandfather's stature was something over six feet ; also that he was in person formed in just proportion to his height, and these facts are fully attested by measurements from his military uniforms, two suits of which in admirable preservation are in my possession. His buckskin breeches, which are made to tie below the knee, are thirty-three inches in length. The inside measure of his coat sleeve is twenty-five inches, and it is forty-six inches from the collar of his coat to the end of his coat-tails. Around the chest, as shown by his waistcoats, the measure is forty-six inches, and at the waist by the trousers forty-three inches.

“ From a portrait painted from life by Gilbert Stuart in which he is taken in the uniform of a brigadier-general, and wears upon the lapel of his coat, the badge of the Order of the Cincinnati, which portrait daily looks down on me, in our home at Albany, it appears that he was of a somewhat florid complexion ; that his eyes were of a deep grey color, and his features prominent and strong. His face is to me an exceedingly pleasant face to look upon, and he has the mien and aspect of one who would, as it seems to me, be sure to draw to himself, by a certain dignity of character and force, and kindness of disposition, the affection, as well as the esteem of those with whom he should come in contact.

“ From his private correspondence, in my possession, being of the period mostly of the Revolution, it is impossible not to be impressed with his intense loyalty to his country, and its cause, under all circumstances, the constant anxiety felt by him for the welfare of his father and mother, his loving solicitude for his wife, and his cordial and magnanimous bearing toward his brothers. In his relations to those under his command, I judge that he felt, and was accustomed to exercise, a paternal as well as official care. As for example, writing from the siege of Quebec to his brother Leonard, also a public man, afterward a member of the Continental Congress, and prominently identified in many ways with public affairs, and enclosing to him money which he had taken from a dissolute soldier, ‘ Dear Leonard,’ he says, ‘ I send you twenty-three

dollars which I took from Henry Daniels, and which I was afraid he would spend, I therefore beg that you will give them to his wife.' A proof of the attachment felt for him by those associated with him, is found in the fact, that many of the officers of the Second regiment, having an option to do so, went with him to his new command, on his promotion to the colonelcy of the Third regiment. A fact shown by the rosters of the regiment of that time.

"As an evidence of the unusual strength of his physical make-up, it may be mentioned that he was wont to say jocosely that he 'had not a single tooth in his head,' a statement quite in accordance with the fact, as every tooth of his was a double tooth.

"He matriculated at the College of New Jersey at Princeton, at which college my father and my brother, Captain Henry S. Gansevoort, of the United States army, now deceased, were afterward graduates, but my grandfather withdrew from his class before completing his college course and so never received his collegiate degree.

"In the times which preceded the Revolutionary war, he was undoubtedly, although a young man, greatly interested and quite conspicuous in the Colonial movements, which led up to that event, and in this respect he was not singular among his family connections, who were all, so far as I can discover, imbued with an unmistakable sympathy for the cause of the Colonists, and gave it, first and last, their unhesitating and active support.

"During the period to which I have just referred, and during the struggle which followed, there is evidence among his papers to show that he enjoyed the confidence and shared the counsels of those who, on the American side, determined its purposes, and guided its events. He had the confidence of Governor George Clinton, and the relations between them, continued afterward in the case of Governor Dewitt Clinton, his son, and my father, whose intercourse was very cordial and intimate up to the time of Governor Dewitt Clinton's death. I have in my possession the manuscript of a memorial of my grandfather in Governor Dewitt Clinton's hand.

"Lafayette writes to him from Jamestown, Virginia, on the 5th of March, 1778, a personal letter in regard to the capture of Carleton, in which he says: 'As the taking of Colonel Carleton is of the greatest importance, I wish you would try every exertion in your power to have him apprehended.'

"General Philip Schuyler, writing to him from Albany, N. Y., under date of August 10th, 1777, four days after the battle of Oriskany, says: 'A body of troops left this yesterday to raise the siege of Fort Schuyler. Everybody here believes you will defend it to the last.'

"The event to which General Schuyler's letter refers, familiarly known as the siege and defence of Fort Stanwix, is an event which his descendants especially cherish, in a military career uniformly admirable, and seldom if at all unsuccessful, as illustrative of his character and exhibiting his qualities as a soldier.

"He had then received a commission as Colonel of the Third New York State infantry, and after having been for some considerable time, occupied in

the mustering of the forces, and military preparations, at and near Albany, had been assigned to Fort Stanwix and placed in command of its garrison.

“The strategic position of that post, in its relation to the familiar plan of the enemies’ campaign, was certainly one of vital consequence. Burgoyne’s advance from Canada, was to be through Lakes Champlain and George to the Hudson at Fort Edward, and so down that river to a union at Albany, with forces from Lord Howe’s army ascending the same river from the south, under Sir Henry Clinton, and intending to divert the opposition which should be made to Burgoyne.

“The British Colonel, St. Leger, was to make his way from Oswego along the waters of Oswego river and Oneida lake to Wood creek, and over the customary portage there, to the head waters of the Mohawk, and so descending along the course of the latter river, around the falls at Cohoes, to its confluence with the Hudson, form a junction with Burgoyne, and the main army, intending incidentally, to occupy and forage, the fertile valley of the Mohawk, and hoping to corrupt or terrorize, the patriotism of its inhabitants.

“Fort Stanwix,¹ or Fort Schuyler as it was then named, on Wood creek, intruded itself upon the enemies’ line of march over this portage, and stood in the way of his access to the Mohawk. It will be seen, therefore, that it would be the province of the fort to stay the movement of one of the three grand divisions of the British army, and of its garrison, if not to overpower, and turn it back, at this initiative and most critical point in its advance, at least to hold it resolutely in check, until succor could arrive to raise the siege.

The general plan of a probable British campaign, such as was in fact attempted, had been well understood and considered, not only in respect to the line of march taken by Burgoyne, but to that pursued by St. Leger. The certainty of such a plan, became manifest early in July. The warning voice of Thomas Spencer, the half-breed Sachem of the Oneidas, whose valuable life was part of the price paid for the result at Oriskany, had then apprised the inhabitants of Tryon county, of the design of Sir John Johnson, and the Indian allies of the enemy, to join an intended expedition of English regulars, into the Mohawk valley, through this western approach; and the gathering of the Indians at Oswego was a fact not to be mistaken.

“Fort Stanwix was an old fort. It had been built some twenty years previously, to command this important carrying place, or portage, at great cost for those days, and had been strongly and artificially constructed, but at the time of the Revolution it had fallen greatly into disrepair, and is represented to have been then scarcely more than a ruin; some efforts had been made to restore it,

¹ “I am particularly anxious to preserve the name of Fort Stanwix, although I know that at the time of the siege it was Fort Schuyler, having been recently changed—a very proper and excellent. It is as well to call forts as other things by their right names; but the name Stanwix has been for a long time impressed upon the popular mind, and in the locality it is still frequently called so to distinguish it from old Fort Schuyler that occupied the site of the present city of Utica.

but little had been accomplished for its rebuilding, when its importance, in the probable movements of the English army became alarmingly apparent.

“My grandfather was assigned to the command of the fort in April, 1777, and engaged himself at once in the necessary work of restoring and completing its defences.

“On the 4th of July, he writes a letter to General Schuyler in which he points out in detail the necessities of the case, and urgently pleads for assistance. From this letter it appears that every energy of the garrison was then being addressed to the work of the rebuilding of the fort, the obstructing of Wood creek, and the preparation of the surrounding grounds and approaches for the impending peril. The soldiers had been transformed into laborers, and officers and men together, bent themselves to the work with a zeal which ever comes of the right direction, and of confidence in a guiding hand. Their task notwithstanding the mistakes of some incompetent engineering, in the outset, which had been directed by an inexpert engineer, a Frenchman, who was speedily supplanted, had been so well performed, that on the third of August on the approach of St. Leger we are told by the chronicler of those events, ‘He found a well constructed fortress; safe by earthworks against his artillery, and garrisoned by six or seven hundred men.’ The excellent condition of the fort for defence against the attack was made a subject of public remark after the retreat of St. Leger, and is distinctly emphasized in the historical accounts of the siege. The over-confident St. Leger resorting to importunities, deceitful representations and threats, made no attempt to take the position by storm.

“Fortune, and the coöperation of General Schuyler, favored the operations for the security of the fort in one particular. A body of some two hundred troops, which had been pushed forward from the east with supplies of provisions and ammunition, reached the fort almost simultaneously with the advance forces of St. Leger, but in season to be brought by means of rapid work within the ramparts unmolested. With this addition of men the equipment of the fort was, as already stated from six to seven hundred men, with provisions for six weeks and an adequate supply of ammunition for its small arms, although the ammunition for the cannon was deficient. The estimated force of St. Leger including the Indian allies was seventeen hundred men well provided in all particulars, and fully equipped for the work intended by it, excepting as it transpired, that the artillery was not quite adequate to its task.

“My grandfather was then but twenty-eight years of age. But the result of the siege make it clear that his qualifications for the duties expected of him, on his assignment to this important fort, were not overestimated. And I believe him to have been wholly deserving of the thanks of the country, which were bestowed upon him by resolution of Congress, passed in recognition of the service which he had rendered to the American cause, in his resolute and successful defence of the fort; service which was valuable, not only in what it actually achieved, but in the fact that it came at a time of the greatest anxiety and of almost universal depression, to cheer and encourage the hopes of the Colonists

“The laconic and determined reply which was made by him to the British colonel’s demand for surrender, ranks in my view of it, as one of the most impressive incidents of the war. Much display had been made by the latter officer, of the fact that he was advancing upon the fort with a body of trained and well provided regulars of the British army, which was supported by a powerful alliance of Indian allies. These allies he now represented to be eager for the contest, and hungering for the plunder, both in the fort, and Mohawk valley beyond it, which in the understanding of their savage minds must be the legitimate fruits of the victory. The contest with Herkimer was declared to have resulted not only in his complete failure to bring succor to the garrison but in the entire rout and destruction of his command. Burgoyne was declared to be in Albany, and a picture was carefully drawn with much particularity of detail, of the fort, surrounded by his overwhelming and irresistible force; wholly cut off from any hope of aid, the object of the cruel designs of savages, who were at that moment restrained with the greatest difficulty, from executing their barbaric threats upon it; of the utter hopelessness of resistance, and the tremendous consequences, both to the garrison and habitations below, for which the commandant must be responsible, if, through resistance, an attack should be rendered necessary. Terms were then offered of personal security to the troops, and humane treatment to the valley, which were stated to have been wrung from enraged and reluctant allies, and an immediate answer demanded, on account of the alleged importunity of the Indians. Letters from American officers, prisoners in the camp of St. Leger written, as it afterward transpired, under duress, proclaiming the death of Herkimer, and of numbers of other general officers, and falsely representing the situation, had preceded.

“Under date of August 9th, 1777, after acknowledging the receipt of the communication, my grandfather’s reply is this: * * * ‘It is my determined resolution to defend this fort to the last extremity in behalf of the United American States who have placed me here to defend it against all enemies.’

“This reply, from what I have been told of my grandfather’s ways was, I believe, entirely characteristic of him, and I should say, that it was indited with deliberation, and meant precisely what it said, in every particular.

“No attack followed this refusal to surrender, but the resort of the enemy was to be by approaches by parallels, and by the operations of sapping and mining. The gallant Colonel Willett who had made a bold and successful sortie from the fort, to aid the advance of Herkimer on the sixth, and had then captured several standards of the enemies’ colors, which had been displayed upon the ramparts, under the folds of the memorable flag, partly improvised from Major Swarthout’s cloak,¹ undertook on the tenth, with Lieutenant Stockwell, the

¹ “A letter of August 29th, 1778, written to Colonel Gansevoort by Captain Swarthout calls attention to an understanding under which a requisition was to be made ‘for eight yards of broadcloth on the Commissary for clothing of this state, in lieu of my Blue cloak which was used for colors at Fort Schuyler’ and asks for its fulfillment. The letter is in my possession.

perilous enterprise of passing through the enemy's works by night, and of making known the situation of affairs in the valley, in the hope of securing assistance for the fort.

"The result of this bold undertaking, although the attempt to pass the enemy's lines had been in fact entirely successful, was matter of mere conjecture to the besieged, yet the hope that it might prove a success stimulated them, to delay by active and stubborn resistance, to the gradual advance of the enemy, the time, when it should be necessary to make the attempt to cut through the encampment of the besiegers, which in the last event, it was intended to make, by a sally from the fort at night.

"It is probable that the efforts of Colonel Willett and Lieutenant Stockwell, especially as they secured for the movements of Arnold the support of the militia in Tryon county, would have brought to the assistance of the fort, the aid which was hoped for, and so have raised the siege, and rendered the proposed sally unnecessary, but ten days after the departure of these two officers, and on the 22d of August, the problem was solved, by the brilliant ruse of Arnold, and successfully carried out upon his instructions, under which St. Leger's army was induced to beat a precipitate retreat.

"More was involved in the fortunate termination of this siege, than the security of the Mohawk valley. The retreat of St. Leger was an utter rout. His army, pursued by the force from the fort, fled precipitately, making its retreat upon the line of its advance. The Indian allies were completely demoralized, and uncontrollable, and further effective attempts in the same direction, rendered impracticable. Burgoyne lost the support of a portion of his army, on which he had confidently counted, while his forces experienced the moral shock of this signal disaster, following quickly upon the encounter at Oriskany, and succeeded by the misfortunes of Bennington. The patriotism of the inhabitants of Tryon county received a new and inspiring stimulus, and its militia hitherto terrorized by the proclamation of the British commander, and the barbarities practiced under their sanction, became available for the military operations, then so important at the east; and the forces under Arnold, sent forward to the siege, and especially the services of Arnold himself, were liberated, to take their all-important part, in the decisive contest, which soon followed at Saratoga. Is it not very clear that the importance of the resistance at Fort Stanwix, in its bearing upon the latter battle can hardly be overestimated?

"In these statements which I have made in regard to the siege of Fort Stanwix I have not had in mind to attempt any exhaustive, or even full account of it, but rather to direct attention to facts which show the nature of the defence which was made there, as illustrative of the qualities and character of the commanding officer by whom it was conducted, and also of the importance of the fort as a military station at the time, as a means of forming an estimate of the value of the services thus rendered.

"The limits of this letter, as I understand them to be prescribed, do not permit me either, to give even an outline in addition of my grandfather's life. The letter is already more extended than it should be.

“ Let me then only say farther, that his correspondence shows, as I have always understood to be the case, that he was of methodical, and exact business ways, and in his intercourse with men, habitually courteous, and regardful of the etiquette and amenities, of the social intercourse of his day.

“ He was not unmindful either of the lighter accomplishments of the world. I have in my charge a music book in which during his military service, he was accustomed to transcribe musical exercises, and his fondness for musical study seems to have led him to seek in his command for those who could aid him in its pursuit. In the book just referred to he makes this record: ‘ Colonel Gansevoort’s instructor who belonged to his regiment, and who was an able instructor and made an excellent performer, deserted in 1778.’



A SOUVENIR OF ST. LEGER'S RETREAT.

August 22d, 1777.

“ My grandfather's associations by marriage were also with those who were active and pronounced in the cause of the Colonies. He married Catharine Van Schaick, the daughter of Sybrant Van Schaick and sister of Colonel, afterward General Gozen Van Schaick, whose conspicuous part in the movements of the Continental army in this section of our state as well as elsewhere, are a part of the recorded history of the Revolutionary war.

“ By his marriage there were five children ; Herman, the eldest, a resident of Saratoga county, upon the old homestead farm at Gansevoort in the town of Northumberland, who was respected and greatly beloved in his neighborhood ; Wesel, a lawyer, associated at one time in business with Esek Cowen, and a man of learning and ability ; Peter, my own father ; Maria, who married Allan Melville of Boston, Mass. ; and Leonard H., a prosperous business man.

"It will be interesting to know that among the souvenirs of the siege in my grandfather's possession at his death, was a drum abandoned by St. Leger's forces in their flight. It is of brass, costly for those times, highly decorated and ornamented, and in this latter respect interesting as showing the quality and style of the equipment with which St. Leger was provided. It was presented by my father to the Albany Republican Artillery; in the year 1825, and was by that company turned over to the custody of New York State, and is now a part of the war exhibits in the Military Bureau of the state in the New York capital.

"The flag¹ of my grandfather's regiment which (I have my father's statement for it, made in the form of a memorandum in writing) was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, is still in my hands. It is also interesting as it bears the design of the arms of the state upon it, which after careful investigation and research, as to its accuracy, has served as the model for the seal of New York State, as now adopted by law and in use.

"This flag is much worn and does not in its present condition bear exhibition; it has been my intention to have it framed and placed in proper custody for access, by the public, a matter which I am now considering.

"Yours very truly,

"CATHARINE GANSEVOORT LANSING."

"I have endeavored, but not with entire success, it would seem, to disabuse the newspapers of the idea that this flag of Colonel Gausevoort's regiment, was used during the siege of Fort Stanwix. There is no authority for such a statement, other than a mere surmise from the fact that it was the regimental flag of the regiment.

"The flag used at the siege, with which the flag in my custody has been confused, was a temporary flag, improvised for the occasion out of materials at hand in the fort, Captain Swarthout's cloak contributing an important part; there is no ground for supposing that it was preserved. The stars and stripes were adopted by Congress, July 14th, 1777. C. G. L."



FLAG OF SECOND NEW YORK REGIMENT.
War of the Revolution.

GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER

New York State Militia

“ Nicholas Herkimer was the eldest son of Johan Jost Erghemar, one of the original patentees of Burnetsfield, in Herkimer county, N. Y. The family was German, and there is no information on record whence or at what time they came to America, although they evidently possessed wealth, and soon became influential in the Mohawk valley. He was commissioned a lieutenant in Captain Wormwood’s company of militia, January 5th, 1758, and commanded at Fort Herkimer, in the same year. Taking an active part with the Colonists in their troubles with the crown, he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of the militia of Tryon county, in 1775, and on the 5th of September, 1776, he was promoted to a brigadier-generalship by the Provincial Congress of New York.

“ When the popular troubles arose, Nicholas Herkimer was sent to the Committee of Safety of Tryon county, as the representative of his district; and in 1776 he acted as chairman of that body, maintaining a high character for integrity, and greatly influencing his countrymen throughout the valley, in their political action in opposition to the Crown.

“ Of the action taken by him in opposition to the enemy which had invested Fort Schuyler, of the sullen bravery which he had exhibited at Oriskany, and of the wound which he received there, notice has been taken in this chapter, and the closing scenes of his life are all that remain for us to notice.

“ After the action, General Herkimer was conveyed to his own house, in the present town of Danube, in Herkimer county, where his leg was amputated. It was done in the most unskillful manner, the leg having been cut off square, without taking up an artery, and he died from the effects of the hemorrhage which ensued. Finding that the time for his departure was nigh, he called for his Bible, read to those who were around him the thirty-eighth Psalm, and shortly afterward he died; but the day of his death found no recorder, and that, as well as the day of his birth, appear to be now unknown.”

HENRY B. DAWSON.

The grave of General Herkimer, who died of wounds received in the battle of Oriskany, long lay neglected, near where Herkimer had lived. Some years ago a relative set up a simple stone, and now a more imposing and appropriate monument, erected by the state, has been unveiled, November 12th, 1896.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MARINUS WILLETT

“General Marinus Willett was the great-grandson of Captain Thomas Willett of colonial fame; it therefore seems fitting to give a short sketch of the ancestor from whom he inherited his high principles, his daring courage, and his untiring energy.

“Captain Thomas Willett was born in England in 1610. His father and grandfather were clergymen; the latter having been vicar of Barley, Wilts, and prebend of Ely Cathedral. Captain Willett came to America in the ship ‘Lion,’ in 1632. He landed at Plymouth, Mass., and in January of the next year, he was made a freeman. He held various offices in the colony, and was given a considerable grant of land near the James river. In 1636, he married Mary Browne, daughter of John and Dorothy Browne of Swanzey, Mass. In 1648, he was appointed captain of a military company at Plymouth, where he succeeded Miles Standish. For thirteen consecutive years from 1651 to 1664, he was assistant to the general court. He was appointed, with eight others, in 1653, on the council of war, and ‘part of the powder and shot was to be kept by him.’ He was a member also of the famous Hartford Boundary Treaty of 1650. Willett was one of the pioneers of the carrying trade on the Sound between this city (then New Amsterdam) and the English settlements. In subsequent years, when question of boundary rights arose between the Dutch and their English neighbors, he became an efficient negotiator between the two parties—having previously gained a knowledge of the Dutch language from his constant intercourse with them. In 1654, he was sent for, by the Commander-in-Chief of Massachusetts, and ordered to accompany him to Manhattan; and to ‘be an assistant unto them in advice and counsel.’ From 1661 to 1665 he was an assistant to the Governor. In 1665 he was made Mayor of New York, the first Englishman to hold that office; having received his appointment from Colonel Nichols. He retained this office for two or three years. In 1668 he removed to Swanzey. By his will we learn that he had four sons; James, Hezekiah, Andrew, and Samuel—from this youngest son, General Marinus Willett is descended—and three daughters, Mary, Martha, and Esther. Captain Willett died at Swanzey, 4th of August, 1674. He and his wife were buried at the head of Bullock Cove, in what is now known as the town of East Providence, R. I. Inscription on grave-stones in Little Neck Cemetery:

1674.

“ ‘ Here lyes ye Body
of ye word Thomas
Willett Esqr. who died
Augvst ye 4th in ye 64
year of his age Anno

“ ‘ Who was the
First Mayor
of New York
and twice did
sustain ye place ’

1669.

“ ‘ Here lyeth ye Body of
The vertuous Mrs Mary
Willett wife to Thomas
Willett Esq who died
January ye 8 about 65
year of her age. Anno.



Lt Col Maresca Willett

“General Marinus Willett was born at Jamaica, Long Island, 31st of July, 1740. His father was Edward Willett, born in 1701, and the son of Samuel Willett, youngest child of Thomas Willett. There seems to be no record of the childhood of Marinus Willett. When he was but a lad of eighteen, he was made lieutenant in General Abercombie's expedition against Fort Ticonderoga. In 1758 he also assisted in the capture of Fort Frontenac. Exposure in the wilderness, we are told, injured his health, and soon after this at the newly repaired Fort Schuyler he was detained by illness.

“Willett's first act of great bravery, was to capture the arms that the British had planned to take from New York, in connection with their own; but Willett prevented their so doing by capturing the baggage vans containing the arms and bringing them back to the city. These very arms were afterward used by the first regiment, raised by the State of New York. He was appointed the second captain of a company in Colonel McDougall's regiment.

“In 1776, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and at the beginning of the campaign of 1777, he was placed in command of Fort Constitution on the Hudson. While Willett was at this fort he received a dispatch from General McDougall, to come to his (the General's) assistance. Just after this order came, and before he could reach the general, he encountered a detachment of the British troops. Willett attacked them, and a skirmish ensued. Willett's sortie from Fort Schuyler showed his courage; and we read that he had but a handful of men, when he made his sudden and successful attack upon the camp of Sir John Johnson, and his Royal Greens! This was so quickly done, that Sir John had not time to put on his coat! Willett proceeded to take all the camp equipage, and, greatest treasure of all, the papers belonging to Sir John Johnson, containing valuable information to Willett. He then returned to Fort Schuyler with all his booty, and without the loss of a man. After Willett reached the fort, he had the British colors raised beneath the American standard in full view of the enemy. This victory Congress recognized; and a sword was presented to General Willett in the name of the United States. The following spring he was again ordered to Fort Schuyler; there he remained until 1778, when he joined the army under General Washington, in New Jersey, and fought at the battle of Monmouth. In 1779, he accompanied General John Sullivan, in his expedition against the Six Nations. From 1780, until the close of the war, Willett commanded the forces in the Mohawk valley. In 1792, General Washington sent General Willett to the south to treat with the Creek Indians; and the same year he was made brigadier-general. After all these stirring events, it seems very tame to record that he held the office of Sheriff of New York. In 1807, he was made Mayor of New York, the same office that his illustrious ancestor held, nearly a century and a half before. General Willett died in New York, 23d of August, 1830, in the ninety-first year of his age. Comment or praise does not seem necessary as a tribute to this great man, whose valor and strength of character, place him in the same rank with the great heroes of the Revolution; and, while we read and are stirred by their

deeds and acts, we never can realize all that they suffered, and lived through, to free this great land of ours. We reap the benefits of their work, and their self-sacrifices."

By his great-granddaughter,

HELEN F. KING SHELTON.

NEW YORK, April 16th, 1896.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

"NEW YORK, 7th January, 1801.

"DEAR SIR:

"You will find a petition before Congress, signed by Henry Rutgers, Alexander Robinson, and your humble servant. The redress prayed for in that petition I flatter myself will appear reasonable to every considerate mind. From old acquaintance & friendship as well as from justice of the request contained in that petition, I undertake to ask your interest in its favor.

"On the commencement of a New Year & New Century, I heartily congratulate you. May it be a Century of Honor, Glory, and Splendor, to our Country, and should difficulties arise such as we have seen, may there never be wanting such men as in 1777 we were acquainted with to dispel them.

"With great esteem & regard

"I am Dear Sir

Yours

"To

"H. GLEN ESQ."

"MARINUS WILLETT.

Between Fort Schuyler and Lake Ontario there were three forts; Fort Bull, at the carrying-place between the Mohawk river and Wood creek; Fort Brewster at the outlet of Oneida lake; and the fort at Oswego falls.

BATTLE ISLAND

One cannot pass the now peaceful and beautifully wooded Battle Island, nine miles from the mouth of the Oswego river, without recalling to mind the scenes enacted in the drama of 1756.

General John Bradstreet, (see Chap. I.) who, ten years earlier, was Lieu-



BATTLE ISLAND.

tenant-Governor of St. John's, New Foundland, with a handful of men had been performing signal service in the interior. Lossing writes in his "Life of Schuyler": * * * "When, on the 3d of July, 1756, as Bradstreet and his party were just commencing their march from Oswego to Albany, they were attacked by a party of French regulars, Canadians and Indians, nine miles up the Oswego river, Schuyler (captain then, afterward general) displayed an intrepidity and humanity, creditable alike, to a soldier and a true man. He was one of eight men, who, with Bradstreet at their head, reached a small island in the river, and drove thirty of the enemy from it. One of them, a French Canadian, was too badly wounded to flee, and as a batteau-man, was about to dispatch him with a tomahawk, Captain Schuyler interposed to save his life. Just then forty of the enemy returned to the attack. Bradstreet and his party had

been reinforced by six men, and the French and Indians were received so warmly, that they were compelled to flee. A few minutes afterward seventy of the enemy appeared upon the shore, and at the same time six more of Bradstreet's men joined him. For awhile the contest was warm and the result doubtful. The enemy poured a cross fire upon Bradstreet and twelve of his followers were wounded. The French were finally compelled to retire, for the third time, and did not renew the attack.

"About four hundred of the enemy were now seen approaching the river on the north side, a mile above, with the apparent intention of crossing and surrounding the provincials. Bradstreet immediately quitted the island, and at the head of two hundred and fifty men marched up to confront them.

"Owing to accident, there was only one batteau at the island when Bradstreet resolved to leave it, and it was hardly sufficient to carry his party over. The wounded Canadian begged to be taken in, but was refused. 'Then throw me into the river,' he cried, 'and not leave me here to perish with hunger and thirst.' The heart of Captain Schuyler was touched by the poor fellow's appeal, and handing his weapons and coat to a companion-in-arms, he bore the wounded man to the water, swam with him across the deep channel and, with the approbation of Bradstreet, placed him in the care of Dr. Kirkland. The man recovered; and when, in 1775, Schuyler, as commander-in-chief of the Northern army, sent a proclamation into Canada inviting the French inhabitants to join the patriots, that soldier was living near Chamblée, and gladly enlisted under the banner of Ethan Allen, that he might see and thank the preserver of his life. His wish was gratified, and he made himself known to Schuyler in his tent at Isle Aux Noir."

FORT ONTARIO

There was no engagement at this fort during the Revolution, as the post was rather too remote for active operations.

In 1796, Fort Ontario, with all the others upon the frontier, was given up by the English to the United States. "Preliminary articles of peace were signed in Europe, January 20th, 1783. The posts were to be surrendered at once, but were held until 1796, to the great annoyance of the Americans. Various pretexts were made. The fur traffic was extremely profitable, and the Indians came to the military posts. While these were in the hands of the English, the trade and profits would be theirs also. To yield these to the Americans would be to give up the trade, and so there was a 'pressure' in London, none the less strong, that was unseen by the public. Ostensibly, however, the delay was on other grounds not altogether unreasonable, confiscation of property, and non-payment of debts being among these. Along with these doubtless, was a feeling that the Union could not long be maintained, and that a little show of force would some day help the States return to their former allegiance. So Great Britain held the forts, stood by the Indians and waited for the good time coming.

"This was exasperating and caused constant friction, shown in all private and

public records of that day. On the soil of New York, for nearly thirteen years longer, the British flag and soldiers held its citizens in check, but the Jay treaty finally removed all difficulties and it was agreed that the forts should be surrendered on July 4th, 1796. The bitterness of feeling sometimes reached a dangerous height, as in the difficulty with Sir John Johnson's men and the Salina alarm of 1794. While Vanderkemp was at Oswego in 1792, seven barrels of salt were forcibly taken from an American boat by the garrison, and this



FORTS ERECTED BY GEN. SHIRLEY.—1755.

kind of robbery was a frequent thing. The learned and patriotic traveler did not like this, although he was pleased with the British commander, Captain Wickham, who was Rhode Islander by birth. 'The whole defence at Oswego,' said Vanderkemp, 'is but one company, which could not make any resistance, as all the fortifications are so decayed that it would not be a great achievement to drive over these ramparts with wagon and horses. Nor does it seem the intention to make any repairs—from the consciousness, no doubt, their surrender is long since finally concluded, and only delayed on account of some trifling formalities at this or the other side of the Atlantic.'

"The time came for the evacuation. It was to have been on July 4th, but there was no one present authorized to receive the property."

The following letter addressed to Mr. George Scriba, fixes the actual date:

"DEAR SIR:

"I have the pleasure of informing you that the American flag, under a federal salute, was for the first time displayed from the citadel of this fort at the hour of 10. this morning. A Captain Clark and Colonel Fothergill were His Majesty's officers left with a detachment of thirty men for the protection of the works. From these gentlemen the greatest politeness and civility was displayed to us in adjusting the transfer. The buildings and gardens were left in the neatest order; the latter being considerably extensive and in high culture, will be no small addition to the comfort of the American officers who succeed this summer.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
"F. ELMER."

"FORT ONTARIO, July 15th, 1796.

CHAPTER XV

ILLUSTRIOUS JURISTS

L. B. PROCTOR writes that, "When the Supreme Court and Court of Chancery of the state began to hold their sittings in Albany, attracting to it the great jurists of that day, it was the custom of Schuyler to invite them in a body to his mansion. To these receptions—these 'Meccas of the mind'—came the illustrious Kent, and those equally great and illustrious jurists, John Jay, Brockholst Livingston and John Lansing; there, too, came that model of all that is venerable in our memory, Abraham Van Vechten, whose teeming eloquence was Ciceronian, and charmed all hearts; and the highly gifted Henry, full to abounding of every noble trait; and Hoffman, that ingenious, polished master of the advocates' art, and many others whose names are written on the scroll of legal and judicial fame."

JAMES KENT

CHANCELLOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Autobiographical Sketch

"NEW YORK, October 6, 1828.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your very kind letter of the 15th ult. was received, and also your argument in the case of Ivey vs. Pinson. I have read the pamphlet with much interest and pleasure. It is composed with masterly ability. Of this there can be no doubt; and without presuming to give any opinion on a great case still *sub iudice*, and only argued before me on one side, I beg leave to express my highest respect for the law, reasoning and doctrine of the argument, and my admiration of the spirit and eloquence which animate it. My attention was very much fixed on the perusal; and if there be any lawyer in this state who can write a better argument in any point of view, I have not the honor of his acquaintance.

"As to the rest of your letter, concerning my life and studies, I hardly know what to say or do. Your letter and argument and character and name, have impressed me so favorably that I feel every disposition to oblige you if it be not too much at my own expense. My attainments are of too ordinary a character, and far too limited, to provoke such curiosity. I have had nothing more to aid me in my life than plain method, prudence, temperance, and steady, persevering diligence. My diligence was more remarkable for being steady and uniform



Samuel Clemens

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than for the degree of it, which never was excessive, so as to impair my health or eyes, or prevent all kinds of innocent and lively recreation.

“I would now venture to state briefly, but very frankly, and at your special desire, somewhat of the course and progress of my studious life. I know you cannot but smile at times at my simplicity, but I commit myself to your indulgence and honor.

“I was educated at Yale College, and graduated in 1781. I stood as well as any in my class; but the test of scholarship at that day was contemptible. I was only a very inferior classical scholar, and we were not required, and to this day I never looked into any Greek book but the New Testament. My favorite studies were geography, history, poetry, belles-lettres, etc. When the college was broken up and dispersed in July, 1779, by the British, I retired to a country village; and finding Blackstone's Commentaries, I read the four volumes. Parts of the work struck my taste, and the work inspired me at the age of sixteen with awe, and I fondly determined to be a lawyer. In November, 1781, I was placed by my father with Judge Benson, who was then Attorney-General at Poughkeepsie, on the banks of the Hudson, and in my native county of Dutchess. Here I entered the law, and was the most modest, steady, industrious, student that such a place ever saw. I read the following works: Grotius and Puffendorf, in large folios, and made copious extracts. My fellow-students, who were more gay and gallant, thought me very odd and dull in my tastes; but out of five of them, four died in middle life drunkards. I was free from all dissipation, and chaste and pure, as virgin snow. I had never danced or played cards, or sported with a gun or drunk anything but water. In 1782 I read Smollett's History of England, and procured at a farmer's house, where I boarded, Rapin's (a huge folio) and read it through, and I found during the course of the last summer among my papers my MSS. abridgement of Rapin's dissertation on the laws and customs of the Anglo-Saxons. I abridged Hale's History of the Common Law, and the old books of Practice, and read parts of Blackstone again and again. The same year I procured Hume's History of England, and his profound reflections and admirable eloquence struck most deeply on my youthful mind. I extracted the most admirable parts and made several volumes of MSS. I was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in January, 1785, at the age of twenty-one, and then married without one cent of property; for my education exhausted all my father's resources, and left me in debt \$400, which it took me two or three years to discharge. Why did I marry? I answer,—at the farmer's house where I boarded, one of his daughters, a little, modest, lovely girl of fourteen, gradually caught my attention, and insensibly stole upon my affections; and before I thought of love, or knew what it was, I was most violently affected. I was twenty-one and my wife sixteen, when we married; and that charming and lovely girl has been the idol and solace of my life, and is now with me in my office, unconscious that I am writing this concerning her. We have both had perfect health and the most perfect and unalloyed domestic happiness, and are both as well now, and in as good spirits, as

when we married. We have three adult children. My son lives with me and is twenty-six, and a lawyer of excellent sense and discretion, and of the purest morals. My eldest daughter is well married and lives the next door to me, and with the intimacy of one family. My youngest daughter is now of age, and lives with me and us, my little idol.

"I went to housekeeping in Poughkeepsie in 1786, in a small snug cottage and there I lived in charming simplicity for eight years. My practice was just about sufficient to redeem me from debt, and to maintain my wife and establishment decently, and to supply me with books about as fast as I could read them. I had neglected, and almost entirely forgotten, my scanty knowledge of the Greek and Roman Classics, and an accident turned my attention to them very suddenly. In 1786, I saw E. Livingston (now the Codifier for Louisiana) and he had a pocket Horace, and read some passages to me at some office, and pointed out their beauties, assuming that I well understood Latin. I said nothing, but was stung with shame and mortification; for I had forgotten even my Greek letters. I purchased immediately Horace and Virgil, a dictionary and grammar, and the Testament, and formed my resolution promptly and decidedly to recover the lost languages.

"I studied in my little cottage mornings, and dedicated one hour to Greek and another to Latin daily. I soon increased it to two for each tongue in the twenty-four hours. My acquaintance with the languages increased rapidly. After I had read Horace and Virgil, I turned to Livy for the first time in my life; and after I had construed the Greek Testament, I took up the Iliad, and I can hardly describe to this day the enthusiasm with which I perseveringly read and studied in the originals, Livy and the Iliad. It gave me inspiration. I purchased a French Dictionary and grammar, and began French, and gave an hour to that language daily. I appropriated the business part of the day to law, and read Coke and Lyttleton. I made copious notes. I devoted evenings to English Literature, in company with my wife. From 1788 to 1798, I steadily divided the day into five parts, and allotted them to Greek, Latin, law and business, and French and English varied literature. I mastered the best of the Greek, Latin and French classics, as well as the best French and English law books at hand. I read Machiavel and all the collateral branches of English History, such as Lyttleton's Henry the Second, Bacon's Henry the Seventh, Lord Clarendon on the Great Rebellion, etc. I even sent to England as early as 1790, for Warburton's Divine Legation and the Lusiad.

"My library, which started from nothing, grew with my growing, and it has now attained to upwards of three thousand volumes; and it is pretty well selected, for there is scarcely a work, authority or document, referred to in the three volumes of my commentaries, but what has a place in my own library. Next to my wife, my library has been the source of my greatest pleasure and devoted attachment.

"The year 1793 was another era in my life. I removed from Poughkeepsie to the City of New York, with which I had become well acquainted; and I wanted

to get rid of the incumbrance of a dull law partner at Poughkeepsie. But, though I had been in practice nine years, I had acquired very little property. My furniture and library were very scant, and I had not five hundred dollars extra in the world. But I owed nothing, and came to the city with a good character, and with a scholar's reputation. My newspaper writings and speeches in the Assembly had given me some notoriety. I do not believe any human being ever lived with more pure and perfect domestic repose and simplicity and happiness than I did for these nine years.

"I was appointed Professor of Law in Columbia College late in 1793, and this drew me to deeper legal researches. I read that year in the original Bynkershoek, Quintilian, and Cicero rhetorical works, beside reporters and digests, and began the compilation of law lectures. I read a course in 1794 to 1795 to about forty gentlemen of the first rank in the city. They were very well received, but I have long since discovered them to have been slight and hasty productions. I wanted judicial labors to teach me precision. I dropped the course after one term, and soon became considerably involved in business; but was never fond of, nor much distinguished in, the contentions of the bar.

"I had commenced in 1786 to be a zealous Federalist. I read everthing on politics. I got the Federalist almost by heart, and became intimate with Hamilton. I entered with ardor into the federal politics against France in 1793; and my hostility to the French democracy, and to the French power, beat with strong pulsation down to the battle of Waterloo. Now you have my politics.

"I had excellent health, owing to the love of simple diet, and to all kinds of temperance, and never read late at night. I rambled daily with my wife over the hills. We were never asunder. In 1795 we made a voyage to the lakes—George and Champlain. In 1797 we ran over the six New England States. As I was born and nourished in my boyish days among the Highlands east of the Hudson, I have always loved rural and wild scenery; and the sight of mountains, hills, woods and streams, always enchanted me, and does still. This is owing, in part, to early association, and is one secret of my uniform health and cheerfulness. In 1790, I began my official life. It came upon me entirely unsolicited and unexpected. In February, 1790, Governor Jay wrote me a letter stating that the office of Master in Chancery was vacant, and wished to know confidentially whether I would accept. I wrote a very respectful, but very laconic, answer. It was that I was content to accept of the office if appointed. The same day I received the appointment, and was astonished to learn that there were sixteen professed applicants, all disappointed. This office gave me almost a monopoly of the business, for there was but one master in New York. The office kept me in pretty details and outdoor concerns, but was profitable. In March, 1797, I was appointed Recorder of New York. This was done at Albany, and without my knowlege that the office was even vacant, or expected to be. The first I heard of it was the appointment announced in the papers. This was very gratifying to me, because it was a judicial office, and I thought it would relieve me from the drudgery of practice, and give me a way of displaying

what I knew, and of being useful entirely to my taste. I pursued my studies with increased application, and enlarged my law library very much. But I was overwhelmed with office business, for the governor allowed me to retain the other office, and to these joint duties, and counsel business in the Supreme Court, I made a great deal of money that year. In February, 1798, I was offered by Governor Jay, and accepted, the office of youngest Judge of the Supreme Court. This was the summit of my ambition. My object was to retire back to Poughkeepsie and resume my studies, and ride the Circuits, and inhale the country air, and enjoy *otium cum dignitate*. I never dreamed of volumes of reports and written opinions. Such things were not then thought of. I retired back to Poughkeepsie in the spring of 1798, and in that summer rode over the western wilderness, and was delighted. I returned home, and began my Greek and Latin, French, English and law classics as formerly, and made wonderful progress in books that year.

“In 1799 I was obliged to move to Albany, in order that I might not be too much from home; and there I remained stationary for twenty-four years. When I came to the bench there were no reports or state precedents. The opinions from the bench were delivered *ore tenus*. We had no law of our own, and nobody knew what it was. I first introduced a thorough examination of cases, and written opinions. In January, 1799, the second case reported in first Johnson cases, of Ludlow vs. Dale, is a sample of the earliest. The judges when we met, all assumed that foreign sentences were only good *prima facie*. I presented and read my written opinion, that they were conclusive, and they all gave up to me, and so I read it in Court as it now stands. This was the commencement of a new plan, and then was laid the first stone in the subsequently erected temple of our jurisprudence. Between that time and 1804 I rode my spare time of circuits and attended all the terms, and was never absent, and was always ready in every case by the day.

“I read in that time Vattel and Emerigon, and completely abridged the latter, and made copious digests of all the new English reports and treatises as they came out. I made much use of the Corpus Juris, and as the judges (Livingston excepted) knew nothing of French or civil law, I had an immense advantage over them. I could generally put my brethren to rout, and carry my point, by my mysterious wand of French and civil law. The judges were republicans and very kindly disposed to everything that was French; and this enabled me, without exciting any alarm or jealousy, to make free use of such authorities, and thereby enrich our commercial law. I gradually acquired proper directing influence with my brethren, and the volumes in Johnson, after I became judge in 1804, show it. The first practice was for each judge to give his portion of the opinions when we all agreed, but that gradually fell off, and for the two or three last years before I left the bench, I gave the most of them. I remember that in the eighth Johnson all the opinions for one term are ‘Per Curiam.’ The fact is, I wrote them all, and proposed that course to avoid exciting jealousy; and many ‘Per Curiam’ opinions are inserted for that reason.

“Many of the cases decided during the sixteen years I was in the Supreme Court were labored by me most unmercifully; but it was necessary under the circumstances, to subdue opposition. We had but few American precedents, our judges were democratic, and my brother Spencer particularly, of a bold, vigorous, dogmatic mind, and overbearing manner. English authorities did not stand very high in those feverish times, and this led me a hundred times to attempt to bear down opposition, or shame it, by exhausting research and overwhelming authority. Our jurisprudence was probably on the whole improved by it. My mind certainly was roused, and was always kept ardent and inflamed by collision.

“In 1814 I was appointed Chancellor. The office I took with considerable reluctance. It had had no charms. The person who left it was stupid, and it is a curious fact that, for the nine years I was in that office, there was not a single decision, opinion or dictum of either of my predecessors—Livingston and Lansing, from 1777 to 1814, cited to me, or even suggested. I took the Court as if it had been a new institution, and never before known in the United States. I had nothing to guide me, and was left at liberty to assume such English chancery practice and jurisdiction as I thought applicable under our constitution.

“This gave me grand scope and I was only checked by the revision of the Senate as a Court of Errors. I opened the gates of the Court immediately, and admitted, almost gratuitously, the first year, eighty-five counsellors; though I found there had not been but thirteen admitted for thirteen years before. Business flowed in with a rapid tide. The result appears in the Seven Volumes of Johnson’s Chancery Reports.

“My course of study in equity-jurisprudence was very confined to the topic elicited by the cases. I had previously read, of course, the modern equity reports down to the time; and, of course, I read all the new ones as fast as I could procure them. I remember reading Peer William’s as early as 1792, and I made a digest of the leading doctrines. The business of the Court of Chancery oppressed me very much but I took my daily exercise and my yearly delightful country rides among the Catskill or the Vermont mountains, with my wife, and I kept up my health and spirits. I always took up the cases in their order, and never left one until I had finished it. This was only doing one thing at a time. My practice was first to make myself perfectly and accurately (mathematically accurate) acquainted with the facts. It was done by abridging the bills and the answers, and then the depositions; and by the time I had done this slow and tedious process, I was master of the case, and ready to decide it. I saw where justice lay and the moral sense decided the case half the time. And then I sat down to search the authorities until I had exhausted my books; and I might, once in a while, be embarrassed by a technical rule, but I almost always found principals suited to my views of the case, and my object was so to discuss the point as never to be teased with it again, and to anticipate an angry and vexatious appeal to a popular tribunal by disappointed counsel.

“During these years at Albany I read a great deal of English literature, but

not with the discipline of my former division of time. The avocations of business would not permit it. I had dropped the Greek, as it hurt my eyes. I persevered in Latin, and used to read Virgil, Horace, and some of them annually. I have read Juvenal, Horace and Virgil, eight or ten times. I read a great deal in Pothier's works, and always consulted him when applicable. I read the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews and American Registers *ab initio* and thoroughly, and voyages and travels, and the Waverly Novels, etc., as other folks did. I have always been excessively fond of voyages and travels.

"In 1823 a solemn era in my life had arrived. I retired from the office at the age of sixty, and then immediately, with my son, visited the Eastern States. On my return, the solicitude of my private office and the new dynasty did not please me. I besides would want income to live as I had been accustomed. My eldest daughter was prosperously settled in New York, and I resolved to move away from Albany, and ventured to come down to New York, and be chamber counsel; and the Trustees of Columbia College immediately tendered me again the old office of Professor, which had been dormant from 1795. It had no salary, but I must do something for a living, and I undertook (but exceedingly against my inclination) to write and deliver law lectures. In the two characters of chamber counsellor and college lecturer, I succeeded by steady perseverance, beyond my most sanguine expectations; and, upon the whole, the five years I have lived here in this city since 1823, have been happy and prosperous. I have introduced my son into good business and I live aside of my daughter, and take excursions every summer with my wife and daughter all over the country. I have been twice with them to Canada, and we go in every direction. I never had better health. I walk the Battery uniformly before breakfast. I give a great many written opinions; and having got heartily tired of lecturing, I abandoned it, and it was my son that pressed me to prepare a volume of the lectures for the press. I had no idea of publishing them when I delivered them. I wrote anew one volume and published it as you know. This led me to remodel and enlarge, and now the third volume will be out in a few days; and I am obliged to write a fourth to complete my plan.

"My reading is now, as you may suppose, quite desultory; but still I read with as much zest and pleasure as ever. I was never more engaged in my life than during the last summer. I accepted the trust of Receiver to the Franklin (insolvent) Bank, and it has occupied, and perplexed me daily; and I had to write part of the third volume; and search books a good deal, for that very object, and I have revised the proof sheets. If I had a convenient opportunity (though I do not see how I can have one) I would send the third volume out to you.

"Your suggestion of an equity treatise contains a noble outline of a great and useful work; but I cannot and will not enter on such a task. I have much more to lose than to gain, and I am quite tired of equity law. I have done my part. I choose to live now at my ease, and to be prepared for the approaching infirmities of old age."

“On reviewing what I have written, I had thought of burning it. I speak of myself so entirely, and it is entirely against my habit or taste. But I see no other way fairly to meet your desires.

“I am with great respect and good wishes,

“Your obedient servant,

“JAMES KENT.

“To

“THOMAS WASHINGTON,

“Nashville, Tennessee.”

“In the year 1828, the late Thomas Washington, one of the most eminent of the Bar of Tennessee, and a warm admirer of Chancellor Kent, wrote to the latter, enclosing a very elaborate argument of his own, and requesting to be favored with a familiar account of his life, studious habits, etc. This request was complied with.” The above autobiographical sketch was the result.

“The ex-Chancellor was then (A. D. 1828) in his sixty-sixth year, and was a resident of New York City, engaged in the revision and publication of his Columbia College Law Lectures, under the title of ‘Commentaries on American Law,’ a work destined to become the standard elementary text-book of the American law student, as well as an imperishable monument of the author’s just and well merited fame.”

James Kent was born in Dutchess county, New York, on the 31st of July, 1763; he died in 1847, at his residence No. 68 Greenwich street, New York. The house is still standing.

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON

Soldier and Jurist

“Born in New York on the 25th of November, 1757. Died at Washington, D. C., on the 17th of March, 1823.

“His father, William Livingston (one of the most distinguished members of that family, which contributed so many representative men) settled in New Jersey in 1773, served in the first Continental Congress in 1774, and as the Governor of New Jersey in 1776.

“He left college in New Jersey (Princeton) at the age of nineteen; was on the staff of General Schuyler in the northern department, with St. Clair at the fall of Ticonderoga, and subsequently an aide to Arnold in the battle of Saratoga, and at Burgoyne’s surrender with staff rank of lieutenant-colonel.

“In 1779 he accompanied, as secretary, his brother-in-law, John Jay, then Minister to Spain. Returning in 1782, was captured by a British cruiser, and imprisoned in New York, but released when Sir Guy Carleton assumed command. A member of the New York Legislature in 1788 and 1800, and a trustee of Columbia College. He practiced law, and was chosen one of the judges of the Supreme Court of New York in 1802, and November, 1806, one of the judges of the United States Court, which he retained until his death. The selection of him as a Regent of the New York University in 1784, and the degree of LL. D. from Harvard in 1818, were among the tributes accorded to his talents.

“He married three times, and left a large family of children.”

Extract from “The Society of the Cincinnati,” by JOHN SCHUYLER, Secretary.



BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

CHAPTER XVI

CATHARINE VAN RENSSELAER
(*Mrs. Philip Schuyler*)

THE following sketch was written by her youngest daughter, Catharine, the Godchild of Washington :

“My mother, a great-great-great-granddaughter of the first Patroon of Rensselaerwyck, was the only daughter of John Van Rensselaer of the Greenbush manor house, and his wife Angelica Livingston. She was born in the ‘Crailo’ (see chapter II.) on November 4th, 1734. She was a very beautiful woman, delicate, but perfect in form and feature, extremely graceful in her movements, and winning in her deportment. My mother was well educated; and although her social influence was widely recognized, she was not one to fill a distinguished place in history. She possessed courage and prudence in a great degree, but these were exerted only in her domestic sphere. At the head of a large family of children and servants, her management was so excellent that everything went on with a regularity which appeared spontaneous. A most devoted wife—many happy years did my father and she live together; a tender mother, a constant friend, a kind mistress, prudent in conversation, and charitable to all, she is remembered by the few that can have any recollection of her with esteem and regard.

“Her father was a patriot in our Revolutionary struggle—a man of unbounded hospitality, whose kindness and forbearance during that period in not exacting rent from his tenants, was the incipient step to anti-rentism.

“Perhaps I may relate of my mother, as a judicious act of kindness in her, that she not unfrequently sent a milch cow to persons in poverty.

“When the Continental army was retreating before Burgoyne, she went up in her chariot with four horses to Saratoga, to remove her household articles. While there she received directions from General Schuyler to set fire to his extensive fields of wheat—which she did with her own hands; and to induce his tenants and others to do the same rather than suffer them to be reaped by the enemy. She also sent her horses on for the use of the army, and returned to Albany on a sled drawn by oxen.

“CATHARINE V. R. COCHRANE. 1846.”

“A few years ago,” writes J. Watts DePeyster, “a beautiful picture was exhibited in the National Academy of Design, representing Mrs. General Schuyler setting fire to her husband’s golden fields of ripened grain. Thus by the destruction of his own crops, he set an example which thenceforward no one

could refuse to follow. Thus when the cereals were reduced to ashes, and the live stock driven off, Burgoyne, as he sadly remarked, had to look back even across the sea to Ireland for the daily nourishment of his soldiers. The food thus brought in ships, river craft, and wheel-carriages, after a transit of nearly four thousand miles, was effectually stopped and neutralized by the barrier of desolation prepared by Schuyler.

“ Amid this scene of desolation and affright, there was yet one woman whose proud spirit was undaunted. It was the lady of General Schuyler. The General’s country seat was upon his estate in Saratoga, standing upon the margin of the river. On the approach of Burgoyne, Mrs. Schuyler went up to Saratoga to remove her furniture. Her carriage was attended by a single armed man on horseback. When within two miles of her house, she encountered a crowd of panic-stricken people, who recited to her the tragic fate of Miss McCrea, and representing to her the danger of proceeding farther in the face of the enemy, urged her to return. She had yet to pass through a dense forest, within which even then some of the savage troops might be lurking for prey. But to these prudential counsels she would not listen. ‘The General’s wife,’ she exclaimed, ‘must not be afraid!’ And, pushing forward, she accomplished her purpose.

“ Before the mansion was evacuated, however, the General himself had a narrow escape from assassination by the hand of a savage, who had insinuated himself into the house for that purpose. It was the hour of bedtime in the evening, and while the General was preparing to retire for the night, that a female servant, in coming in from the hall, saw a gleam of light reflected from the blade of a knife, in the hand of some person, whose dark outline she discerned behind the door. The servant was a black slave, who had sufficient presence of mind not to appear to have made the discovery. Passing directly through the door into the apartment where the General was yet standing near the fireplace, with an air of unconcern she pretended to arrange such articles as were disposed upon the mantelpiece, while in an undertone she informed her master of her discovery, and said aloud, ‘I will call the guard.’ The General instantly seized his arms, while the faithful servant hurried out by another door into a long hall, upon the floor of which lay a loose board which creaked beneath the tread. By the noise she made in tramping rapidly upon the board, the Indian—for such he proved—was led to suppose that the Philistines were upon him in numbers, sprang from his concealment and fled. He was pursued, however, by the guard and a few friendly Indians attached to the person of General Schuyler, overtaken and made prisoner.”

The following letters have never appeared in print.

“ ALBANY, 1st August, 1780.

“ MADAM :

“ I wrote a note to Philip P. Lansing at Saratoga, by a Taylor, who was a country man of mine, recommending him to work; the man was taken up and put to Gaol, as an Enemy, and I was obliged to give Bail. The Court came on, and I was Discharged. This day it was ordered by Doctor Stringer, Jerry Ramlear and Mr. Beekman that I should be con-



CATHARINE VAN RENSSELAER.
(Mrs. Philip Schuyler.)

fined, which I have now avoided 'till I beseech your Influence with Jerry or Doctor Stringer, not to put me in prison, as my Weakly Constitution is not fit to bear Such. I have committed nothing that deserves imprisonment, and if they are in doubt of me, I shall give them Security. The General was once my friend. I hope, Madam, you will be mine also in this and Serve your

" Most Obt. Servant,

" GEO. SMYTH.

" To

" MADAM SCHUYLER.

" NEW YORK, March 10th, 1803.

" I thank you my Betsy, for your favor from Fishkill. I hope the subsequent part of your journey has proved less fatiguing than the first two days. I have anticipated with dread your interview with your father. I hope your prudence and fortitude have been a match for your sensibility. Remember that the main object of the visit is to console him, (General Schuyler on the death of his wife on the 7th) that his own burden is sufficient, and that it would be too much to have it increased by the sorrows of his children.

" Arm yourself with resignation. We live in a world full of evil. In the later period of life misfortunes thicken round us; and our duty and our peace both require that we should custom ourselves to meet disasters with Christian fortitude.

" Kiss Kitty for me and give my love to Angelica and all the friends and connections around you.

" Adieu my excellent wife. Your children are all well. I write to your father by this opportunity.

" A. HAMILTON.

" To

" MRS HAMILTON, at

" GENERAL SCHUYLER'S, Albany."

A LETTER OF THE REVOLUTION

" Beloved, I am far away, dark forests roll between
This soldier's tent and our sweet home nestling in bowers green
But thou are there; I send to thee these weary deserts o'er
My Catharine never failed in peace; fail not beloved in war.

" My fields thou knowest are white with grain, it covers all the land,
Forget thy hand is slight and soft, I've work for that small hand.
I trust no underling or friend, only thyself I trust
Go forth and fire the wheat, my love; go burn it to the dust.

" The enemy are pressing down the river every day
That grain stands all too temptingly thus ripened in their way.
Destroy it with unflinching heart—field, gran'ry, stock and store,
The less we leave of war supplies—the less we'll have of war.

" Gather the children round thee, then, and hasten to the town
'Tis Hamilton, my brave young friend, I send to guard thee down;
And give our stores among the poor—they'll need them all, I know,
Ah! when I think of them and thee, ten times more strong I grow.

“ My precious one ! Kiss Meg for me—who saved my life that night
The Indian’s aim was at my head—by blowing out the light.
Pray all to Him who heareth prayers, to set our country free.
Fire the wheat; the children guard ! and think sweet Kate of me.

“ PELHAM, N. Y.
“ 1853.”

“ Composed by her great-granddaughter,
“ KATHARINE SCHUYLER BOLTON.

THE VAN RENSSELAERS

Of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck

“The Van Rensselaers of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck have, for over two hundred years, held an important position in the history of America. Coming, as they did, as founders of a Colonie who acknowledged no superior power on this side of the ocean, they were actual sovereigns on their own domains. Be-



“OMNIBUS EFFULGIO.”
Van Rensselaer Arms.

fore coming to America, the Van Rensselaers were people of importance in Holland, respected and honored by their countrymen; they held many positions of trust, and their name figured constantly as burgomasters, councillors, treasurers, etc., in many of the important towns of their native country. The picture of James Van Rensselaer, which still hangs in the Orphan Asylum at

Nykerk, represents him as a jonkheer or nobleman, in the distinguishing dress of his class. Over the heads of the regents in this picture hang small shields on which are displayed their coats of arms, making it perfectly easy to identify Jonkheer Van Rensselaer, as these arms are identical with those borne by the family at the present day. An interesting tradition with regard to these arms exists, which however rests on no reliable foundation. It is said that on some festive occasion, a grand illumination was displayed in Holland. The Van Rensselaer of that day ordered large iron baskets (which represented his crest) to be filled with inflammable materials, and placed on the gate posts, house-tops, and every prominent position of both his city and country residences. This was done with such brilliant effect, as to call forth special commendation from the Prince of Orange, who, according to the custom of the times when favours were esteemed and given, instead of money, (and the highest favour was an augmentation of anything pertaining to the coat of arms) begged Van Rensselaer to adopt, henceforward, as his motto, 'Omnibus Effulgio,' (I outshine all) instead of the Dutch motto, referring to the cross on the shield 'Nieman Zonder' (No man without a cross). The motto has been corrupted, and is usually written 'Omnibus Effulgior,' but it has not been generally used by the Van Rensselaer family of late years, as being too arrogant for their simple tastes.

"The following extracts from a letter written by Eugene Schuyler (author of History of Russia, etc.) were published in the Albany Argus, September 21st, 1879: 'I went to Amersfoort, to Nykerk, and to several other towns in Guelderland. At Amersfoort, there is a table in the Church of St. Joris or St. George, on which is mentioned the name of Harmanus Van Rensselaer, as one of its Regents in 1639. De. is prefixed to his name, which may mean Doctor of Laws, of Divinity or of Medicine. There is also a tomb of a Captain Van Rensselaer who died of a wound received at the battle of Nieuport. This is covered by the wood flooring, and is not visible.

"In the Orphan Asylum at Nykerk, there is a very fine picture of its first Regents, 1638. The picture is painted by Breecker, in 1645. There are two noblemen in this picture, Jan or Johannes Van Rensselaer, and Nicholas Van Delen; one of the four others is Ryckert Van Twiller, the father of Walter Van Twiller, who married the sister of Kiliaen, the first Patroon. There are two other Van Rensselaers named among the later Regents, Richard in 1753—and Jeremias in 1803.

"The original manor of the family, from which the Van Rensselaers took their name, is still called Rensselaer, and is about three miles southeast of Nykerk. It was originally a Reddergoed, the possession of which conferred nobility. The last member of the family who bore the name was Jeremias Van Rensselaer, who died in Nykerk, April 11th, 1819. He married Julie Duval, and had no children, and in his will, he stated that he had no heirs, except the Van Rensselaer family then living in America.

"The estate of Rensselaerwyck is now only a farm; all the old buildings have

lately been taken down—they were covered with gables and with weathercocks of the arms and crest of the family, but all have now disappeared. There is scarcely a church in Guelderland that did not have somewhere the Van Rensselaer arms on the tombstones, either alone or quartered with others. The exact coat of arms is a white basket (not castle) with yellow flames, above a closed (or knight's) helmet.'

"Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the founder of the colony of Rensselaerwyck in America, was a man of character and of substance. He was a merchant of Amsterdam, wealthy, and of high consideration, at a time when the merchants of Holland had become, like those of Italy, the princes of the land. He was a proprietor of large estates, and a director in the Dutch West India Company, which company having obtained a footing in America, instituted a college of nine commissioners in 1629, to take the superior direction and charge of affairs of New Netherland. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer was a member of this college. A liberal charter of privileges to Patroons was obtained from the company, which provided for founding a landed and baronial aristocracy for the Provinces of the Dutch in the New World.

"Early in 1630, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer sent an agent from Holland, to make his first purchase of land, from the Indian owners, which purchase was sanctioned by the authorities of the company at New Amsterdam, 'who signed the Instrument and sealed it with the Seal of the New Netherlands, in red wax.' Other purchases were made for him, up to the year 1637, when his full complement of land having been made up, viz: A tract of twenty-four miles in breadth by forty-eight miles in length, containing over seven hundred thousand acres which now comprise the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and part of Columbia. He himself never came to America to take charge of his colony. All his colonists, numbering one hundred and fifty adults, was sent out at his own cost, and, as the charter required, the colony was planted within four years from the completion of his purchases.

"The power of Patroon, (the title given by the West India charter to these proprietors) was analogous to that of the old feudal barons, acknowledging only the States-General of Holland as their superiors. The Patroon maintained a high military and judicial authority, had his own fortresses, planted with his own cannon, (the original still in possession of the manor house family) manned by his own soldiers, with his own flag waving over them. The courts of the colony were his own courts, where the gravest questions and highest crimes were cognizable; but, with appeals in the more important cases. Justice was administered in his own name. The colonists were his immediate subjects, and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to him.

"The position of the colony was one of great delicacy and danger, being surrounded by warlike tribes of savages; but, happily, the Patroons of that period, and their directors, by a strict observance of the laws of justice, and by maintaining a guarded conduct toward them, escaped those wars and conflicts, so common among the infant colonies of the country. But, with the authorities at

New Amsterdam, there were constant collisions; and on one occasion, it was so sharp that Governor Petrus Stuyvesant sent up an armed expedition to invade the Colony of Rensselaerwyck; but fortunately, his expedition was unsuccessful, and happily bloodless as it was bootless. It is alleged that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer visited his colony in person in 1637. If he ever did come, his stay in this country was not long. An order written to Arendt Van Corlear (his Commissary-General and Colonial Secretary) with regard to the arrangement of some of his affairs in the Colonie of Rensselaerwyck, was signed in Amsterdam, September 10th, 1643, by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, and sealed with his own and the Colonie's seal. This order was sent to New Netherland in the Patroon's ship, 'The Arms of Rensselaerwyck,' which was despatched with an assorted invoice of merchandise, valued at twelve thousand, eight hundred and seventy guilders (12,870 guilders) and was intended for the use of his Colonie.

"In 1664, great changes took place; the English conquered the province which had hitherto belonged to the Dutch, and the Colony of Rensselaerwyck fell, with that of New Amsterdam; but the English Governors confirmed the claims and privileges of Rensselaerwyck when the Provinces passed under British rule.

"In 1685, the Dutch Colony of Rensselaerwyck was converted and created into a regular lordship or manor with all the privileges belonging to an English estate and jurisdiction of the manorial kind. To the lord of the manor, Kiliaen, the fourth Patroon, was expressly given authority to administer justice within his domain in both kinds, in his own court-leet and court-baron. Other large privileges were conferred on him; and he had the right, with the freeholders and the inhabitants of the manor, to a separate representation in the Colonial Assembly. All these rights continued unimpaired down to the time of the war of the Revolution.

"The first Patroon, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, was twice married, and had nine children—five sons and four daughters—all of whom survived him, and according to the laws of Holland, shared equally his estates. He died in 1646. His first wife was Hillegonda Van Bylett, by whom he had one son Johannes, who married his cousin Elizabeth Van Twiller.

"Johannes Van Rensselaer was the second Patroon, and died young leaving one son Kiliaen; the estate in America was managed by his uncle Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, who was made 'director of the estate.'

"Young Kiliaen, third Patroon, married his cousin Anna Van Rensselaer, and died in 1687, at Watervliet, N. Y., without children. This Anna (daughter of Jeremias Van Rensselaer) married William Nichol.

"Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer, the son of the first Patroon, by his second wife Anna Van Wely, married his cousin Susan Van Wely. He was for many years director of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, and finally returned to Holland, about 1656, where he became one of the leading merchants of Amsterdam, and died in 1678. Jeremias Van Rensselaer, the third son of the first Patroon, succeeded his brother Jan Baptist, as director of the Colonie in 1658, and for sixteen years



Jeremias Van Rinselaer

Married Maria Van Cortlandt, 1662.

administered its affairs with great prudence and discretion. He was much respected by the French, and wielded an influence over the Indians which was only surpassed by that of Van Corlear. On account of the inaccuracies of the boundaries, etc., considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining a patent for the manor from the Duke of York, upon the change of government from the Dutch to the English rule. To obviate the trouble, some persons of influence advised Jeremias 'the director,' to take out a patent in his own name, he being qualified to hold real estate, having become a British subject. To his great honor, it is recorded that he rejected the advice, saying: 'He was only coheir, and could not thus defraud his sisters and brothers.'

"In 1664, Jeremias Van Rensselaer was elected speaker of the Representative Assembly of the Province. The first question which engaged the attention of this Assembly was that of the presidency. New Amsterdam claimed the honor as the capital, and Rensselaerwyck claimed it as the oldest Colonie. The right of the latter was admitted, and the Honorable Jeremias Van Rensselaer took the chair under protest. He was a man of great industry, and communicated to Holland an account of various occurrences in this country, under the name of 'The New Netherland Mercury.' His correspondence (from 1656 to his death) still in good preservation, affords a valuable and interesting commentary on private and public affairs, and contains a relation of facts and incidents which, otherwise, would have been irreparably lost. He died on the 12th of October, 1674, and was followed to the grave by a large concourse of mourners.

"Nicolaus Van Rensselaer (the eighth child of Kiliaen, the first Patroon) was a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church. On being introduced to Charles II. of England, then in exile at Brussels, he prophesied the restoration of the monarchy to the throne of England, which circumstance afterward obtained for him a cordial reception at the Court of St. James, when he visited London as chaplain to the Dutch Embassy. In acknowledgment of the truth of the prediction, the king presented him with a snuff-box. (This royal relic is now in the possession of the Manor House Van Rensselaer family at Albany.) Upon coming to America, the Dutch church looked upon him with suspicion, fearing he was papist, as one having been ordained in England as Presbyter of the Bishop of Salisbury—and declared he had nothing to do with the Dutch Church, without a certificate from their classes. Dr. Van Rensselaer produced his papers and certificates—that of his graduation as deacon and as Presbyter of the Bishop of Salisbury; his majesty's allowance of him under his signature to be a minister, and to preach to the Dutch congregation at Westminster; two certificates of his being Chaplain to the Ambassador Extraordinary from the States of Holland; and also of having officiated in a church in London as lecturer; and the Duke of York's recommendation of him to the present governor in this country.

"The governor called a council to decide the matter, asking the opposing ministers, why Dr. Van Rensselaer should not be considered capable of administering the sacraments of the church, etc. The ministers recalled their previous views, and brought in a paper, 'amended, with all submission.'

“Reverend Nicolaus Van Rensselaer married Alida Schuyler, daughter of Philip Pieterse Schuyler. He died in 1678, without children, and his widow married Robert Livingston, first proprietor of Livingston Manor.

“Ryckert, the youngest son of Kiliaen, the first Patroon, was for many years one of the magistrates of Albany, and also director of the Colonie, after the death of his brother Jeremias. He married in Holland, Anna Van Beaumont. He owned the ‘Bowerie’ called ‘The Flatts,’ four miles north of Albany, which, on his return to Holland in 1670, he sold to Philip Schuyler. He was at one time treasurer and burgomaster of Vianen; he died about 1695, leaving five sons and five daughters, only one son and three daughters being married.

“Three of the daughters of the first Patroon, died unmarried. These were Maria, Hillegonda, and Elonora. Susanna, the fourth daughter, married Jan de la Court, and lived and died in Holland.

“On the death of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, in 1674, the affairs of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck were administered conjointly, during the minority of Kiliaen (then twelve years of age) by Dominie Nicolaus Van Rensselaer and Stephanus Van Cortlandt. Nicolaus had the directorship of the Colony; Madame Van Rensselaer was the treasurer; and Stephanus Van Cortlandt had charge of the books. Dominie Nicolaus dying in 1678, the chief management of the minor’s affairs devolved on his aunt and his uncle. Madame Maria Van Rensselaer was the daughter of Oloff (Stephenson) Van Cortlandt and Ann Lockermans, and married Jeremias Van Rensselaer in 1662. She died in 1689, fifteen years after his death, leaving three sons, Kiliaen, Johannes, and Hendrick; and two daughters, Anna and Maria. Johannes died unmarried. From these two brothers, Kiliaen and Hendrick have sprung all the descendants of the Van Rensselaer blood in this country. The heirs of the first Patroon held his estate in common until 1695, nearly fifty years after his death. At that time, all of his children except Ryckert and Elonora, were dead. In 1696, negotiations were entered into with Kiliaen of Albany (son of Jeremias, deceased) and the heirs in Holland, for a settlement of their grandfather’s estate. On the 25th of November, 1695, the settlement was completed and the legal paper executed. The Hollander attorney for Ryckert, Elonora, and for the children of Susanna, deceased, released to the American for himself and as attorney for his brothers, Johannes and Hendrick, and for his sisters Anna and Maria, all the Manor of Rensselaerwyck containing seven hundred thousand acres of tillable land; all the Claverack track of sixty thousand acres except three farms, and all the personal property, except ‘seven hundred pieces of eight’ (or seven hundred dollars); and the American released to the Hollanders all the estate, real and personal, and contingent, in Holland, of which the Crailo estate and a tract of land in Guelderland formed a part.

“Four of the nine children of the first patroon had died without heirs; his widow was also dead; consequently the estate was divided into five parts, one for the family in America, and the other four, for the heirs in Holland.

“Measuring the whole estate by our conception of the value of that in America, we should be likely to form an erroneous judgment as to its amount.

Land here, at that time, was very cheap, hundreds of acres could be bought from the Indians for trinkets. The whole estate measured by the sum which the Hollanders stipulated to pay to Elonora Van Rensselaer, eight hundred dollars (\$800) was not large in the modern sense; but forty cents, at that time, were equal to several gold dollars now. In 1704, a charter from Queen Anne confirmed the estate to Kiliaen, the eldest son of Jeremias (third son of the original Patroon, the oldest having died without issue). The estate came to him by inheritance according to the canons of descent established by the law of England.

“Kiliaen was the first Lord of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, which he represented in the Provincial Assembly from 1691 to 1703, when he was called to the council. In 1704, he conveyed the lower Manor Claverack, with the Crailo estate at Greenbush, to his younger brother Hendrick, as his share of his grandfather's estate. He married his cousin Maria Van Cortlandt, in 1701, by whom he had six sons and four daughters. His eldest son Jeremias, born in 1705, died unmarried in 1745. He had survived his father and was consequently the fifth patroon. His brother Stephen, (Kiliaen's second son) became the sixth patroon. His son Stephen was born in 1707, and married in 1729, Elizabeth Groesbeck. He died in 1747, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, married to General Abraham Ten Broeck; and one son, Stephen who being a minor at his father's death, was left under the guardianship of his brother-in-law, General Ten Broeck, who managed his affairs with great judgment. Abraham Ten Broeck was descended from one of the old families of the Colony of New York. His father was for many years Recorder and then Mayor of Albany. In 1753, he married the only sister of the sixth patroon, the second Stephen. He was called early into public life, and was, for many years a member of the Assembly under the Colonial government, and at the commencement of the American war, was made Colonel of the Militia, a Member of the Provincial Congress of 1775, Delegate to the State Convention in 1776, of which he was made president. Early in the contest, he was made Brigadier-General of the militia, and rendered memorable service in the campaign of 1777. He was a member of the State Senate, Mayor of the City, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and President of the Bank of Albany. His virtues in private life equalled the excellence of his public character. He died January 19th, 1810.

“The second Stephen Van Rensselaer born in 1742, married in January, 1764, Catherine Livingston, daughter of Philip Livingston (signer of the Declaration of Independence) and Christiana Ten Broeck. He built the present manor house, which was completed in 1765, and which he was spared to enjoy, only four years, as he died of consumption in 1769, leaving two sons and one daughter—Stephen, Philip, and Elizabeth.

“Philip, the second son, born 1766, married in 1787 Anne de Peyster Van Cortlandt, daughter of General Philip Van Cortlandt. They had no issue. He was Mayor of the City of Albany, longer than any other mayor before or since, having served seventeen years in that office. He was also President of the

Bank of Albany, and was a public man holding many positions. He died in 1824.

“His sister Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, born in 1768, married in 1787, John Bradstreet Schuyler, son of General Philip Schuyler and Catharine Van Rensselaer, by whom she had one son, Philip Schuyler. She married secondly in 1800, John Bleecker, by whom she had one daughter who married Cornelius Glen Van Rensselaer, and several sons who died unmarried.

“Stephen Van Rensselaer, III. (fifth lord of the manor and eighth patroon) the eldest son of Stephen Van Rensselaer, and Catherine Livingston was born in November, 1764, in the City of New York, at the house of his grandfather, Philip Livingston. His father having died, the care of his education developed largely upon Mr. Livingston, who placed him at school in Elizabeth, N. J.; but the stirring times of the Revolution came on, and Mr. Livingston, with his family, was driven from the City of New York, and took refuge in Kingston. This place possessed a teacher of great scholarship, under whose care the young Stephen Van Rensselaer fitted himself for college. He went to Princeton, under the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon; but, at that time New Jersey was not safe from the incursions of the war, and so the young collegian was removed to Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. In 1782, he took his degree as Bachelor of Arts, and here it may be mentioned that in 1825, he received from Yale College a diploma conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Before he was twenty years of age, he married Margarita Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler; by this marriage there were two children—a daughter Catherine Schuyler who died at twelve years of age, and a son Stephen.

“The Patroon, after his marriage, devoted himself to the care of his estates, and shortly after, received his first military commission, as a major of infantry, in 1786, and two years later, was promoted to the command of a regiment. In 1781, Governor Jay directed that the cavalry of the state be formed into a separate corps, divided from the infantry. The Patroon was appointed to the command of this division with two brigades. This commission of major-general he bore to his death. In political life, he was in the Assembly or Senate from 1788 to 1795. In this latter year, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor with John Jay as Governor. The same election took place in 1798, when he had no opposing candidate. In 1801, General Van Rensselaer was nominated as candidate for governor. With what difficulty his acceptance was finally obtained appears from the publications of the times. Mr. Clinton was brought forward as his opposing candidate. Mr. Clinton was very popular, and deservedly so; and, in the midst of the campaign in this state, the election of Mr. Thomas Jefferson, to the presidency was announced, and the fate of parties in this state was decided for a long time to come. Mr. Van Rensselaer was defeated by a small majority of less than four thousand votes. It was at this time while the election canvass was going on most actively, that the wife of his youth was called from him. By this marriage he had three children—two sons and one daughter—the first son Stephen, died in infancy. In 1802, he married



STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER III.
(Patroon of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck.)

again, his second wife being Cornelia Patterson, only daughter of William Patterson, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the second Governor of the State of New Jersey. In 1810, General Van Rensselaer was appointed one of seven gentlemen to explore a route for the great internal state improvement—the Erie Canal. After the war with England in 1812, the commission was resumed and in April, 1816, the law passed for its creation. General Van Rensselaer was President of the Board from 1824 until his death in 1839.

“It was in the year 1810, that General Van Rensselaer lost his venerated mother. Several years after the death of her husband the Patroon Stephen Van Rensselaer II., Mrs. Van Rensselaer had married Dominie Eilardus Westerlo, pastor of the Dutch Church; an eminent divine, a fine scholar, and a Hollander of distinguished bearing and attractive manners. By this marriage, she had one son and a daughter. Rensselaer, who married Jane Lansing, daughter of Chancellor Lansing of Albany, and Catherine who married Judge John Woodworth.

“In 1812, the war with Great Britain was declared. A requisition was made on Governor Tompkins, to order into immediate service, a considerable body of New York Militia; and the governor selected Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer for the command. In one month from the date of the call, he was at Lewiston, and in just two months, on the 13th of October, he carried his victorious arms into the enemy’s territory. It was a triumph of short duration. He gained a complete and glorious victory, sufficient if maintained, to have secured the peninsula of Canada for the winter; but a victory, lost as soon as won, by the shameful cowardice and defection of his troops. With a mere handful of men, the heights were carried early in the morning, under the direction of his aide-de-camp and cousin, the brave Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, and they remained in his possession until late in the day; and could have been easily defended, but for the shameful refusal of his yeomen soldiery to advance further.

“On one side, General Brock had fallen; and on the other Colonel Van Rensselaer was desperately wounded. The British General Sheaffe offered everything for the comfort of the wounded colonel. General Van Rensselaer informed General Sheaffe that he should order a salute to be fired at his camp and at Fort Niagara, on the occasion of the funeral solemnities of the brave General Brock. General Sheaffe thanked him in these words: ‘I feel too strongly the generous tribute which you propose to pay to my departed friend and chief, to be able to express the sense I entertain of it. Noble minded as he was, so would he have done himself.’

“With this campaign closed General Van Rensselaer’s services in the field.

“In 1819, he was elected by the Legislature, a Regent of the State University, and at the time of his death, he was its chancellor.

“In 1823, he first took his seat in Congress, and was continued there by three successive reëlections, retiring in 1829. In February, 1825, the ceremony

of an election to the presidency took place in the House of Representatives. His vote determined that of the delegation from the State of New York in favor of Mr. Adams, on the first ballot. In 1824, having provided a suitable building at Troy, Rensselaer county, and employed an agent to procure necessary apparatus and a library, he requested Dr. Blatchford to act as President of a Board of Trustees whom he named, to inaugurate a school 'to qualify teachers to instruct the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy and natural history to agriculture, domestic economy, and to the arts and manufactures.' In 1826, this school was incorporated, and is now known as the Rensselaer Institute. In 1828, he liberally endowed it, and during fourteen years, sustained it at his own expense.

"After a long and useful life, honored by all who knew him, Stephen Van Rensselaer died at the manor house, Albany, January 26th, 1839, leaving a widow and ten children."

By JUSTINE VAN RENSSELAER TOWNSEND, a daughter of the last Patroon.

("In this manuscript of Mrs. Justine Van Rensselaer Townsend, she did not mention what would be interesting to add, that in the Protestant Church at Nykerk, Holland, there are two monuments erected to the memory of Hendrick Van Rensselaer and of his brother Johann, who both lie buried there. Hendrick, the father of Kiliaen, first Patroon of Rensselaerwyck, was a captain in the Dutch army, and was killed at the siege of Ostend, the 9th of June, 1602. His brother Johann, likewise a captain was killed on the 7th of February, 1601. The coat of arms, of the Van Rensselaer family is placed at the top and at the foot of the monuments; and the crests of the families into which they intermarried form the bordering. Photographs of these interesting marbles are in the possessing of the family. J. V. R. T.)

"For eighty-four years immediately preceding the Revolution, the Van Rensselaer Manor was never without its Representative in the Assembly of the Province, always either the proprietor or, in case of a minor his nearest relative."

THE VAN RENSSELAER MANOR HOUSE AT ALBANY

"The Van Rensselaer Manor House or the 'Patroon's,' as it was usually called, was, at the time of its erection, the handsomest residence in the Colonies, and as such it exerted a wide influence over the architecture of the ambitious dwellings in the neighborhood. The building was erected in 1765 by Stephen Van Rensselaer under the direction of his guardian, General Ten Broeck. The house was so completely remodeled in 1840-43, from designs by Upjohn, that but little resemblance to the old building was left. From an oil painting made before that date the character of the building can clearly be seen, while another painting shows the great gardens. The original house was built of brick of unusual size and was painted in the Colonial colors, cream and white.



MARGARITA SCHUYLER.
(Wife of Stephen Van Rensselaer III.)

“On June 3d, 1843, the building was opened after the extensive repairs had been completed. The mansion was rectangular in plan, with the great hall twenty-four feet broad, extending from the front to the rear of the house, some forty-six feet. On either side of front and rear doors were two large windows with deep window seats. The walls were decorated with frescoes upon a yellow background, which in their day were the wonder of the country. These were painted upon large sheets of heavy paper, and were executed in Holland especially for the room and put on in 1768, the bill for which is still in the possession of the family.

“The west wall of the hall was pierced in the centre by a large arched door-



VAN RENSSELAER MANOR HOUSE.

way leading to the stairs, flanked by Ionic pilasters. To right and left were doors giving access in the front to the ‘greenroom,’ used as a reception-room, and on the rear to the study or office-room of the Patroon. On the opposite wall were two similar doors, one of which gave entrance to the state bedroom in front, the other to the paneled room in the rear.

“There were four large frescoes which filled the wall surfaces on the side walls between the doors and the front and rear walls. A still larger one covered the wall opposite the large arched doorway; on either side of this were four smaller panels representing the four seasons. The pictures were surrounded by arabesques in the style of Louis XV. The woodwork in this hall was very elaborate: the door and window frames were crossseted, and above the doors were broken pediments. The cornice was of carved wood. As has been al-

ready said, both cornice and doors served as models for those of many other houses of this period.

“The state bedroom was a large square room on the first story. Here was the great mahogany bedstead, ornamented with dolphins and wreaths cast in brass. The mantel in this room was one of the few which were preserved when the house was remodeled. Two columns supported the panel bar, on which were carved a lion and a lioness.

“Behind this room was the ‘panel’ room, which before the alterations, was



HALL OF VAN RENSSELAER MANOR HOUSE.

used as the family dining-room, the state dinners being given in the large hall. The walls of this room were of wood from floor to ceiling. A low paneled wainscot surrounded the room, whose baseboard and chair rail were elaborately carved with a running pattern. Above, large panels reached to the cornice, which was also of elaborately carved wood. The doors were the most beautiful in the building, the frames were decorated with carved egg-and-dart and water-lily mouldings, and the curved pediment above framed a bust of carved wood. The fireplace was the handsomest in the building, two marble caryatides upholding the mantel shelf.

“On the west of the main hall was the private study, a square room whose walls from floor to ceiling were lined with mahogany bookcases. The mantel was upheld by two small columns. Above it was the picture panel, which is almost universally found in houses of this period. The small reception-room had been so completely remodeled that only a fragment of wainscot, with a

carved chair rail, which had been concealed behind a pier glass, was left to show the style of the room in the original house.

“The stairs opened off the hall and were lit by a semicircular window of stained glass in the west wall, on which the family coat of arms was depicted. Tradition declares this to be the original window which was placed in the old Dutch Church in 1656, in memory of John Baptist Van Rensselaer. Several others, also were placed in the church by the more important Dutch families. The stairs ascend on the right wall with broad treads to the wide landing, on which for many years stood the spinet. In the second story a wide hall, the full width of the stairs, occupied the middle of the house. From this opened through low pedimented doors, eight bedrooms, six of them large square rooms and two of them small dressing-rooms. This hall was used by the family in the evening as a sitting-room. The third or attic story had the same large hall. On this story were only four large bedrooms, the remaining space being occupied by spacious closets. The walls of the stairs and hall walls from the bottom of the house to the top were covered with a glazed paper, grained to imitate oak, divided into panels by egg-and-dart mouldings. The staircase was well lit by a skylight filled with stained glass, which was inserted in the attic floor and lighted by a skylight in the roof.

“The east wing was occupied by two large rooms. That in the front was the main reception-room, that in the rear was the library.

“The windows of these rooms extended to the floor and gave access to the two large balconies in front and rear, and the four small balconies on the sides. The doors were pedimented and they, as well as the windows, had frames decorated with hand-carved egg-and-dart mouldings. These rooms, when the great folding-doors between them were opened, formed a magnificent room for entertainments.

“The walls of the library were lined with beautifully carved mahogany book-cases, above which were plaster busts of the prominent men of those times.

“In the west wing was the great dining-room. Here for thirty years a lavish hospitality was dispensed, which made the manor house a noted place, not in this country alone, but abroad. Indeed the manor had always been famous for its hospitality. A noted Englishman who visited this country during the last years of the last century, was overwhelmed by the sumptuousness of the banquet, the magnificence of the family plate and the delicacy of the wines. At the old house at different times were entertained every man of distinction, and every foreign ‘lion’ from anti-Revolutionary days to the death of General Van Rensselaer, the old Patron.

“The widow of the Patron resided in this mansion until her death in 1876. In the meantime, the place had become undesirable as a residence: not far from the house the New York Central tracks crossed the street; the extensive grounds had been transformed into a lumber district; and it was evident that the old place was doomed to destruction. The property was divided among the heirs, and the building was demolished in 1893.

“This historic mansion had represented the social life of the city at a time when all the great families made a feature of intermarriage; the Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, the Jays, Livingstons, Van Cortlandts and Bayards were all connected by repeated intermarriages and wielded a political power unknown in these degenerate days, and formed an oligarchical aristocracy none the less powerful because untitled.”

CUSTOMS OF COLONIAL DAYS

“Hereditary landed property in Colonial days,” writes the late Bishop Kip of California, “was invested with the same dignity in New York, which it has now in Europe; and, for more than a century these families retained their possessions, and directed the infant colony. They formed a coterie of their own, and, generation after generation, married among themselves. Turn to the early records of New York, and you will find all the places of official dignity filled by a certain set of familiar names, many of which, since the Revolution have entirely disappeared. As we have remarked, they occupied a similar position to that of the English country gentleman, with his many tenants, and were everywhere looked up to with the same kind of respect which is now accorded to them. Their position was an acknowledged one, for social distinctions were then marked and undisputed. They were the persons who were placed in office in the Provincial Council and Legislature, and no one pretended to think it strange. ‘They,’ says a writer of that day, ‘were the gentry of the country, to whom the country, without a rebellious thought, took off its hat.’

“In that age, the very dress plainly marked the distinctions in society. No one who saw a gentleman could mistake his social position. Those people of a century ago now look down upon us from their portraits, in costumes which, in our day, we see nowhere but on the stage. Velvet coats and gold lace, large sleeves and ruffles at the hand, wigs and embroidered vests, with the accompanying rapier, are significant of a class removed from the rush and bustle of life—the ‘*nati consumere fruges*’—whose occupation was not—to toil. No one in that day below their degree, assumed their dress; nor was the lady surpassed in costliness of attire by her servant. In fact, at that time, there were gentlemen and ladies—and there were servants.

“The manner in which these great landed estates were arranged fostered a feudal feeling. They were granted by government to the proprietors, on condition that in a certain number of years, they settle as many tenants upon them. These settlers were generally Germans of the lower class, who had been brought over free. Not being able to pay their passage money, the captain took them without charge, and then they were sold by him to the landed proprietors for a certain number of years, in accordance with the size of the family. The sum remunerated him for the passage money. They were called in that day, Redemptioners, and, by the time their term of service—sometimes extending to seven years—had expired, they were acquainted with the ways of the country

and its manner of farming, had acquired some knowledge of the language, and were prepared to set up for themselves. Thus both parties were benefited. The landed proprietor fulfilled his contract with the government, and the Redemptioners were trained for becoming independent settlers.

“These tenants frequently took the name of their proprietor. There are many families in the State of New York bearing the names of the old landed proprietors, which have been thus derived.

“This system was carried out to an extent of which, in this day, most persons are ignorant. On the Van Rensselaer Manor there were at one time, several thousand tenants, and their gathering was like that of the Scottish clans. When a member of the family died, they came down to Albany to do honor to the funeral, and many were the hogsheads of good ale which were broached for them. They looked up to the ‘Patroon’ with a reverence which was still lingering in the writer’s early day, notwithstanding the inroads of democracy. And, before the Revolution, this feeling was shared by the whole country. When it was announced in New York a century ago, that the Patroon was coming down from Albany by land, the day he was expected to reach the city crowds turned out to see him enter in his coach and four.

“The reference to the funerals at the Rensselaer Manor House reminds us of a description of the burial of Philip Livingston, one of the proprietors of Livingston Manor, in February, 1749, taken from a paper of that day. It will show something of the customs of the times. The services were performed both at his town house in New York, and at the manor. ‘In the city the lower rooms of the house in Broad street where he resides, were thrown open to receive visitors. A pipe of wine was spiced for the occasion, and to each of the eight bearers, with a pair of gloves, mourning ring, scarf and handkerchief, a monkey spoon was given.’ (This was so called from the figure of an ape or monkey which was carved in solide at the extremity of the handle. It differed from a common spoon in having a circular and very shallow bowl.) ‘At the manor these ceremonies were all repeated, another pipe of wine was spiced, and, besides the same presents to the bearers, a pair of black gloves and a handkerchief were given to each of the tenants. The whole expense was said to amount to five hundred pounds.’

“Once in a year generally, the gentry of New York went to the city to transact their business and make their purchases. There they mingled for a time, in its gayeties, and were entertained at the Court of the Governor. These dignitaries were generally men of high families in England. One of them, for instance—Lord Cornbury—was a blood relative of the royal family. They copied the customs and imitated the etiquette enforced ‘at home,’ and the rejoicings and sorrowings, the thanksgivings and fasts, which were ordered at Whitehall, were repeated again on the banks of the Hudson. Some years ago the writer was looking over the records of the Old Dutch Church in New York, when he found, carefully filed away, some of the proclamations for these services. One of them, giving notice of a Thanksgiving Day, in the reign of William and

Mary, for some victory in the low countries, puts the celebration off a fortnight, to give time for the news to reach Albany.

“During the rest of the year these landlords resided among their tenantry, on their estates; and about many of their old country houses were associations gathered, often coming down from the first settlement of the country, giving them an interest which can never invest the new residences of those whom later times elevated to wealth. Such was the Van Cortlandt Manor House with its wainscoted rooms and its guest chamber; the Rensselaer Manor House, where of old had been entertained Tallyrand and the exiled princes from Europe; the Schuyler House so near the Saratoga battlefield, and marked by memories of that glorious event in the life of its owner—and the residence of the Livingstons on the banks of the Hudson, of which Louis Philippe expressed such grateful recollection when, after his elevation to the throne, he met, in Paris, the son of his former host.

“There was one more of these pleasant old places of which we should write, to preserve some memories which are now fast fading away, because it is within the bounds of New York City and was invested with so many historical associations connected with the Revolution. It is the house at Kip’s Bay. Though many years have passed since it was swept away by the encroachments of the city, yet it exists among the recollections of the writer’s earliest days, when it was still occupied by the family of its founder, and regarded as their first home on this continent. It was erected in 1655 by Jacobus Kip, secretary of the Council, who received a grant of that part of the island. There is, in possession of the family, a picture of it as it appeared at the time of the Revolution, when still surrounded by venerable oaks. It was a large double house with three windows on one side of the door and two on the other, with one large wing. On the right hand of the hall was the dining-room, running from front to rear, with two windows looking out over the bay, and two over the country on the other side. This was the room which was afterward invested with interest from its connection with Major André.

“In 1851 this old place was demolished; it had then stood two hundred and twelve years, and was the oldest house on the island.

“Such was the life in those early days among the Colonial families in the country and the city. It was simple and unostentatious yet marked by an affluence of everything which could minister to comfort, and also a degree of elegance in the surrounding which created a feeling of true refinement. Society was easy and natural, without the struggle for precedence which is now so universal; for then everyone’s antecedents were known, and their positions were fixed. The intermarriages which for more than a century were taking place between the landed families bound them together and promoted a harmony of feeling now not often seen. There were, in that day, such things as old associations, and men lived in the past, instead of, as in these times, looking only to the future.

“The system of slavery too which prevailed, added to the ease of domestic life. Negro slaves, at an early day, had been introduced into the colony, and

every family of standing possessed some. They were employed but little as field laborers, but every household had a few who were domestic servants. Like Abraham's servants they were all 'born in the house.' They shared the same religious instruction with the children of the family, and felt, in every respect, as if they were members of it. This mild form of slavery was like the system which existed under the tents of the patriarchs of the plains of Mamre, and there certainly never were happier people than those 'menservants and maid-servants.' They were seldom separated from their families or sold. The latter was reserved as an extreme case for the incorrigible, and a punishment to which it was hardly ever necessary to resort.

"The clans of Scotland could not take more pride in the prosperity of their chief's family than did those sable retainers in New Amsterdam. In domestic affairs they assumed a great freedom of speech, and, in fact, family affairs were discussed and settled as fully in the kitchen as in the parlor. The older servants, indeed, exercised as full a control over the children of the family as did their parents. As each black child attained the age of six or seven years, it was formally presented to a son or daughter of the family, and was his or her particular attendant. This union continued often through life, and of stronger instances of fidelity we have never heard than were exhibited in some of these cases. Fidelity and affection indeed formed the bond between master and slave to a degree which can never exist in this day of hired servants.

"In 1774, John Adams, on his way to attend the first Congress, stopped in New York, and was entertained at one of the country houses on the island. He writes 'A more elegant breakfast I never saw; rich plate, a very large silver coffee pot, a very large silver teapot, napkins of the very finest materials, toast and bread and butter in great perfection. After breakfast a plate of beautiful peaches, another of pears and a muskmelon, were placed on the table.'

"The Revolution broke up and swept away this social system. It ruined and drove off half the gentry of the province. The social history, indeed, of that event has never been written, and never will be. The conquerors wrote the story, and they were mostly 'new men,' who had as much love for those they dispossessed as the Puritans had for the Cavaliers of England, whom for a time, they displaced. In a passage we have quoted from Sargent's 'Life of André,' the author says: 'Most of the landed gentry of New York espoused the royal cause.' And it was natural that it should be so, for most of them had for generations held office under the Crown. Their habits of life, too, had trained them to tastes which had no sympathy with the levelling doctrines inaugurated by the new movement. They accordingly rallied around the king's standard; and, when it went down, they went down with it, and, in many cases, their names were blotted out of the land.

"In the writer's early day this system of the past was going out. Wigs and powder and queues, breeches and buckles, still lingered among the older gentlemen—vestiges of an age which was just vanishing away. But the high-toned feeling of the last century was still in the ascendant, and had not yet succumbed to the worship of mammon which characterizes this age.

“Commerce, indeed, is fast taking the place of the true old chivalry with all its high associations. It is impossible, in this country, for St. Germain to hold its own against the Bourse. Money-getting is the great object of life in this practical age.

“As Edward IV. stood on the tower of Warwick Castle, and saw marching through the park below him the mighty host of retainers who, at the summons of the great Earl of Warwick, had gathered round him, and then thought how powerless, in comparison, were the new nobles with whom he had attempted to surround his throne, he is said to have muttered to himself, ‘After all, you cannot make a great baron out of a new lord!’”

Extract from an article written by Rt. Rev. Bishop Kip, and published in Putnam's Magazine for September, 1870.

CHAPTER XVII

PERIOD 1790-1804

"GENERAL SCHUYLER'S sagacity, and practical skill and zeal for the public interests," continues Chancellor Kent, "led him to give the earliest and most strenuous support to measures for the improvement of internal navigation. He drafted the acts for incorporating the western and northern inland lock navigation companies and he was truly the master spirit which infused life and vigor into the whole undertaking. He had sketched and caused to be executed, the plan of locks at the little falls of the Mohawk and Wood creek. Those feeble beginnings led on step by step to the bolder and glorious consummation of the Erie Canal. He was placed at the head of both of the navigation companies, and his mind was ardently directed for years toward the execution of those liberal plans of internal improvement."

"Elkanah Watson," writes Benson J. Lossing, "in the autumn of 1778, paid a journey to Fort Schuyler (now Rome), then at the head of batteau-navigation on the Mohawk river. While there he conceived the idea of producing a water connection between the Hudson river and Lake Ontario, by means of a canal from the Mohawk to Wood creek, a tributary of Oneida lake, and thence down the Onondaga river (renamed Oswego) to Oswego on Lake Ontario."

He returned to Albany and had much conversation with General Schuyler on the subject of both a "northern and western canal."

"The subject was brought before the Legislature in January, 1792, and an act was passed by which two companies were chartered."

The following letter from General Schuyler to Mr. Watson gives a history of the movement.

"NEW YORK, March 4th, 1792.

"SIR :

"A joint committee of both houses—of which I was not one—has been formed. This committee reported a bill for incorporating both companies, one for the western, another for the northern navigation. The former was to have been carried no further than Oneida lake. The bill contemplated a commencement of the works from the navigable waters of the Hudson, and to be thence continued to the point I have mentioned; and it obliged the corporation, in a given number of years—which was intended to be ten—to the completion of the whole western navigation.

"When this bill was introduced into the Senate, the plan, generally, appeared to me so exceptionable that I thought it incumbent on me to state my ideas on the subject at large. They were approved of unanimously by the committee of the whole house, and I was requested to draw a new bill. This was done, and it has met with the approbation of the committee of the whole, and will be completed to-morrow by filling up the blanks. By this bill two companies

are to be incorporated; one for the western, the other for the northern navigation. It is proposed that each shall consist of one thousand shares; that subscriptions shall be opened by commissioners, at New York and Albany; that the books shall be kept open a month; that if more than one thousand shares are subscribed, the excess deducted from each subscription pro rata, so, nevertheless, as that no subscriber shall have less than one share; that every subscriber shall pay, at the time of the subscription, say thirty dollars, and that the directors of the incorporation shall, from time to time, as occasion may require, call on these subscribers for additional monies to prosecute the work to effect, whence the whole sum for each share is left indefinite.

“The western company are to begin their works at Schenectady, and to proceed to Wood Creek. If this part is not completed in — years say six or eight, then the corporation is to cease; but, having completed this in — years more—say ten, they are to be allowed further time for extending the works to Seneca Lake and to Lake Ontario; and, if not completed within that term, then the incorporation to cease, so far forth only as relates to the western navigation, from Wood Creek to the Lakes. The State is to make an immediate donation of money, which I propose at ten thousand pounds for each company, but which, I fear, will be reduced to five thousand pounds for each company. I thought it best that the operations should begin at Schenectady, lest the very heavy expense of the canal, either directly from Albany to Schenectady, or by the way of Cohoes or Half-Moon, might have retarded, if not have totally arrested, at least for a time, the navigation into the western country, and conceding that if the navigation to the Cohoes was completed, the continuation of it from Schenectady to the Hudson would eventually and certainly take place. A given toll per ton will be permitted for the whole expense from the Hudson to the Lakes, and this toll will be divided by the directors to every part of the canals and navigation, in proportion to the distances which any boat may use for navigation. Provision is made that if the toll does not produce, in a given time, six per cent., the directors may increase it until it does; but the corporation is ultimately confined to a dividend of fifteen per cent. Both corporations are in perpetuity, provided the works are completed in the times above mentioned.

“The size of the boats which the canals are to carry is not yet determined; I believe it will be that they shall draw, when loaded, two and a half feet of water. This is, substantially, the bill, so far as it relates to the western navigation.

“The northern company is to commence its works at Troy, and to deepen the channel at Lansingburgh so as to carry vessels of greater burden to that place than are now capable of going there. The blank for this purpose will be filled up, I think, with two feet; that is, the channel is to be deepened two feet. From Lansingburgh the navigation is to be improved by deepening the river by locks and canals, to Fort Edward, or some point near it, and thence to be carried to Wood Creek, or some of its branches, and extend to Lake Champlain. Tolls, etcetera, are to be on the same principal as on the western navigation. A clause was proposed for preventing any canals to the Susquehanna, but it was lost, it being conceived improper to oblige the inhabitants of the western country to make Hudson River, or the commercial towns on it, their only markets.

“In the prosecution of these capital objects, I have to combine the interests of the community at large with those of my more immediate constituents. What the result will be, time will determine. I shall, however, be happy if my ideas on the subject shall meet the approval of gentlemen more conversant with those matters than I can be supposed to be.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“PH. SCHUYLER.”

General Schuyler was unanimously chosen president of both companies. He showed his confidence in the project by subscribing for one hundred shares; he

gave his personal attention to the work ; he endured all the attendant hardships cheerfully ; and his interest in it never flagged !

While exploring the route for the northern and western canals he wrote the following unpublished letters to his wife :

“ SARATOGA, Thursday, 4th of October, 1792.

“ MY DEAR LOVE :

“ As I could not conveniently spare Peter, I have sent Anthony down with the waggon. Please let him bring up the Little Mare ; he takes down a saddle.

“ We shall set out to-morrow morning to view Wood Creek, and shall probably not return until Monday, so that if you come away on Saturday or Monday will be time enough.

“ Pray come with four horses ; the roads have been partly repaired.

“ Bring some Oisters up with you.

“ Let Jacob make the waggon top a little higher. It is still too low.

“ My love to All, Adieu

“ For Ever yours affectionately

“ To MRS. SCHUYLER,
“ near Albany.

“ PH. SCHUYLER.

“ ONEIDA, August 10, 1795.

“ MY DEAR LOVE :

“ The Oneida Indians have hitherto trifled with us. We propose to finish the business this evening and to set out to-morrow morning for Whitestown, twenty miles from hence. We shall be obliged to remain there two days and then hasten to Albany.

“ I have not experienced any ill health since I left you, and am at present perfectly well. Embrace all our children ; let them participate with you in my love. Adieu, God bless you.

“ I am forever

“ and most affectionately yours,

“ PH. SCHUYLER.

“ To

“ MRS. SCHUYLER, Albany.”

As late as the summer of 1802, he wrote the following unpublished letter to his daughter Catharine :

“ CANADA CREEK, July 14th, 1802.

“ MY DEARLY BELOVED CHILD :

“ Your favors of the 5th and 8th instants I received on Sunday the 11th instant.

“ My hobby horse as you call it would give me pleasure if I could ride him near home accompanied by your Mama and You. But remote as I am from you, my satisfaction is lessened.

“ It was my intention to stay here until I could pass the first lock in my boat, but the work is retarded for want of Caulkers and none are to be had on this side of Albany. I shall, therefore, probably leave this as soon as young Mr. John Bleecker arrives, whom I requested to be here on the 20th of this month to go with me to Cosby Manor, where I shall have business to detain me not exceeding two days.

“ I shall be exceedingly happy to find my dear Cornelia (his fourth daughter, Mrs. Washington Morton, Philadelphia) with you and your dear Mama when I return. I am pleased to learn that mowers and laborers were procured with little difficulty.

“ Syrup of maple juice is not to be obtained here as none is made in this country.

"The ground where we operate is perfectly dry, the soil generally a red sand, and the water of the creek so rapid, that this place is perfectly healthy—out of twenty-four workmen only two or three have been slightly indisposed and not a sick person now on the ground out of five families who are here—I am therefore not under the least apprehension of sickness, either from fatigue or the air of the place.

"What will Mr. Livingston and his Democratic friends say of the Republic of France governed by a King. How the absurd conduct of these people leads them continually into the mire—there may they remain—

"Embrace your dearly beloved Mama, your amiable sister and her children. They and you participate in my warmest affection.

"Adieu my amiable and beloved child,

"Yours ever most tenderly,

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"MISS SCHUYLER,

"Albany."

The following anecdote was furnished me by his great nephew, General John Cochran of New York City :

GENERAL SCHUYLER AND THE DUTCHMEN OF THE MOHAWK

"The navigation of the interior waters of the state had engaged the attention of General Schuyler at a very early period. His intimate knowledge of its hydrography revealed to him the practability of a system of state improvements, which could connect the lakes with the Atlantic. He even then perceived that New York commanded the outlet to the ocean for the produce of the West ; and long before De Witt Clinton embarked his fortunes in the Erie Canal, General Schuyler had projected a more feasible plan for attaining its proposed object.

"His scheme consisted of slack water navigation up the Mohawk to Wood creek, thence to Oneida lake and so through the Oswego river to Lake Ontario. But to complete this chain a system of locks would be necessary to overcome the descent in the Mohawk at Little Falls. The success of his project depending very much upon the favor with which it should meet from the Dutch settlers on the Mohawk, he proceeded to possess them with his views. They assembled by prearrangement at Spraker's Tavern (since the Erie Canal, better known as Spraker's Basin). There the General met them and opened to them his plans. They perceived the advantage and were pleased with the prospect of the Mohawk's bearing the commerce of the state past their doors ; but they could not understand how the boats could ascend the Little Falls. The General explained that they would be carried up by locks ; but to no purpose. They liked the General and would take his word for anything, but he couldn't make them believe that water would run up hill.

"At this they parted late in the night—the Dutchmen to their beds, and the General, worrying over his failure, to his. At a thought however, he arose and lighting his candle, took his knife and a few shingles, and going into the yard, dug a miniature canal of two different levels which he connected by a lock of

shingles. Then providing himself with a pail of water, he summoned the Dutchmen from their beds, and pouring the water into the ditch locked a chip through from the lower to the upper level.

“ ‘Vell ! Vell ! General,’ the Dutchmen cried, ‘ we now understands and we all goes mit you and de canal ! ’

“ The canal was dug and the locks were built. They can be seen at Little Falls to this day. Such was the policy which afterward shaped the Erie Canal, and such its origin with General Schuyler.”

As we are now nearing the end of another century, the following unpublished letter of General Schuyler to his eldest daughter, Mrs. John B. Church, of New York, is of interest.

“ ALBANY, February 11th, 1799.

“ MY BELOVED ANGELICA :

“ Since my letter to you, on the controversy relative to the termination of the present century, it has occurred to me, that an investigation of the subject from mere abstract deductions, would not be comprehended with so much facility, as when elucidated by a diagram, in which the sense of sight, might be brought to aid the mental reasoning. I have projected the enclosed, which, with such observations thereon, and such conclusions as I shall adduce therefrom, I have the presumption to believe will determine the question, and bring the contending parties to coincide in opinion.

“ Whether Christ was born at the beginning of the first moment of the first day of a month, now by us called January, or at the beginning of the first moment of the first day, or any other day of any other month, is perfectly immaterial in the solution of the question under consideration—it is agreed on all hands that the Christian Aera commenced with the birth of him.

“ I shall therefore premise the following postulata :

“ 1st. That the birth of Christ was in the beginning of the first moment of the first day of the month of January.

“ 2d. That the Christian Aera is made up of a continued series of time called years.

“ 3d. That a year commences with the first particle of time of the first day of January and terminates with the end of the last particle of time of the last day of the then following December, and that a year consists of 12 calendar months as they are named in our Companion Almanach.

“ 4th. That one hundred such years constitute a century.

“ 5th. That between the last particle of time of the last day of any December, and the beginning of the first particle of time of the first day of the then succeeding January, no time intervenes, but that both are in contact, the one beginning where the other ends and that this holds with respect to a continued series of space as well as time.

“ The truth of these five postulata, I suppose will not be contested, and having premised this, I proceed to observe :

“ That with respect to Christ (if we may, on this occasion, be permitted to consider him as one of the human race), time as to him, was not before, but commenced with his birth ; that at the moment of his birth was therefore the first moment of the Christian Aera, from whence the computation of Years and Centuries is to commence, and that hence it follows the Christian Aera is a series of years, in arithmetical progression, the first term whereof (as beginning with the beginning of the first particle of time—to wit, with the birth of Christ) is a cypher or O ;¹ and

¹ Ferguson in his astronomy page 274, in a table of “ remarkable events and aeras,” begins the Christian Aera with a cypher or O.

each interval of the series, or common difference, is one year, and if carried on to any number of terms as to the end of the last moment of the year 99 (which by postulate the 5th) is the beginning of the first moment of the year 100, the number of intervals or years intervened will be 100, or a century completed, and ergo if the series had been continued to the end of the last moment of 1799 (which by postulate the 5th) is the beginning of the first moment of the year 1800, compleat 1800 years will have intervened, or 18 compleat centuries ended, and that every particle of time subsequent to the end of the last moment of 1799 marks the beginning of the 1st January of 1800—must necessarily be in a century next following the 18th, consequently in the 19th Century.

“Let us now attempt to elucidate what has been said by the diagram :

“The two parallel lines marked A. B. and C. D. may be considered as the Christian Aera extended to the end of time in an indefinite series of years or intervals of years.

“The vertical lines connecting the two parallel lines as dividing the aera into intervals of years.

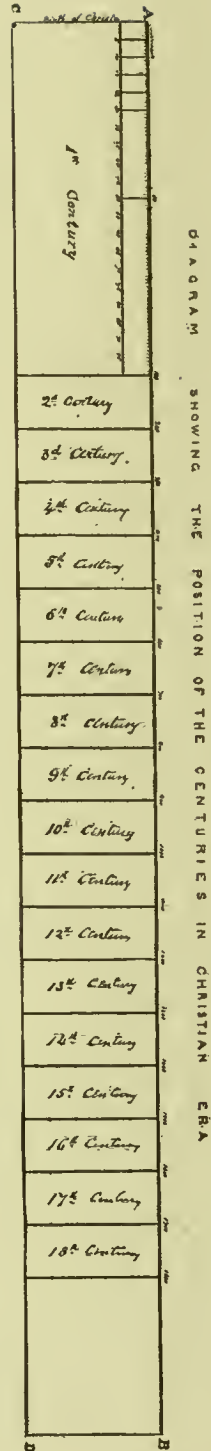
“The dotted vertical line at the left extreme of the two parallel lines as the beginning of time, or the birth of Christ, or the beginning of the Christian Aera.

“The vertical line over which the number 1 stands as the end of the first year when Christ was 1 year old, or as the last particle of time of the last day of the say first month of December which had opened the Christian Aera and (by the 5th postulate) the first particle of time of the second month of January which had accrued in the Christian Aera.

“And proceeding thus to the line marked 100 which was the last moment of the year 99, when he had compleated 100 years of his life, and was 100 years old.

“In the enclosed space or interval between the first dotted vertical line, indicating the moment of the birth of Christ and the next vertical line 1 indicating the completion of 1 year of his age, or one year of the Christian Aera, I have placed a shorter vertical line signifying (not the age of Christ) but that he was then half a year old or in the first year of the Christian Aera, and thus numbering every whole interval of a year progressively adding the common difference of 1 year to the preceding we shall find that the short line marked 99½ years old to stand in the interval between the vertical lines marked 99 and 100, so that the line of that interval, to wit, or the last moment of his age, he was become 100 years old, was passed, (by postulate 5th) is the last particle of the year 100, ergo if the vertical lines had been continued to 1800, the aggregate of the intervals between his birth and 1800 would have been 1800, and in every part of this interval he would have been progressing to his 1800th year, and would be 1800 years old when the last part of the last particle of the last day of December 1799 was passed, which (by postulate 5th) is the first particle of the year 1800, and compleats 1800 years or 18 centuries.

“But if the first century is not compleated until the end of the interval between the vertical lines marked 100 and 101, then 101 intervals have intervened; but 101 is 1 year more than a century, and thus the first century would contain 101 years contrary to postulate 4th. Ergo, if the 18th century as is contended, will not be compleated until the end of the interval, between the two vertical lines, which would be



marked (if the series in the diagram had been continued) 1800 and 1801, then 1801 intervals would intervene; but 1801 is a year more than 18 centuries, consequently such interval would be in the first year of the 19th century.

"But men of sound sense, and of such candour as to be incapable of the subterfuge which cavilling about words affords, have held, and some do still hold, that the present century does not terminate until the last moment of the last day of December of the next year that is of the year 1800 is past, and that the 19th century does not commence until the 1st moment of the year 1801.

"They have probably reasoned thus:

"From the year 1 of the Christian Era to the end of the year 1800, or beginning of 1801, only 1800 years or 18 centuries have intervened, and therefore the 19th century does not commence until the first day of January 1801. So far they are right. But here they evidently commence their computation, not from the birth of Christ—as beginning of time—but from a period when he was already 1 year old. Thus in computation of time we say from the first day of January to the last day of December inclusive is one year, or 365 days, but the fact is that there are in that period only 364 days.

"But if we say from the first of January to the last day of December both inclusive is one year, or 365 days, then we are correct. Or in other words, from the beginning of the first particle of time of the first day of January, to the end of the last particle of time of the last day of December is one year or 365 days.

ANOTHER ELUCIDATION

"Suppose a surveyor was directed to begin at the North-west corner of the city hall at New York and to measure on a due north course 1800 miles, and at the end of 80 chains or a mile to set up a stone to indicate how far that stone was from the North-west corner of the city hall, what mark would he place upon it. Surely he would mark it with the number 1. If he proceeded 80 chains or 1 mile farther and set up another stone, this he would mark with the number 2, and proceeding thus to set up a stone at the end of every 80 chains or 1 mile, when he had run 1800 times 80 chains, he would set up a stone and mark it 1800; and turning his face to the South he would say I am now 1800 miles from the north-west corner of the city hall of New York.

"But if he had put the stone numbered 1 at the North-west corner of the city hall, then the stone to be placed at 80 chains or 1 mile from the said corner would have been marked 2, and the stone marked 1800 only 1799 miles from New York. But placing the stone marked 1 at the North-west corner of the city hall, and a stone marked 2 at the distance of a mile from the said corner would surely mislead the traveler in determining how far he was from New York; for seeing 2 marked on the stone he would conclude that he had still two miles to traverse to be at the New York City Hall.

"And thus persons have been in error on the subject in question. They have placed 1 at the birth of Christ, instead of placing it at the end of a year from his birth, and thus rejected one entire year out of the series of years composing the Christian Era.

"Adieu my beloved child

"Yours most tenderly

"To

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"MRS. CHURCH.

"New York."

"In 1796," concludes Chancellor Kent, "he urged in his place in the Senate, and afterward published in a pamphlet form, his plan for the improvement of the revenue of this state; and in 1797 his plan was almost literally adopted,

and to that we owe the institution of the office of comptroller. In 1797 he was unanimously elected by the two houses of our Legislature, a Senator in Congress; and he took leave of the Senate of this state in a liberal and affecting address, which was inserted at large upon their journals. General Schuyler at that time labored under pressure of ill health, and he was not able long to continue his seat in Congress.

“But the life of this great man was drawing to a close. I formed and cultivated a personal acquaintance with General Schuyler while a member of the Legislature in 1792, and again in 1796; and from 1799 to his death in the autumn of 1804, I was in habits of constant and friendly intimacy with him, and was honored with the kindest and most grateful attentions. He lived for the last few years of his life in dignified retirement, commanding universal veneration and attachment, arising from the known memorials of his illustrious services; his stern integrity; his social virtues; his polished manners; his extensive knowledge; his generous hospitality. His faculties seemed to retain their unimpaired vigor and untiring activity, though he had evidently lost some of his constitutional ardor of temperament and vehemence of feeling. When Washington died he clothed himself in mourning. His bodily health was not only broken by disease, but he was severely visited with domestic afflictions. In 1801 he lost his daughter, Mrs. Van Rensselaer; in 1803, the wife of his youth; in July, 1804, he was deprived, under circumstances the most distressing, of his beloved and distinguished son-in-law, General Hamilton. Yet nothing could surpass the excited interest by the mild radiance of the evening of his days.

“This great man died on the 18th of November, 1804, at the age of seventy-one, leaving in the history and institutions of his country, durable monuments of his fame.”

JAMES KENT.

REMINISCENCES OF MY FATHER

“There is no truth in the Indian tradition of a blood relationship with my father's family. It is true that the Oneidas claimed him as brother; and it originated in this remarkable way, as I was informed in 1849, by a gentleman living in Washington, an old friend of my father. It seems that a land shark had induced the young and least respectable of the tribe to sell a portion of their land for a small sum of money and a plentiful supply of rum. When the chiefs discovered this fact, they made a journey to Albany to consult with General Schuyler who was then, in 1751, very young. As he was the nephew of their old friend and Indian agent, Quidor (Peter) Schuyler, he was well known to them and had influence to set aside the sale. In gratitude the Indians exchanged names with him. While residing in Utica I saw John Schuyler of Oneida, and two others at different times when they came to celebrate the Lord's Supper in the Episcopal Church, but never had an opportunity of conversing with them. In 1848, while living at Oswego, a full-blooded Oneida



OLD SCHUYLER SILVER, 1650.
(Snuffers' Stand.)

Indian named Schuyler—a tall, finely formed man—called upon me. He was a descendent of a famous chief who had formerly had business with my father.

“ The Redemptioners, and many of his tenants also appropriated the name ; and their descendents of the name of Schuyler and not of the lineage, are numerous.

“ In 1760, my father went to England to settle his accounts as a Commissary to the British army. No sooner had they embarked than he began the study of navigation and management of the ship. Ten days after leaving New York the captain died, and Ralph Izard, his cousin from South Carolina, who was also a passenger, with the consent of the crew, elected him to be master. In a severe gale they sighted a dismantled slaver with two hundred negroes in irons ; the officers and crew were transferred to their ship, and the hatches opened that the poor black men might have a slight chance of saving their lives. They next hailed a craft bound to the West Indies with a cargo of horses, and gave the captain of it, the bearings of the slaver, that they might if they ran across it, feed the wretched men on horse flesh. Finally they were attacked by a French armed merchantman, and although they made a stout resistance were captured, and then recaptured by an English ship that came to their assistance. After this series of remarkable adventures, Captain Schuyler brought the vessel safely to the port of London. This account of the voyage was related to me by my father himself. A committee of Parliament passed a handsome encomium on the accuracy and neatness of his commissary accounts. These books were afterward stored in six large trunks in the attic, where as a girl I delighted to examine them.

“ He was served by slaves, as all men were at that period. Being a very observing man, he was struck by the peculiar deportment of one in particular—a field hand—and upon inquiry found that this man always took his meals alone, and never before he had washed his face and hands, and that all his habits were those of a person of some refinement. My father questioned him upon the subject and became perfectly satisfied that he was of high birth, undoubtedly a prince in his own country. He took him at once into the house, gave him an office near himself and the name of ‘ Prince ’ who soon betrayed remarkable intelligence. Separate apartments were allowed him, and the family and their friends treated him almost as an equal ; every New Year Day he called upon everybody and was received with great cordiality. Many years before the War of Independence broke out, my mother said to him, ‘ Prince I wish that you would place a tooth pick under my plate each day.’ This he never omitted doing for forty years. My father related this circumstance to his friend, Mr. Jay. Afterward, while the latter gentleman was in Europe, he had some political information to impart to General Schuyler, and directed the letter to the master of the man who for forty years had never failed to put a tooth pick under his mistress’s plate. There could be but one such person, and the package reached its destination in safety. He always took his station behind his master’s chair, and as he became advanced in years, my father showed great

consideration for his health and strength. One day at dinner, noticing that his faithful attendant looked very feeble, he said to him, 'Prince you need not serve me to-day.' Not long after one of the children came into the room and said, 'Father, poor Prince is crying; he says that now he is grown old that you will not allow him to wait upon you any longer.' The General filled his glass with wine and told the child to take it to Prince and ask him to drink his health, and get strong for to-morrow's attendance. From that time until his health wholly failed, he took his usual station. Prince was as remarkable for his punctuality as was his master, and was never known to fail in any habitual duty. On one occasion he was earnestly solicited to act as bearer at a funeral. He replied that he could not possibly consent unless they were punctual at a certain hour; this they readily promised to be. Although he had warned them that when the time came he must leave, they paid little attention to his words, and were dilatory in their arrangements, and before they reached the grave the clock struck. He stopped at once saying that he had no more time to give to them and walked away, leaving them to supply his place as best they could.

"My father was in the habit of rising very early; he thought seven hours of sleep was sufficient for a man in good health. Before any other member of the family had arisen, he attended to his private devotions; and then covered sheet after sheet of foolscap with figures, preparing as I have since concluded for a system of rectangular surveying. When on his deathbed he drew with my assistance, the last diagram, and placing it in my hands observed, 'It is a fortune for my child.' After his decease this manuscript was entrusted to my brother-in-law, Washington Morton to convey to Philadelphia, that a famous scientist might examine it. Unfortunately it was lost by the way.

"When his health would admit, he would read Jenk's prayers to his family, and as many of the servants as could be present; and after breakfast attended to his extensive correspondence. Long and frequent letters passed between him and his son-in-law, General Hamilton, while the latter was Secretary of the Treasury, and most interesting and important documents they were. My father also wrote constantly to his esteemed friend Dr. Rittenhouse, the great mathematician of Philadelphia. At eleven o'clock he usually rode to Lewis's Tavern, a sort of coffee house, where the gentlemen of the city assembled to drink a glass of punch (although he never took any himself) and to discuss the events of the day. All strangers of distinction resorted to this inn, and the table was always so well supplied, that whenever he pleased he could exercise hospitality there, without inconveniencing his own household. He desired that his children should be so neatly dressed as never to be disturbed by unexpected guests. His chief pleasure in later years was in the society of Chancellor Kent, then judge; Abraham Van Vechten; and John V. Henry, all honored names. They passed many hours of each day together in social converse, always on important subjects such as internal improvements, wholesome laws, etc., etc. He abhorred scandal; checked everything like it; and was the most forgiving of men. He said that no one truly forgave a wrong who liked to recall it; charged his children

never to speak of acts of kindness to others, nor of injuries received, though I do not mean to imply that he thought that no occasion justified a show of resentment. Frequently in the evening when not too ill, he would play a few games of piquet with mama or with me; but in the years 1797-8, he was afflicted with gout almost incessantly and particularly at night. After the death of my dear mama in 1803, I was his constant companion. The last year of his life I was in the habit of retiring at nine in the evening, and at eleven would rise and give him from eighty to one hundred drops of laudanum, sometimes even more than that. Then with a bed chair to support me I would take him in my arms and read to him for two or three hours. The effects of the drug together with the sound of my voice would lull him into a restive sleep. At seven in the morning he was carried to the dining-room and placed in an easy chair; and after breakfast I would take a seat next at his side, resting my left arm on the arm of his chair, he holding my right hand in his. A table with writing materials, books, and newspapers was placed before us, and the day was passed in reading and looking over letters and accounts. The incessant pain of the anodynes, which his disease obliged him to take constantly, at one time reduced his strength to such an extent that he became so blind that he could not distinguish faces. We were in despair of his recovery when Dr. Stringer, our dear family physician, invented a means of giving him oxygen air to inhale each morning. Mama said: 'How does it feel, papa?' 'Like a glass of porter in my stomach.' His appetite returned, his strength increased, and his sight was restored. Then he began the study of German in order to read some books on surveying that had not been translated into English, and continued to work at his 'system' to the close of his life. He met death without fear; it was a great relief from dreadful suffering. Some weeks before the end came, he told me that he intended to leave Aunt Cochran, his sister, something; I afterward reminded him of it—he thanked me warmly—and it was the last time that he used his pen."

CATHARINE V. R. COCHRAN, 1850.

CHAPTER XVIII

CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER

Her Marriages

HER first husband was Samuel Bayard Malcolm, son of General Malcolm, "an eminent citizen of New York, and a distinguished soldier of the Revolution." Samuel graduated from Columbia College in 1796, and was soon after—although but twenty years old—appointed secretary to Vice President Adams. While in Philadelphia he saw much of President and Mrs. Washington, and enjoyed the social life of the Republican Court as evidenced by the following unpublished letter written at that time :

"PHILADELPHIA, February 21st, 1797.

"DEAR MOTHER :

"I hope long before this reaches you, you will have received my letter of some days past—I believe I neglected to inform you of my present situation of affairs, which are as flattering and agreeable as I could possibly desire—without a wish to wander about. I sit under the banner of Mr. Adams who 'breathes the fresh instruction o'er my mind,' and his counsels are so mixed with delicacy, and his advice tempered with pleasing reflections,—am I then not to be envied? Happy indeed would I be, completely blessed; but then when the stealing hours of reflection arrive, late and alone, I contemplate in pleasing melancholy the days that are never to return, the kind impartings of a friend, the social intercourse of family delight, beam fresh upon my reflections. But thoughts like these I know would give you pain—therefore I forbear. I yesterday visited with Adams, the President and Lady and was particularly recommended to Miss Custis, their niece. To describe the particulars of what I saw and heard is impossible for me, particularly as it respects Mrs. Washington. However, it far exceeds everything that I have ever seen. I intend this evening to go to the President's ball with my old friend. Nothing of consequence to impart, but pray write me very soon, and address your letters to the care of the Vice President, and write me the news both public and private.

"With esteem and affection,

"Your son,

"S. B. MALCOM.

"TO MRS. SARAH MALCOM.

"New York."

UNPUBLISHED LETTER

"QUINCY, September 17th, 1797.

"DEAR MALCOLM :

"I thank you for your favor of the 12th. Will you be so good as to write to Col. Pickering, the Secretary of State at Trenton, the substance of what you have written me, concerning Mr. George Sanderson of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, and other candidates for the Consulship at Aux Cayes, that he may be able to lay before me in one view all the applications ?

“Your electioneering campaign will be an easy one unless you have adopted the French proverb: ‘*Dans le Royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont les Roys.*’ I don’t know whether I have the original exact so I will translate it: ‘In the Kingdom of the blind, the pur-blind are Kings.’

“I thank you for your pamphlet. I had read it before. Is there not a phrase: *Digitè compresse labellum?* Your observation on this miserable business does honor to your head and heart. Can talent atone for turpitude? Can wisdom reside with culpability?

“Mr. Locke says the world has all sorts of men. All degrees of human wisdom are mixed with all degrees of human folly. To me, and I believe to you, this would be a region of torment if such a recollection existed in our memories. This must be *entre nous*. What are speculations about the place of convening Congress?

“With kind regards,

“I am, Dear Sir, yours,

“JOHN ADAMS.

“TO SAMUEL B. MALCOLM, ESQ.

“New York.”

GENERAL WILLIAM MALCOLM

“William Malcolm, third son of Richard Malcolm, Baronet, of Balbeadie, county Fife, Scotland, was born January 23d, 1745. He came to New York in 1763, as agent of a Glasgow firm of which he was a partner, bringing with him a number of family portraits and much valuable plate. His place of business was in Queen street, now Pearl. The same year he joined the Society of St. Andrew, and was its secretary from 1765 to 1766; treasurer and secretary in 1772-4; one of the managers in 1784; vice president in 1785-6-7.

“His name appears in the beginning of 1776 as first major of the Second Battalion of New York Independent Companies. At this time, these companies were reorganized and arranged in two battalions; the first, commanded by Colonel Lasher, included the ‘Prussian Blues,’ ‘Otsego Rangers,’ ‘Rangers,’ ‘Grenadiers,’ ‘Sportsmen,’ ‘Light Infantry,’ and the ‘German Fusileers.’ The second battalion was commanded by Colonel William Hyer, Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Baneder, First Major William Malcolm, and Assistant Major George Tastes. The companies enrolled were the ‘Grenadiers,’ ‘The Free Citizens,’ ‘The Brown Buffs,’ and the ‘Light Infantry.’ There was also a troop of Light Horse with John Leary, Jr., as captain, and a company of Husars. In these companies were representatives of the leading families of the city; Livingston, Jay, Beekman, Keteltas, Roosevelt, Duychinck, Van Zandt, Berryan, Bogert, Van Dyck, Van Wyck, Ogden, Rutgers, and Gouverneur. The uniforms of all were white small-clothes, half gaiters, and black garters. The Sportsmen and Rangers wore short green coats with crimson or buff facing. In March, Major Malcolm was ordered by the Provincial Congress to dismantle the lighthouse at Sandy Hook; to take the glass out of the lanterns, save it if possible, if not break it; pump out the oil into casks, or pour it on the ground. In June, 1776, he appears as colonel, commanding the Second Regiment, New York Levies; composed of the ‘Prussian Blues,’ ‘Hearts of Oak,’ ‘Caledonian Rangers,’ and the ‘Light Infantry.’

“As the military services of the states took more definite shape, Congress authorized the raising of sixteen additional regiments to be recruited independently of state levies. In their report of the merits of officers, the committee of the Provincial Congress said that ‘Colonel Malcolm was an exceedingly good officer.’ He was given command of one of those additional ‘Continental.’ It was known as ‘Malcolm’s Regiment.’

“In October, 1776, he took part in the battle of White Plains. June, 1777, Colonel Malcolm was stationed with his troops at Sufferns on the Ramapo Road, remaining there through the summer. In August of the same year he was dispatched to Albany by Governor Clinton to prepare for the movement against the forts on the Hudson. He returned to his command in September. Later in the month, Malcolm joined with the forces of General Putnam at Fishkill, and



WILLIAM MALCOLM.

in November, joined the main army at Whitemarsh, N. J., and passed the winter at Valley Forge.

“Colonel Malcolm was engaged by Congress in a variety of affairs; in 1776, he was appointed Adjutant-General of the Northern army under General Gates. In the new arrangement of the army he was assigned to the command of Fort Arnold, as the first fortification at West Point was called. In June, 1779, Colonel Malcolm was given the command of all the New York militia on the west side of the Hudson. He remained in command at West Point until August, 1780, when relieved by Arnold, and he with his troops ordered to join the main army at Tappan. In September of the same year, General Washington sent Colonel Malcolm to the defence of the frontiers; and in December, 1780, he retired from the line. Colonel Malcolm was held in high esteem by Washington, and Clinton, and Schnyler. He had great administrative powers and enjoyed the respect of his fellow, as well as the confidence of his superior officers.

“In 1774 he was chosen a member of the New York Assembly. In 1784 and again in 1787 he was elected to the New York Provincial Congress. He supported Colonel Alexander Hamilton in his motion to restore the elective franchise to the Tories; and he favored the Constitutional Convention.

“He married Abigail Tingley, in 1766; February 5th, 1772, two years after her death, he married Sarah Ayscough, daughter of Richard Ayscough, of New York, and his wife Catharine Bayard. Colonel Malcolm was deputy grandmaster of Masons of New York State; a member of St. John’s Lodge and the Marine Society. He was Brigadier-General commanding the militia of New York, Richmond, and Queen’s counties at the time of his death, which occurred on September 1st, 1791. His remains were interred in the burying-place of the Brick Presbyterian Church ‘with those marks of attention which his situation in society and his private worth merited.’”

By his great-great-grandson,
RICHARD MORTIMER MONTGOMERY.

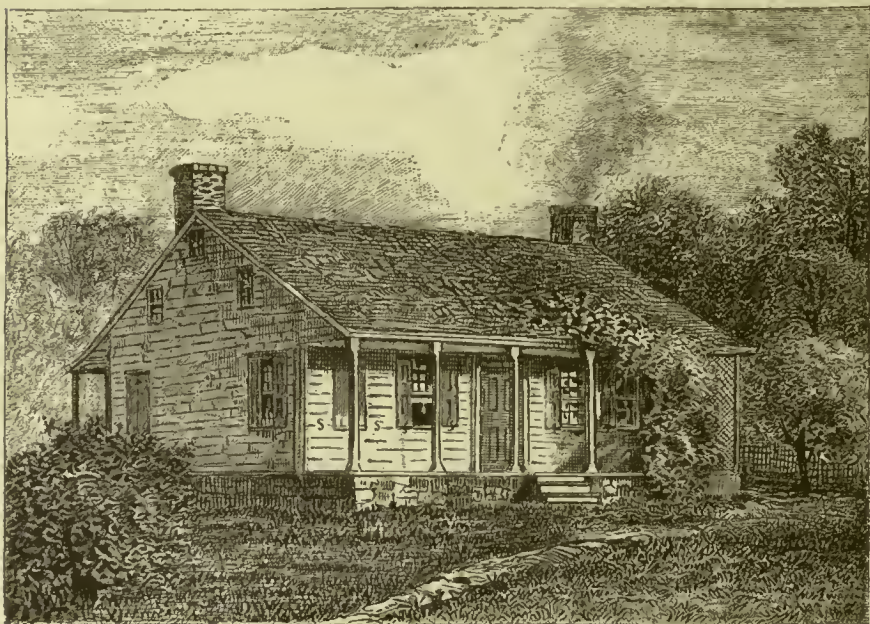
WASHINGTON’S HEADQUARTERS AT WHITE PLAINS

“White Plains, situated in the very heart of the neutral ground so graphically described by Cooper in ‘The Spy,’ was affected seriously by the arrival of the British army. Washington’s headquarters were established in a house at the foot of a lofty hill, which was surrounded by dense woods. It was the home of Elijah Miller, adjutant of Colonel Drake’s Westchester regiment of minute men, a frame building covered with clapboards, with the roof on the southeast front projecting so as to form a pretty portico, the same pattern architecturally, as many of the country cottages of that period. It is still standing, well preserved, and an object of much historic interest to visitors.”

We find in the History of Westchester county, by Bolton, reference made to Colonel Malcolm as one of the principal actors in the battle of White Plains. General Washington was in command at the time.

“General Heath’s Memoirs contain the following additional particulars respecting the engagement of Chatterton’s Hill, near White Plains.

“Twenty-seventh of October, 1776, ‘In the forenoon, a heavy cannonade was heard toward Fort Washington. Thirteen Hessians and two or three British soldiers were sent in on this day. From the American camp to the west-south-west, there appeared to be a very commanding height worthy of attention. The Commander-in-Chief ordered the general officers who were off duty, to attend him to reconnoitre this ground, on this morning. When arrived at the ground, although very commanding, it did not appear so much so, as other grounds to



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.
(White Plains, N. Y.)

the north, and almost parallel to the left of the army, as it was then formed. “Yonder,” says Major Lee, pointing to the grounds just mentioned, “is the ground we ought to occupy.” “Let us then go and view it,” replied the Commander-in-Chief. When on the way, a light-horseman came up on full gallop, his horse almost out of breath, and addressed General Washington—“The British are in the camp, sir.” The General observed, “Gentlemen, we have now other business than reconnoitring,” putting his horse in full gallop for the camp, and followed by the other officers. When arrived at headquarters, the Adjutant-General (Read), who had remained at camp, informed the Commander-in-Chief, that the guards had been all beat in, and the whole American

army were now at their respective posts, in order of battle. The Commander-in-Chief turned round to the officers, and only said, "Gentlemen, you will repair to your respective posts, and do the best you can." Our General (Heath), on arriving at his own division, found them all in the lines; and, from the height of his post, found that the first attack was directed against the Americans on Chatterton's Hill. The little river Bronx, which ran between the American right and this hill, after running round its north side, turned and ran down on the east and southeast. The British advanced in two columns. At this instant, the cannonade was brisk on both sides; directed by the British across the hollow and Bronx, against the Americans on the hill, and by them returned. Almost at the same instant, the right column, composed of British troops, preceded by about twenty light-horse in full gallop, and brandishing their swords, appeared on the road leading to the courthouse, and now directly in front of our General's division. The light-horse leaped the fence of a wheat field, at the foot of the hill, on which Colonel Malcolm's regiment was posted, of which the light-horse were not aware until a shot from Lieutenant Fenno's fieldpiece gave them notice by striking in the midst of them, and a horseman pitching from his horse. They then wheeled short about, galloped out of the field as fast as they came in, rode behind a little hill on the road, and faced about; the tops of their caps only being visible to our General where he stood. The column came no further up the road, but wheeled to the left by platoons, as they came up; and, passing through a bar, or gateway, directed their head toward the troops on Chatterton's Hill, now engaged. When the head of the column had got nearly across the lot, their front got out of sight; nor could the extent of their rear be now discovered. The sun shone bright, their arms glittered, and perhaps troops never were shown to more advantage, than these now appeared. The whole now halted; and for a few minutes, the men all sat down in the same order in which they stood, no one appearing to move out of his place. The cannonade continued brisk across the Bronx. A part of the left column, composed of British and Hessians, forded the river, and marched along under the cover of the hill, until they had gained sufficient ground to the left of the Americans; when, by facing to the left, their column became a line, parallel with the Americans. When they briskly ascended the hill, the first column resumed a quick march. As the troops, which were advancing to the attack, ascended the hill, the cannonade on the side of the British ceased; as their own men became exposed to their fire, it continued. The fire of small arms was now very heavy, and without any distinction of sounds. This led some American officers, who were looking on, to observe that the British were worsted, as their cannon had ceased firing; but a few minutes evinced that the Americans were giving way. They moved off the hill in a great body, neither running, nor observing the best order. The British ascended the hill very slowly, and when arrived at its summit, formed and dressed their line, without the least attempt to pursue the Americans. The loss on the side of the Americans was inconsiderable. That of the British was not then known. The British army having got possession of the hill, it gave them a vast advantage of the American lines, almost down to the centre.' "

J. W. Tompkins in his address, delivered at White Plains, October 28th, 1845, stated: "The British forces engaged in that attack were the flower of the army. * * * That General Washington did make a successful stand at this place, has ever excited the wonder of military men. His troops were greatly inferior in numbers and discipline, and composed in part of militia and raw recruits. After the battle, the enemy, for several days attempted to gain Washington's rear, tried to alarm him and induce him to retreat or fight by threatening his flanks. At several times they formed a semicircle about him. On the night of the 31st of October, Washington evacuated his camp at White Plains, and established his new position in the hills of Northcastle, about one mile in the rear of his former encampment, when the British appear to have relinquished all further offensive operations."

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER

"ALBANY, Octo^r 14th, 1780.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have consulted with General Schuyler on the propriety of the Indians going out. He thinks it right. Colonel Harper undertakes to go with them & I think in the first Instance the Route by Lake Otsego & frontiers of Schoharie is their proper place. I shall see you tomorrow. I send on two Field pieces, & halt at Schenectady for orders—that will contribute to quiet the minds of our citizens. It is proper that a party go out to Ballstown to keep the peace there & to watch the expected party under Mr. John. Genl. Ten Broeck wrote to Col. Wemp to detach a party for this service—the remainder of the Regiment may remain until further orders. You will soon have force enough in Schenectady to assist Col. Harper in getting off with the Indians.

"Yours sincerely,

"WM. MALCOLM.

"To

"H. GLEN, ESQ."



MALCOLM ARMS.

"THE WILLOWS"

("The Willows, the fine old mansion of General Malcolm is still standing near the bank of the Hudson river in Sing Sing, N. Y. Alas! two or three enormous willow trees alone show what it was. The house has been renovated—you know what that means—and adjoining it, an unsightly brick factory has been erected, and I do not believe that you would care for a view of the homestead. The old Van Wyck place is just above it on the hill." C. T. R. MATHEWS.)

Samuel Bayard Malcolm was of a literary turn of mind and had written several books—one of which President Adams refers to as a pamphlet. From Samuel Bayard, of New York (an uncle on his mother's side) he inherited a handsome fortune. He died early in life at Utica, N. Y., where he resided with his family in a delightful old house, with extensive grounds, still standing on upper Genesee street. He was educated for the law; but his chief occupation was in looking after the property of his wife in Cosby's Manor and other sections of the state. Several years after his death, his widow, Catharine V. R. Schuyler, married her cousin James Cochran—a graduate of Columbia college, member of the bar, representative in Congress from Montgomery county in the years 1797-9, and eldest son of Dr. John Cochran of the American army during the Revolutionary war.¹

¹ Miss Cornelia Rutsen Van Rensselaer, formerly of Utica, N. Y., now residing at "Inwood," New Brunswick, N. J., is the last of her generation of the Van Rensselaers to remember Mrs. Cochran.

Miss Van Rensselaer is a granddaughter of Brigadier-General Robert Van Rensselaer, of Claverack and Greenbush, and a great-niece of his only sister Catharine, the wife of General Philip Schuyler. Her father, James Van Rensselaer, Esq., was for many years a resident of Utica, where his house was the meeting place for a large family connection. Mrs. Cochran was a frequent and honored guest in her cousin's hospitable home. She bore her mother's name of Catharine Van Rensselaer, while her sister, Cornelia, Mrs. Washington Morton, was named after her aunt, Cornelia Rutsen, the wife of General Robert Van Rensselaer, to whose namesake and only living grandchild we are indebted for these personal reminiscences.

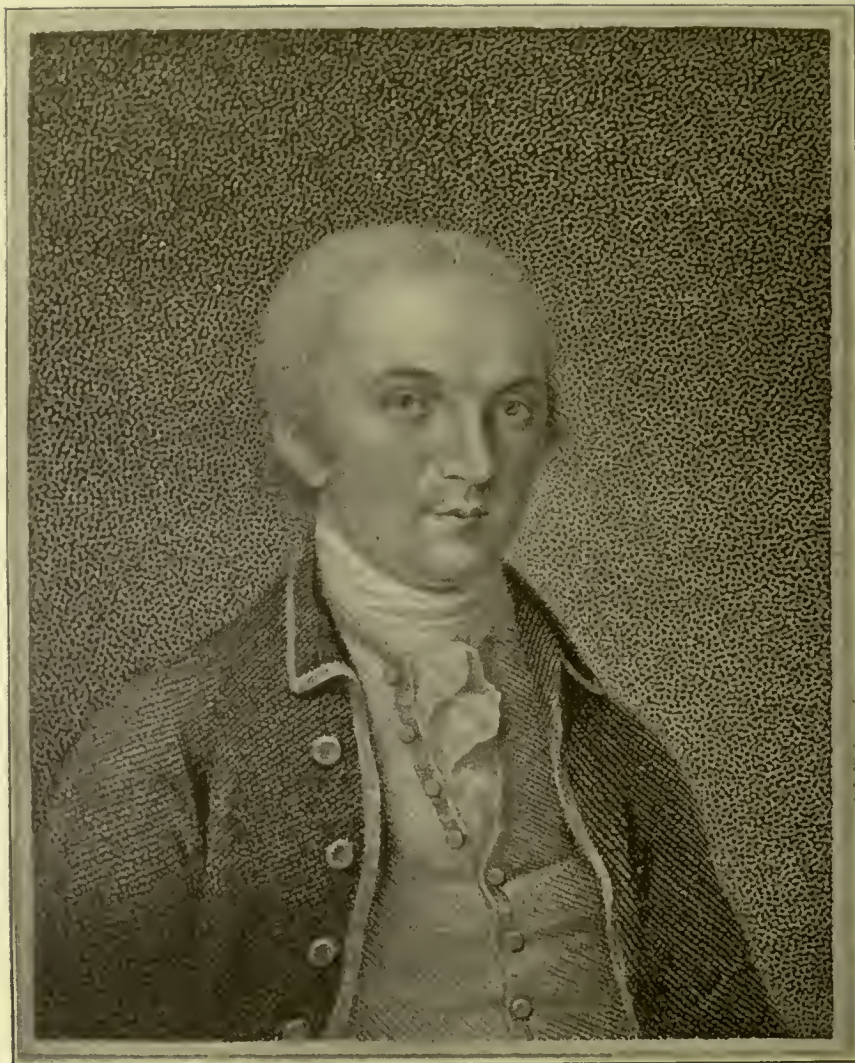
Miss Van Rensselaer says, "I remember Cousin Catharine well. I was very fond of her. She was one of the most intellectual, attractive, charming women I ever knew. Young people were fascinated by her. I remember her well between the years 1822 and 1840. As a child, I loved to go to church with her. A person of that age must be very attractive for a young girl to remember her so well. I only knew her after her second marriage which took place in 1822. My mother often pointed out to me the house on the New Hartford road, now Genesee street, where Cousin Catharine lived during the years of her marriage to Samuel Bayard Malcolm and for some years after his death. Her only daughter, Catharine, named after Mrs. Schuyler, was born and died in this home.

"Cousin Catharine came often to my father's house with her second husband, Major Cochran, who was also a relative of ours and her first cousin, through his mother, a sister of General Schuyler. Our house was always their stopping place in the frequent trips from Oswego. Her brother, Rensselaer Schuyler, often came with them. He was a strikingly handsome man, with most courtly manners. So great was the reverence felt for the 'blood' in those

days, that I well recollect an old physician of Utica, Dr. Coventry, who had dined with us, insisting upon carrying the overcoat of Rensselaer Schuyler, when they left the house together, saying it was an honor to do anything for the son of 'our great general.'

"Mrs. Cochrane had no such claim to personal beauty as her brother, but she had equal distinction of look and manners. She was a high-bred gentle woman, and a simple, earnest, devoted Christian. None but the wilfully blind could mistake her for other than the aristocrat she was.

"In this connection, I remember a household tradition—Cousin Catharine dressed with the utmost simplicity, very misleading to the eye which then, as now, looks on feathers and furberies as the only insignia of gentleness. Going quietly into church one day, where she was not known, she took her seat in a vacant pew assigned to her. The so-called owners of the pew, coming late, looked askance upon the modest intruder. The discourteous crowding was a matter of physical discomfort, but the ill-bred comments, barely suppressed, were powerless to ruffle Mrs. Cochrane's serene dignity. Imagine the discomfiture of the haughty Pharisees, when, after service, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, who had been detained, came up to join her sister and make her known to her acquaintances."—S. DE L. VAN RENSSELAER STRONG.



John Lockman

JOHN COCHRAN

Director General of Military Hospitals

"A century has elapsed since the American Revolution, and in the interim much has been written and published concerning it. But there is still something to be supplied. Comparatively little has ever been accessible to the public concerning the medical department of the army of patriots. The historian seems only to have considered this feature of the war in a general way, while dealing with other subjects in detail. Reasons for this possibly exist; the records may have been destroyed by the British in 1814. Whatever the cause, certain it is, that there is a lamentable absence of information about an arm of the public service of no secondary importance. Fortunately, the letter-book of its official head, Dr. John Cochran, has been preserved, and in the belief that a few extracts from its centennial pages will be of interest to the reader, and serve to throw fresh light upon obscure passages in our history, this paper has been prepared.

"In the year 1570, John Cochran, of kin to the Earl of Dundonald, emigrated from Paisley, in Scotland, to the north of Ireland. James, his descendant in the sixth generation, crossed the sea to America, and in the early part of the eighteenth century settled in Pennsylvania. His third son, born at Sadsbury, Pennsylvania, September 1st, 1730, was Dr. John Cochran of the Revolution, who was educated for a surgeon by Dr. Thompson, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Having received his diploma, he, on the outbreak of the French and Indian war, entered the English service as surgeon's mate in the hospital department, and remained with the Northern army to the close of hostilities. When General Bradstreet marched against Fort Frontenac in the summer of 1758 he joined him, together with Major (afterward General) Philip Schuyler. In the campaigns of this year he acquired the medical proficiency and the surgical expertness for which he was afterward celebrated. On the 4th of December, 1760, he was united in marriage at Albany, N. Y., to Gertrude Schuyler, the widow of Peter Schuyler, and the only sister of General Philip Schuyler. He afterward removed to Brunswick, N. J., where he practiced his profession, and was one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society in 1766, succeeding Dr. Burnet as its President in 1769. His residence at Brunswick terminated when the British burned his house in the first years of the war. At the close of the winter of 1776 he volunteered his services in the hospital department of the Army of the Revolution, and Washington, in a letter written in the beginning of 1777, in which he spoke of his experiences and services in the French war, recommended his name to the favor of the national legislators. Congress having, April 7th, 1777, resumed the consideration of a report on the hospitals, plans modeled after those of the British army were submitted by Dr. Cochran and Dr. William Shippen, which being duly approved by General Washington, were on that day adopted, and prevailed till remodeled by Con-

gress September 30th, 1780. On the 11th of April, 1777, in pursuance of His Excellency's recommendation, Dr. Cochran received the appointment of Chief Physician and Surgeon-General of the army. After nearly four years of service in this position, he was, on the resignation of Dr. Shippen, promoted by the appointment of Congress (17th of January, 1781) to that of Director of the Military Hospitals of the United States, in which capacity he continued to the end of the war. The documents handed down to us—his entries, memorandums and letters—partake of the authority of an official record. They also disclose the many and distressing difficulties of the situation. During this exciting period the country passed through the severest of trials. There have been other wars of greater magnitude and of longer duration, but none, I think, so heroic as this. The war of 1861 was to preserve the government—the government established by the Army of the Revolution in the birth-throes of pain and tribulation. The Army of the Union was organized with formidable numbers, an abundant commissariat, speedy transportation, adequate supplies, a thoroughly appointed medical department, and every equipment requisite to the conduct of modern war. In these essentials, certainly it was superior to its enemy; and though justly deserving the meed of praise, its proudest laurels are by no means concurrent with the heroism of the Army of the Revolution, as the effort of a people in their incipience to establish a government is more heroic than the effort of a people at their maturity to prevent its overthrow.

“The Medical Department, as rearranged October 6th, 1780, consisted of a Director of the Military Hospitals of the Army, stationed at headquarters, a Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army, stationed with the army, three chief physicians of surgeons of the hospitals, stationed variously at the principal hospitals, a purveyor and assistant, with their clerks, an apothecary and five assistants, fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons and twenty-six mates, detailed to different hospitals as required, nine stewards, three storekeepers, one clerk of the magazine, seven ward masters, seven matrons, thirty nurses and orderlies detailed from the ranks, or otherwise employed, as occasion demanded. As already stated, Dr. Cochran was appointed Surgeon-General of the Army April 11th, 1777, and commissioned October 6, 1780, Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army, with Dr. William Shippen his superior as Director of the Military Hospitals. He continued in that capacity until the resignation of Dr. Shippen, when January 19th, 1781, he was advanced to the head of the medical department. Dr. James Craik, previously the first in order of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals, was given the place of Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army, vacated by Dr. Cochran, and Dr. William Burnet, one of the fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons, was promoted to his place. The remaining two chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals were Messrs. Malichi Treat and Charles McKnight. Dr. Thomas Bond was the purveyor and Andrew Cragie the apothecary. Military necessity decided the location of the hospitals. The most prominent were at the artillery huts near New Windsor, the Robinson House, West Point barracks, Morristown, Albany, Philadelphia,

New Hampshire huts, New Boston, Fishkill, Yellow Springs, Williamsburgh and Trenton. An additional flying hospital accompanied the army, and small-pox hospitals were established when needed. The hospitals at the artillery huts, the barracks at West Point and the Robinson House, appear to have been designated by Congress. Returns from all of these, so frequent as to enable a statement to be tabulated and transmitted every month either to the chairman of the Medical Committee of Congress, the Board of War, or the Secretary of War, represented with periodical accuracy the physical condition of the army. The columns which show for each month the treatment in hospital of an average of fifty of the wives and children of soldiers, happily discloses to the observation of the curious an exceptional benevolence in the usage of war.

“The scale of compensation was at the extreme of moderation. In no degree, however, in the absence of value to the currency in which it was rated, could pay have been invested with the attraction of reward. Yet, it is submitted as not devoid of interest. To the office of director of the military hospitals was attached the pay of \$150 per month, two rations, one for servant and two for forage; to that of the chief physician and surgeon of the army, \$140 per month, two horses and wagon, and two rations of forage; to each of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals, \$140 per month and two rations; to the purveyor, \$130, and his assistant \$75 per month; to the apothecary, \$130 per month, and his two assistants, \$50 per month each; to the fifteen hospital physicians and surgeons, \$120 per month each, and to each of the twenty-six mates, \$50 per month. The stewards received each \$35 per month, the clerks and storekeepers \$2 per day, the seven matrons a half dollar each, and a ration per day, the thirty nurses each two shillings and a ration a day, and the orderlies, if soldiers, one shilling and a ration, and if citizens two shillings and a ration a day.

“The department at the South was organized by resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, 1781, with David Oliphant, of South Carolina, deputy director; Peter Fayssonx, chief physician of the hospitals—pay, \$140 per month, two rations, and two of forage; James Browne, chief physician of the army—pay, \$140, two rations, and two of forage; Robert Johnson and William Reed, hospital physicians, with pay of \$120 each per month, one ration and one for forage; and Nathan Brownson, deputy-purveyor, all of whom were stationed in South Carolina. Subsequently, on the 20th of September, 1780, were appointed by resolution of Congress, Drs. Thomas, Tudor, Tucker and Vickars, physicians and surgeons, for the Southern Department, David Smith, deputy-purveyor, and John Carne, assistant deputy-apothecary.

“Such was the medical department, to the administration of which Dr. Cochran was chosen because of his comprehensive experience and intimate knowledge of its details. The language of his letter from New Windsor, March 25th, 1781, to Dr. Peter Turner, hospital physician and surgeon, ‘My appointment was unsolicited, and a rank to which I never aspired, being perfectly happy where I was,’ attests the modesty of his nature in the acceptance

of an unsought and unexpected distinction. The fortunes of the country were then at their darkest—a helpless Congress, an empty treasury, and an exhausted people. Yet, he unhesitatingly undertook the responsibilities of the station, and cheerfully devoted his energies to the services of his country. Writing from New Windsor, March 26th, 1781, to Dr. George Campbell, he said: 'Whether my present station will contribute to my future happiness time must discover. But if I have no better success than my predecessors, my lot must be unfortunate indeed. A determined resolution to conform to the rules of right, and that support which I have some reason to expect from every gentleman of the department will, I hope, protect me against the malevolence of my enemies, if I have any. I say, if I have any, for sure I am that I never put a thorn in any honest man's breast.'

"The temerity often generated by self-sufficiency was alien to his nature. When assuming his official responsibilities, he in appropriate words refers his conduct to the support he may deserve and receive from his official subalterns. 'I thank you,' he wrote to Dr. Binney, March 25th, 1781, 'for your very polite congratulations on my appointment, and the favorable sentiments you are pleased to entertain of my disposition, and the willingness you express of serving under my superintendence. In return, I only wish to act such a part as will entitle me to a continuation of your approbation, and that of every gentleman in the department.' In a letter to Dr. Thomas Waring Morris, dated February 28th, 1781, he said, 'The gentlemen of the corps which I have the honor to superintend may be assured that every endeavor of mine shall be exerted to render them as happy as possible.' But his native benevolence was not consumed with the beneficent phrase of amiable intentions. His charities were conversant with the affairs of the humblest, and wherever misfortune interfered with the duties of dependents, or oppressed the deserving, his offices were interposed to alleviate or remove. Strong, however, as were these humane dispositions, they were duly subjected to the superior obligations of official responsibilities, and their exercise duly restricted within the sphere of official trust.

"From New Windsor, February 28th, 1781, he wrote to Dr. George Stevenson, of Morristown: 'Dear Sir, I was favored with yours of the 19th inst. yesterday, and thank you for your congratulations on my appointment to the Directorship of the Hospitals. Whether I shall answer the expectations of the public in general, or of my friends in particular, will greatly depend on the gentlemen of the department, by a faithful discharge of their duty, and a strict observance of the rules laid down by Congress in the plan for conducting the Hospital Department. I believe that you are persuaded that you have my patronage and every good intention to your welfare. Therefore, I should be very sorry that your situation should ever be such as to put it out of your power to comply with any orders you may receive from your superior. It is very evident that you cannot live on the air, and unless money is furnished you cannot proceed to Virginia, where I do not believe you will be ordered. But should you be so unfortunate, as it so badly accords with your circumstances, on ap-

plication to Dr. Treat, I am persuaded he will order another in your place, you first making known to him your peculiar situation.'

"But in a letter to Dr. James Craik, the lifelong friend and personal physician of Washington, Dr. Cochran expressed in the candor of mutual friendship, sentiments which, under the circumstances, reflect honor on them both. 'New Windsor, March 26th, 1781. Dear Craik: The enclosed act of Congress appointing you Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army in my room, came to hand a few days since, under cover from the President of Congress. Give me leave to offer my congratulations on this appointment, as I know it is more agreeable to yourself than your former station, and more acceptable to the Commander-in-Chief and the whole army. You will not think me guilty of adulation, when I assure you that I would rather have complimented you on the occasion of your being appointed Director, than where you are, for many reasons; and I believe that every member of Congress will do me the justice to acknowledge that I gave you the preference upon every interview I had with them when conversing upon the subject. I know of none dissatisfied with my appointment. * * * I hope to act such a part as to be out of the power of friend or foe. * * * I shall be happy to see you once more with us. I purpose to be the greater part of my time in the field. Perhaps, you will say, no thanks to you, for that a resolve passed a few days after you left Philadelphia ordering the Director to repair to Head Quarters, and to make that the chief place of his residence.' The presence of the medical staff in the field, indeed was demanded. In all the war, the doctor had been with the army, alleviating its sufferings, in the rigors of Valley Forge, and stimulating its convalescence in the camp at Morristown. The termination of the war found him at his post near headquarters of the army.

"The following letter, written while he was surgeon-general, to Jonathan Potts, then purveyor to the hospitals, represents concisely the condition of the hospitals, and the routine of their neglect during the period of the war, anterior to his accession to their care and direction.

"MORRISTOWN, March 18, 1780.

"DEAR SIR:

"I received your favor by Dr. Bond, and am extremely sorry for the present situation of the Hospital finances. Our stores have all been expended for two weeks past, and not less than six hundred regimental sick and lame, most of whom require some assistance, which being withheld, are languishing and must suffer. I flatter myself you have no blame in this matter; but curse on him or them by whom this evil is produced. The vengeance of an offended Deity must overtake the miscreants sooner or later. It grieves my soul to see the poor, worthy brave fellows pine away for want of a few comforts, which they have dearly earned. I shall wait on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and represent our situation, but I am persuaded it can have little effect, for what can he do? He may refer the matter to Congress, who will probably pow-wow over it awhile, and no more be heard of it. The few stores sent on by Dr. Bond in your absence have not yet arrived. I suppose owing to the badness of the roads. If they come, they will give us some relief for a few weeks.

"Compliments to all friends and believe me,

"Dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

"JOHN COCHRAN.'

“ At no time did the army abound in medical stores. In the year 1781, however, they were nearly extinct. Untended wounds or languishing disease filled hospitals destitute of medicines, and swelled the daily returns of death. Scarcely was convalescence a boon, when the lack of subsistence faced the soldier in the hospital, and compelled him to beg in the streets for the necessaries of life. A crisis more strenuous and an hour more appalling can hardly be conceived than when want and nakedness vainly craved mercy from frigid skies, and the delirium of fever reproached the physician with the futility of his art. In a letter to Dr. Treat from New Windsor, March 25th, 1781, Dr. Cochran said: ‘The state of our finances is such that it will be impossible to lay in a magazine for the campaign. Therefore, we must in great measure, depend upon purchasing as we go.’ February 28th, 1781, he wrote from headquarters near New Windsor, to Dr. Thomas Waring Morris: ‘The want of necessary stores for our Hospitals affords a gloomy prospect;’ and again on the same day wrote to Abram Clark, chairman of the Medical Committee in Congress: ‘We have few deaths yet. The poor fellows suffer for want of necessary supplies, which I hope will be afforded them. Otherwise there will be little encouragement for physicians and surgeons.’ To Samuel Huntington, the President of Congress, he wrote from Philadelphia, May 24th, 1781: ‘The Hospitals are in the utmost distress for want of necessaries for the sick. In some of them we have not stores, and in others the supplies are so trifling and insignificant as to be of little or no service. I am sensible of the difficulties and embarrassments of Congress, but am also sensible that unless some speedy and effectual measures are taken to relieve the sick, a number of the valuable soldiers in the American army will perish through want of necessaries, who would soon be serving their country in the field could they be supplied. The surgeon who has the care of the hospital at Boston writes me that his sick are in great want, and that he is not in a situation to procure any relief. At Albany the only article of stores is about sixty gallons of vinegar, and the sick suffer extremely at times for want of provisions. The other Hospitals are in a similar condition.’ He repeated to Abram Clark, April 30, 1781, from New Windsor, his previous admonition of the 28th of February, of that year: ‘I have from all quarters the most melancholy complaints of the sufferings of the sick in the hospitals for want of stores and necessaries that you can conceive, and unless some speedy remedy is applied, the consequence must be very fatal. Dr. Warren, who has charge of the Boston hospital, represents his situation in a very distressing condition, and prays earnestly for relief’—a picture gloomy enough, but scarcely as dark as that drawn in the following words to the purveyor, Dr. Thomas Bond, from New Windsor, March 25th, 1781: ‘I was favored with yours of the 20th of February, about fifteen days ago, on my way to Albany, which accounts for my not answering you until now—as I only returned last night. I am sorry to inform you that I found that Hospital entirely destitute of all kinds of stores, except a little vinegar, which was good for nothing—and frequently without bread or beef for many days—so that the doctor, under those circumstances, was obliged

to permit such of the patients as could walk into town to beg provisions among the inhabitants. * * * I pity our distressed condition on the score of money, and unless a sufficiency can be procured at the opening of the campaign, we are undone.' If to these instances of official decrepitude is added the significant request made by Dr. Bond, purveyor at Norwich, no evidence will be wanting of the penury of the medical department, in all that appertains to an effective or even tolerable arm of the public service—Camp near Dobb's Ferry, July 26th, 1781: 'Could you not, by advertisement, be able to procure a quantity of old linen from the good ladies of your city—I was obliged, after the last skirmish, when fifty men were wounded, to give every sheet I had in the world, but two, to make lint.'

“It has been seen that he alluded in his letter to Samuel Huntington, the President of Congress, to the failure of Congress to exert the effort required to relieve the deplorable condition of the medical service. Several valuable physicians and surgeons had resigned since the new arrangement of the department went into effect. He suggested to Congress, in his letter to Samuel Huntington, May 24th, 1781, that there were, 'several vacancies for hospital physicians and surgeons, occasioned by resignation, and that in case we should have an active campaign, the department may suffer for want of a proper number of assistants. The eldest mates are qualified to fill their places, and if they could be appointed by Congress with propriety, it would have a tendency to promote the good of the service.' In a letter from the Board of War from New Windsor, July 4th, 1781, he represents that these vacancies 'leave us only eight hospital physicians and surgeons out of the fifteen established by Congress,' three of whom being employed respectively at Boston, Philadelphia and Yellow Springs, 'there will remain only five to do the whole duty of the hospitals of the army, a number very inadequate to the service. The four eldest mates whom I recommended to Congress are very uneasy, and unless promoted, I have too much reason to believe, will leave the service very soon; and this, together with other mates who have resigned since my arrival in camp, will deprive us of a great part of our medical aid.' A disregard of this recommendation seems to have been productive of much inconvenience and disorder. Evidently the political necessities of his position did not dispose the average congressman to supply a vacancy with the candidate best qualified for the place, to the exclusion of an incompetent candidate of his own. The glimpse thus had of the influences which dominated the public service of the Revolution reflects a very exact resemblance upon those which impress the public service now, and unpleasantly imply the painful truth that even in conjunctures of great hazard, private interests are apt to obstruct the public weal. The course urged upon the Board of War in this communication, if continuously pursued, might perhaps have obviated the necessity of reform in the civil service of the Government to-day; for in the same letter occur these words: 'I am altogether averse to any regular succession of promotion of physicians and surgeons in the hospital department; for the situation of the medical gentlemen

in our service is very different from other services. The medical officers in the former have been pushed up as occasion required, many of whom were not the least qualified (to say no worse of them) while those of the latter undergo a strict examination, and in general are every way qualified; and I would further observe, particularly in the British service, there is no regular succession, but such are generally promoted in the hospital departments as are more capable and attentive, whether from the Regimental Surgeons or Hospital Mates.' The effect of these persistent official derelictions is thus announced to the Board of War, August 29th, 1781, from headquarters, east side of Hudson river: 'Dr. Marshall, one of our most valuable mates, has resigned within a few days, which will be followed by several others who have been long in service, and acted some years in a superior capacity under the old arrangement, and accepted of mates' stations with an expectation of promotion. A favorable opportunity offered to retain these gentlemen in service by promoting them to the present vacancies, but it appears as if Congress had forgotten that either hospitals, sick or wounded, had any existence.'

"Deficient, however, as was the medical department in the means of administering to the health or comfort of the army, there comes to us among the causes, a remarkable instance of personal obliquity, in strong contrast with the ardor of self-sacrifice which characterized the patriotism of the time. In a letter to Abram Clark, Chairman of the Medical Committee, Dr. Cochran said: 'I have a letter from Dr. Cragie, our chief apothecary, now at Boston, informing me that Dr. Foster, the former Deputy Director to the Eastward, has absolutely refused giving up the medicines, instruments, etc., purchased by him for public use, which deranges us much. There is a quantity of hospital stores at Windsor and Danbury in Connecticut, in the same circumstances, which he has refused also. I have taken a short cut, and by stealing a march on him, may probably obtain part, if not the whole. It appears very extraordinary that a public officer, purchasing stores, etc., on public credit, shall, when out of office, retain large quantities of those articles in his hands, in pretence that his accounts are not settled, when perhaps the public owe him nothing, and the sick are perishing for want of these very stores.' The 'short cut' appears to have been the device of despatching Dr. Ledyard, the assistant purveyor at Fishkill, upon a stolen march to Danbury for the medicines and stores, the failure of which scheme is subsequently thus recorded in the letter to Mr. Clark, which announces the abstraction: 'Since sitting down to write, I received a letter from Dr. Ledyard, our assistant Purveyor at Fishkill, telling me that he could not possibly proceed to Windsor, in Connecticut, in quest of the stores already mentioned, for want of money, not being able to raise as much as would put a hoop on a cask, or a board on a box, if it was wanting.'

"But the doctor was not thus to be baffled, as we learn by his letter subsequently to Dr. Ledyard, from New Windsor, March 24th, 1781: 'I know not what to advise you. I hope you have sent some one with the officer to Danbury, to take charge of the stores. Those at Windsor must take their chance until

some method can be fallen on to raise the wind, to carry our scheme into execution. In the meantime, either from public or private credit, you can proceed to the business. I will be accountable for the expense attending the procuring of the stores.' On the 25th of the same month, a letter to Dr. Thomas Bond, the purveyor, announces: 'The stores from Danbury have arrived at Fishkill.' Thus the extreme of selfishness was confronted and defeated by a prompt beneficence, worthy of the cause to which it was devoted.

"Such was the destitution which paralyzed, and very nearly extirpated, the hospitals during the greater part of the war. Under the recuperating effects of its foreign alliances, the country emerged slowly from its indigence, and the medical department gradually expanded to its full functions in the dispensation of the supplies procured from France. A letter from New Windsor, February 2d, 1782, directs Dr. Isaac Ledyard, assistant purveyor, to, 'order Dr. Johonet, the assistant apothecary, to take such quantity of the medicine lately received from France as will be necessary for supplying the Hospitals;' while an earlier letter of September 1st, 1781, from headquarters, east side of Hudson river, to Dr. Bond, the purveyor, thus joyously announced the vigor imparted by France to the energy of the war, and her generous ministration to the exhausted resources of the country; 'Colonel Lawrence, who passed through camp last night, on his way to Philadelphia, has put us in good spirits from the supply of money and everything else requisite, arrived in Boston from our good and generous ally, in consequence of which I hope we shall soon be in high BLAST.'

"But desperate as was the condition of the medical department, that of its officers was not less afflictive. It could not be otherwise than when the sources of general prosperity vanished, individuals should be oppressed with the utmost penury. We have seen the soldier begging for bread; we shall see the officer in quest of clothing. The ordinary uses of life were circumscribed by the blight of indigence. It extended to all stations and effected all classes. Calamity impended over families and want intensified the rigor of war with menaced starvation. In the letter previously quoted, to Abram Clark, President of Congress, February 28th, 1781, Dr. Cochran said: 'I hope some pay is ordered to be advanced to the officers of the department, without which it cannot much longer exist. Many of us have not received a shilling in near two years, nor can we procure public clothing.'

"From New Windsor he wrote, March 26th, 1781, to Dr. Craik: 'We are so squeezed for paper, that I can only afford you a half sheet for cover and all.' From New Windsor, March 25th, 1781, he wrote to Dr. Peter Turner, hospital physician and surgeon, Norwich, Connecticut, 'Several of the hospital physicians and surgeons have resigned since the new arrangement took place, owing, I believe, principally to their not being able to subsist themselves in the service, for it is upwards of two years since many of us have received a shilling from the continent, and there is as little prospect now of pay as there was two years ago.' Again, under the date of April 2d, 1781, he wrote: 'Neither myself nor any of the gentlemen who have served with me have received a shilling from the

public in twenty-three months, which has, as you reasonably may suppose, reduced us to some difficulties. * * * Paper is so scarce that I am obliged to take a leaf out of an orderly book.'

"To Abram Clark, President of Congress, he wrote from New Windsor, April 30th, 1781: 'I have sent the originals (hospital returns) not having paper enough to transcribe them into form. Several of the hospital physicians and surgeons complain that they have not paper sufficient to make out the necessary hospital returns; therefore, are obliged to omit them.' To Robert Morris, from the camp near Dobb's Ferry, July 26th, 1781, he wrote: 'For God's sake, help us as soon as you can. Most of our officers have not received one shilling of pay for upwards of two years.' To Mr. Nitchie, formerly hospital commissary headquarters, Peekskill, he wrote, August 25th, 1781: 'I am sorry you have not been able to keep your family from starving, but on credit. Your situation is like many others in our service, for I have not received one shilling as pay in twenty-eight months, and there are few among us who have been in better circumstances.' In the following passage from a letter to Dr. Treat, from New Windsor, March 25th, 1781, we are admitted to a pathetic scene relieved by a gleam of illusive fortune, as quickly quenched in disappointment: 'Dr. Young showed me your letter enclosing a resolve of Congress, respecting the depreciation, &c., which made him happy; and poor fellow, he wanted comfort as much as any man I ever saw. His situation is truly pitiable, and I hope something will turn up which will give him relief.'

"It is true that Congress issued warrants for the pay of the army. But the warrants were as worthless as the credit of Congress, and utterly incapable of relief. He wrote to Dr. Thomas Bond, camp near Dobb's Ferry: 'Am very sorry that there is no probability of our receiving money on the warrants obtained for the use of our department, the want of which you may reasonably suppose has a bad effect, both with respect to the officers and the poor suffering soldiers, who deserve a better fate.'

"As may be supposed, the destitution of the army, both of officers and men, occupied attention largely with efforts to mitigate it. The evil obviously was incident to the occasion, and inherently the chief obstacle to the successful conduct of the war. As we have seen, the distress fell heavily upon the medical department. Its necessities were, in truth, but the total of those of the army, concentrated in effect upon its health, and expressed in representations of the deplorable want of every appliance essential to the preservation of life. The complaints of the sufferers were importunate and ceaseless. As the head of the department, Dr. Cochran, while the recipient of numberless petitions, rarely caused disappointment to the expectations of the petitioners. In his letter (without date) to Dr. Thomas Bond, after stating that 'Dr. Wilson urges his coming to Philadelphia to assist in adjusting some matters relative to the department,' he said, 'I only wait for the arrival of Dr. Craik to set out, but I wish my presence could be dispensed with, for I am most heartily tired of shuling my way so often to that place without one shilling in my pocket;' and in the follow-

ing paragraph of his communication, while in Philadelphia, May 24th, 1781, to 'Samuel Huntington, Esq., President of Congress,' he alludes to the personal expense and the official inconvenience he incurred, in redressing complaints, by importuning Congress for their relief: 'Should Congress wish any further or more particular information on the subject, I shall be ready to furnish it and will be obliged to your excellency to have the matter taken up as soon as possible, that the distresses of the hospital may be relieved, and that I may be enabled to return to the army, as neither my finances nor my duty will permit me to remain longer in this city.'

"But the pay of the officers and men was a theme of more serious anxiety. The magnitude and extent of its arrears were grave causes of apprehension. While it buoyed the hopes of the enemy, it occupied unremittingly the deliberations of Congress. Its amount was not in dispute. The default was in the depreciation of the currency in which it was paid. At length Congress determined to draw its warrant, for the depreciation, on the credit of the state where the officers served. It seems, however, that a frivolous and impertinent distinction was made by the Legislature of New York against the officers of the medical line. The ire of the department was aflame, and not in the most courtly phrase discharged in the following terms, used at New Windsor, July 5th, 1781, to Dr. Bond, one of the sufferers: 'The State of New York has refused the warrant in your favor drawn by Congress, and have refused to comply with the requisition of Congress for making up the depreciation to the officers of the medical line. They are most certainly an execrable set of——. A new Assembly is called, which may probably think better of the matter and do justice.'

"In a letter to Dr. Treat, from camp near Dobb's Ferry, July 18th, 1781, occurs this passage: 'I have been uneasy about the Marquis' situation.' Doubtless this was the occasion referred to by the Marquis in his letter from St. Jean d'Angely, June 10th, 1799, in which he says: 'My health, dear doctor—that very health you have almost brought back from the other world, has been since as strong and hearty as possible. * * * As during my fit of illness the watch I then had was of great service to you for feeling the pulse, I thought such a one might be convenient, which I have entrusted to the Chevalier de la (name illegible) and I beg leave to present you with. I did fancy that adorning it with my heroic friend's picture would make it acceptable.'

"An incident cursorily stated in his letter to Dr. Craik, of March 26th, 1781, from New Windsor, while affording an inkling of the difficulties of land carriage, admits us to a view of the affluent hospitality of the landed gentry of New York a century ago, and yet more agreeably surprises us with an intimation that in all 'the time that tried men's souls,' the ruggedness of war was smoothed and its asperities refined by the amenities attendant upon the presence of wives and daughters in camp. 'I am just returned,' he says, 'from an eighteen days' tour up the North river to attend Mrs. Washington. We had an agreeable jaunt excepting the badness of the roads. But we met with so much hospitality wherever we went, that compensation was made for the difficulty of traveling.'

“Probably the ‘agreeable jaunt’ was to the manor of Livingston, and terminated at the hospitable manor house of its proprietor, Walter Livingston, the husband of Mrs. Cochran’s daughter, Cornelia, by her first husband. After the destruction of their domicile at Brunswick by the British, Mrs. Cochran spent much of her time, during the presence of her husband at the headquarters of the army, with her daughter; and it may have been that the hospitable entertainment of Mrs. Washington on this occasion was not disconnected with the invitation of the General, over a year before to Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to partake of the dinner which, in his letter to the doctor, he thus humorously imagines and describes:

“WEST POINT, August 16, 1780.

“DEAR DOCTOR:

“I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow; but ought I not to apprise you of their fare? As I hate deception, even when imagination is concerned, I will.

“It is needless to promise that my table is large enough to hold the ladies—of this they had ocular demonstration yesterday. To say how it is usually covered, is rather more essential, and this shall be the purport of my letter.

“Since my arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table. A piece of roast beef adorns the foot, and a small dish of green beans—almost imperceptible:—decorates the centre. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, and this I presume he will attempt to-morrow, we have two beefsteak pies, or dishes of crabs in addition, one on each side of the centre dish, dividing the space, and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which, without them, would be nearly twelve apart. Of late he has had the surprising luck to discover that apples will make pies; and it is a question, if amidst the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef.

“If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and submit to partake of it on plates once tin, but now iron, not become so by the labors of hard scouring, I shall be happy to see them.

“Dear Sir, Yours

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.’

“Quaintly is revealed the peculiar prejudice of the Revolutionary period against the parasites of royalty and its scions. The conflict of our ancestors with British oppression extended to the persons of those who represented it. It was not singular therefore, that the appearance in America of William Henry (subsequently William IV.) one of the sons of George III., and then a midshipman under Admiral Digby, should have provoked a flood of popular derision. It is curious to observe the spirit in which the apparition was discussed by those whose lives had been dedicated to the service of their country. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the opinion of the camp were reflected by the sense of the people. From camp, near Peekskill, October 10th, 1781, Dr. Cochran writes to Dr. Craik:

“Digby is arrived in New York with three ships of the line and some frigates. With him came one of the royal whelps from Great Britain. The address from

the Governor and council with his answer you will see in the public papers. A young lad who came out of New York some days ago, being examined before General Heath, was asked if he saw the young prince. He answered yes—he saw many get a look at him and he thought he might as well see him as the rest. He was asked what he was like and what he thought of him. He said he expected to have seen something more in him than in other people, but was disappointed except his being the ugliest person he ever saw, with a very large nose. His eyes resembled those of a wall-eyed horse, and his legs, being all of a thickness, from his knees to his ankles; but that he had a fine gold coat. A pretty representative the fellow will make to cause a rebellion to sink at his approach. I think from the description given of him, he is much better calculated to cause an abortion in the fair sex than to quell a rebellion.'

“But when domestic treason incurred the popular displeasure, the indignation of the army was intense. The crime of Arnold not only was the theme of denunciation; his very name was proscribed. ‘Ledyard,’ wrote Dr. Cochran, October 1st, 1781, to Thomas Bond, purveyor, ‘has gone to New London, where he has sustained the loss of an uncle and brother killed, and another brother taken by that infamous scoundrel, Arnold.’

“In an application to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, while in Philadelphia, May 24th, 1781, Dr. Cochran thus expressed himself:

“‘I have also to request that the hospital officers should be entitled to receive their letters free from the expense of postage, as well as the officers of the line. The propriety of this will be evident when I mention that returns are to be sent from every part of the continent to me as director, and the expense of postage would nearly swallow the whole of my pay.’

“The result of this application is thus recorded: New Windsor, June 30th, 1781, Doctor Townshend, Albany. ‘All letters to and from me are post-free. This I accomplished when in Philadelphia, though I had not interest to obtain the like for the department in general, which was my desire. I labored hard for that purpose.’

“A serious oversight had forbidden to the disabled and deprived inmates of the hospitals the solace of religious instruction during the term of the war. Dr. Cochran from the camp at Fishkill, October 9th, 1781, thus directed the attention of Thomas McKean, President of Congress, to the subject: ‘Before I conclude, permit me, sir, to suggest that while we are endeavoring to provide for the care of the body, should we not pay some attention to the comfort of the souls of our sick soldiers in the hospitals, by appointing a chaplain to perform that duty. The brigade chaplains either find it inconvenient, or have not an inclination to officiate in that capacity. It is customary to have a chaplain to the hospitals of other nations, to whom we would not wish to yield in point of Christianity.’ There is no record that the suggestion was acted upon. But it is certain that chaplains devoted to the welfare of the sick, wounded and dying, in hospitals or field, have never been wanting in our wars.

“On the 30th of April, 1781, he announced to Abram Clark, chairman of the medical committee, from New Windsor: ‘As soon as my strength will enable me, I propose setting out for Philadelphia. On the 5th inst., I was taken with a pleurisy, which has confined me till yesterday, and has left me very weak.’ On the 23d of March, 1781, from New Windsor, he writes to Dr. Craik that ‘his poor little boy lies ill of a fever.’ New Windsor, June 30th, 1781, he requested Dr. Townshend of Albany, to give his love to his son and ‘give him some of your pious advice. You will oblige me by enquiring of his tutor how he comes on, and acquaint me in your next. He has been hitherto too much neglected, which causes me more anxiety than perhaps I otherwise might feel.’ From Albany, 17th of March, 1782, he informs Dr. Bond that he came there three weeks before ‘to settle my boys at school, and to endeavor to dispose of some of my property for their and my subsistence.’ From headquarters, east side of Hudson river, August 29th, 1781, he communicates to the Board of War: ‘Our army, till within a few months has been remarkably healthy. But dysentery, intermittent and remittent fevers, with a few putrid diseases begin to prevail,’ and again, September 26th of the same year, from the camp at Peekskill, that ‘the chief part of the sick of the army and hospitals, is composed of the new levies and the three months men.’

“From these letters we catch glimpses of the man—a type of that heroism that consists in the consecration of self to duty, and in its beneficial and conscientious performance. The heroism of the soldier is eclipsed by the heroism of the surgeon; and, however public sentiment may adopt the captain of war as the hero of the day, the emancipator from the thralldom of prejudice and ignorance, the vindicator of humanity in the persons of its oppressed and suffering children, the steadfast disciple of the divinity of manhood, and the martyr to its assertion in adversity and persecution—these shall survive as the heroes of the world, when the fame of the warrior shall have slaked and his laurels have withered in the light of higher civilization. And so he who treads the endangered plain, to alleviate and not to inflict, to retrieve and not to dissipate the crushed energies of life, who sedulously devotes his whole of man to the attainment of honor by a just comprehension of life’s obligations, and by their thorough discharge, becomes the heir of a glory, truer and more consummate in the realms of time than the illusory gleam of the conquering sword. Dr. Cochran was of stately presence, of fair and florid complexion, features which testified his Scots-Irish descent, and an expression indicative of genial and benevolent qualities. His reliance was on the merit of which he was conscious, his credentials the evidence furnished by his deeds. The volunteer surgeon’s mate of the French war, and the volunteer physician and surgeon of the war of the Revolution, became the head of the medical department of the army by superior expertness in the functions confided to him, and superior alacrity in their performance. An unusual degree of personal modesty precluded expectation and quelled the desire of official preferment. Not only was his promotion unsolicited, but it was a surprise to the sincerity with which he had urged the undeni-

able qualifications of his friend and advocated his claims to the position. The separate trials to which he was exposed were but the enumerated perils that lay in the path of the Revolution. The necessities which paralyzed the officer were lamented only as impediments which prejudiced the service. The malignity which committed his dwelling to the flames, and the disease which afflicted his little son and prostrated himself, he suffered only in the contraction of his usefulness to his country. He pawned his personal credit to restore to the public service the property withheld from its use. The last sheets from his bed were bestowed on the exigencies of the wounded. A glowing humanity, intensified his attention to the sick, and with an executive capacity as thorough as rare, he was author, advisor and director of multifarious reforms in the army. He was the support and buttress of the languishing and suffering medical department. He ineffectually appealed to Congress, that exemption of the officers from liability to postage should remove from their correspondence an odious duty on their domestic affections. His effort was strenuous to compensate to both officers and men, the depreciation of their pay, and having accomplished the full circuit of their temporal wants, he contributed to their spiritual welfare, a tender and fervid appeal to the president of Congress, that the consolations of religion should be extended to the inmates of the hospitals by chaplains appointed for that purpose. With enviable patience, under troubled dispensations, and with faith in the rectitude of the cause of the people, he witnessed the return of health to the army, of prosperity to the country, and the establishment of a free and permanent government in a new world.

“Such and like considerations are necessary to the comprehension of the true proportions of the war of the Revolution. Interesting, and by no means uninteresting research might educe from the social condition and domestic relations of the people an important factor in the problem of rebellion. A country of unrestricted extent was sparsely occupied with a primitive and hardy race. In the far removed centres of population and wealth, social intercourse partook naturally of the habits engrafted by the early and intimate associations of the Colonies with the mother country. Fortunate opulence asserted against indigence the privileges of class, and forthwith intrenched itself in the pretensions and assumed the cognizance of an aristocracy. Courtly English customs were reflected in the intercourse which regulated their life, and the interval between the people and the great families when established, increased with their growth in significance and strength. Confessedly, the germ of American independence found no root in the houses of the great. It sprang from the rugged bosom of the people. It was indigenous there. Not that it was unfaithfully protected or negligently cultivated by the magnates of the land. It was theirs by adoption; not indeed in the primal vigor and purity of its uncomplaining inception, which demanded separation, but in the subsidiary of compromise, which contemplated adjustment. Hence it is true, that the march of Revolution was vigorous and united; but the consummate flower of independence sprang from the humble homes of the tillers of the soil, rather than from the stately mansions of its opulent aristocracy.

"In the light of a century, it is difficult to exaggerate the grandeur of the victory. Popular institutions, responsible for the good government of millions engaged in the innumerable pursuits which construct the material prosperity and constitute the social and moral character of a people. An expansion of enterprise, boundless, except by the limits of the possible, an intensity of purpose, concentrated upon the attempt, and devoted to the accomplishment of gigantic undertakings in every industrial department, and a position achieved in science, literature, and the arts, competing with European schools, reflect an extraordinary lustre upon the armies and their leaders, that raised us to an equality with the governments of the Old World, and made us first among the governments of the New.

"But it is not this consummation that Americans should consult when measuring the proportions of the Revolutionary war. The magnitude of the conflict is more truly expressed in the condition of the opposing forces that waged it. A century had not sufficed to render practicable communication between the thirteen Colonies, which, though of coincident boundaries, were separated by tracts of dense wilderness and ranges of impassible mountains. Population, grouped principally in isolated spots, near the seaboard, was small, but its area large and sparsely settled. In most part exposed to a rigorous climate, it suffered both the ravage of an inhospitable winter and the onset of a more inhospitable foe. The tillage of the soil made niggard return to the labor of the farmer. Individual subsistence depended on daily labor, and the want of public revenue implied an empty treasury. Ignorant of arms, save as required by the exposure of frontier life, without military training, and destitute of the equipment, the stores, and the ammunition of war—a people thus provided, unprepared, and defenceless, were precipitated into war with a nation of vast and available resources, of incalculable power in the cabinet and field, with veteran armies and navies at command, and distinguished with the renown of enemies vanquished and victories won. Eight years the struggle continued. Its ruthless proportions were not remitted to the alleviation of a noble and generous nurture, nor were the resources of high civilization counted in reserve among the energies of the Revolutionary army. The flame they followed by day, that warmed them by night, that lighted their darkness and guided all their way, was the flame of liberty, inextinguishable in their bosoms. This was their reserve, and to it must be ascribed the issue of the war—to the unquenchable patriotism of the commonality of America."

By JOHN COCHRAN,¹
(eldest grandson of Dr. Cochran.)

¹"NEW YORK, 7 East 62d Street.

"MY DEAR COUSIN:

"I enclose to you a fac-simile of the Washington letter addressed to James Duane, in 1780. It was found among the papers of Judge Duane, and thus came into my possession.

"A duplicate of it—literature et punctuation—in Washington's handwriting, of the same date addressed by the superscription, also in Washington's handwriting, to the Hon. Joshua

A LETTER OF WASHINGTON

"HEAD Qs. Sept. 9th, 1780.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have heard that a new arrangement is about to take place in the medical Department and that it is likely, it will be a good deal curtailed with respect to its present appointments.—Who will be the persons generally employed I am not informed, nor do I wish to know—however I will mention to you that I think Doctors Cochrane and Craik from their services—abilities and experience—and their close attention, have the strictest claim to their Country's notice, and to be among the first officers in the establishment.

"There are many other deserving characters in the medical line of the army, but the reasons for my mentioning the above Gent'n are, that I have the highest opinion of them—and have it hinted to me that the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a spirit of party out of Doors, which would not operate in their favor.—I will add no more than that I am with the most perfect reg'd.

"D'Sir

"Y'r. most obed'. Serv't.

"G. WASHINGTON."

"The above letter allows a curious glimpse of the perils to which, even in that primitive time, 'a spirit of party out of doors,' exposed those in the public service. We detect in those suggestive words the irrepressible desire, whose prurience is better known to this degenerate age, as the greed of office. We learn that, in very truth, human nature discloses the same characteristics, under similar circumstances, at all times; and whether the world's theatre is occupied with the struggles of revolutions, or with the wrangle of politicians, the strife is ever the same between the ins and the outs."

JOHN COCHRAN.

THE RESIDENCE OF DR. COCHRAN AT PALATINE BRIDGE, N. Y.

"Near the western boundary of the Town of Palatine, within sight of the old church, and looking across the broad flat lands skirting the Mohawk river stands an old-fashioned square house, surrounded by locust trees.

Jones, Esq., of Congress at Philadelphia is in the possession of Luther Kountz of this city. James Duane was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the Continental Congress and Joshua Jones a member from Virginia.

"The duplicates illustrate a remarkable feature of General W's. wonderful exactness and diligence in business matters.

"The enclosed sketch of my grandfather is taken from the February number of the Magazine of American History edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, now deceased.

"The Register of American History in which the anecdotes were published nearly two years since was copy-righted. However, I suppose that there will be no objection to your quoting one or two of them.

"Sincerely your cousin,

"JOHN COCHRAN.

"MRS. KATH. S. BAXTER."

“That it has stood there for a long time is evident, but that it was the home of the Surgeon-General of the Revolutionary army is probably known to but few.

“This mansion was built when the accommodations for travelers between Albany and Utica were few, and was the resort of all the acquaintances of the family who passed up and down the Mohawk. Especially was this so during the war of 1812-13. Their hospitality was generous and proverbial. General Scott told me that, as he passed to the northern frontier, he stopped with them.



THE COCHRAN HOUSE.

Their larder being exhausted, they killed for him, he said, the peacock which furnished to his taste a capital dinner.

“In those days long trains of ‘Canastoga’ wagons, driven by Yankees and bearing merchandise for the west, thronged the highway, and exasperated the Dutch farmers of the Mohawk. Thereupon would ensue furious battles between the Palatine Dutchmen and the ‘damned Yankees.’

“There were mutterings of wrath also when it was learned in March, 1792, that Joseph Brant (Thayendanega) had been invited to a conference with the government at Philadelphia and that he had left Niagara for that city, via the Mohawk valley, to visit his old home and to look upon the land that he had wasted so ruthlessly with fire and tomahawk. In due time he came accom-

panied by two gentlemen and attended by two body servants of his own, and, as the home of the Cochrans stood but a few miles from Brant's old home at Indian Castle, he was invited by Major John Cochran to pass the night.

"As soon as this became known a mob gathered and there was danger that he would be dealt with in a very summary manner, and it became necessary to spirit him away in the darkness to some other place. But he pursued his journey the next day and arrived safely in Philadelphia, although he was followed as far as New York by a man who vowed to take his life."

Many of the pieces of handsome mahogany furniture that adorned this mansion were used by Washington at his headquarters at Newburgh and in 1781, presented by him to his "esteemed friend," Dr. Cochran.



COCHRAN ARMS.

CHAPTER XIX

CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER

Her Home at Oswego

THE large hospitable-looking mansion with its high chimneys and porticoes of Ionic columns; its strong wooden shutters; its spacious front entrance with heavy panels and small glass side lights, and its colossal brass knocker, carried the spectator into the last century. This two story and attic structure, though of wood, had thick dividing walls, to which one might whisper a secret without confiding it to his next door neighbor. Until destroyed by fire, it stood as a link between the past and the present, quite different in appearance and style from the modern dwellings which are constructed with such lightning-like rapidity.

Early in the century, this unusually retired and picturesque locality was a mile from the village—in a southeasterly direction; its extreme western boundary being washed by the broad, beautiful, swift flowing river. A more charming spot could not have been selected. The house, in Colonial design, stood in attractive grounds graced by fine old maples, elms, chestnuts, and beeches, and sloping gently to the water—not three hundred yards distant. There is no tree better or more beautiful for lawn planting than the beech with its long and graceful branches and leaves of a peculiarly bright color. Many were of extraordinary size, and one venerable monarch—the delight of old and young—was surrounded by seats, and was a great resort in summer evenings. Lapsing decades and the outward march of business demanded their destruction; and now but few of these relics are standing. Directly in front of the house and towering like stately columns stood four tall locusts, a favorite variety in Western New York in early days; and near by rose a tulip tree of unrivalled magnitude, with large greenish yellow flowers marked with orange, cupped seed pods, and the peculiarly smooth truncated leaves that distinguishes it from all others.

In the rear, were five acres of garden and orchard; beyond, to the east, extended meadows,—varied and broken; and then a broad stretch of woods, the same delightful woods that welcome one everywhere in the state. The landscape was devoid of any striking beauty or grandeur, except for a hill whose brow afforded an expanded prospect of Lake Ontario. Cooper in his "Pathfinder" graphically described it: "Turning from this view, our heroine felt her cheek fanned by a fresh and grateful breeze, such as she had not experienced since quitting the far distant coast. Here a new scene presented itself; although expected, it was not without a start, and a low exclamation indicative of pleas-



CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER.—1866.

ure, that the eager eyes of the girl drank in its beauties. To the north, and east, and west, in every direction, in short, over one entire half of the novel panorama, lay a field of rolling waters. The element was neither of that glassy green which distinguished the American waters in general, nor yet, of the deep blue of the ocean, the color being of a slightly amber hue, which scarcely affected its limpidity. No land was to be seen, with the exception of the adjacent coast, which stretched to the right, and left in an unbroken outline of forest with wide bays and low headlands or points; still, much of the shore was rocky, and into its caverns the sluggish waters occasionally rolled, producing a hollow sound, which resembled the concussion of a distant gun. No sail whitened the surface, no whale or other fish gambolled on its bosom, no sign of use or service rewarded the longest and most minute gaze at its boundless ex-



LAKE ONTARIO.

pause. It was a scene, on one side, of apparently endless forests, while a waste of seemingly interminable water spread itself on the other. Nature appeared to have delighted in producing grand effects, by setting two of her principal agents in bold relief to each other, neglecting details; the eye turning from the broad carpet of leaves to the still broader field of fluid, from the endless heavings of the lake to the holy calm and poetical solitude of the forest, with wonder and delight."

The scene to-day is but little changed.

The cheerful house which was for so many years the home of my grandmother was well situated, on an eminence, overlooking an enchanting prospect of woods and water—though it must be confessed that the leafy branches of the forest trees made the view much less distinct in summer than in winter. It was painted white, and in later years separated from the highway by a stone wall, surmounted by a picket fence. Graveled walks led through the generous strip

of sward, and the entrance was reached by two short flights of steps, with wrought iron railings. South and west were piazzas, overgrown with creepers and flowering vines; sweet tendrils of honeysuckle climbed about the columns whose vanilla-scented flowers, when in full blossom, were a triumph of beauty. Here also were great arches of woody trumpet creeper, with large red tubular flowers in terminal corymbs making lovely bits of color; and when the season pleased them well, pale clusters of wistaria with lilac pendants waving in graceful profusion.

Those expert fly catchers, the humming birds, whose tiny bodies are so exquisitely adorned with rainbow tints, and whose lives are spent amid the brightest scenes of nature, darted all day long from flower to flower—sometimes so close, I could have touched them with my hand; and cheerful, fussy, short-tailed wrens nested in a decayed spot halfway up one pillar—each June finding them snugly ensconced there, and the mother hard at work hunting food for the greedy little beaks and gaping mouths that filled up the small entrance hole. The energy of this indefatigable, diminutive personage was wonderful.

The library windows were clothed with a mass of sweet-scented clematis, in which song birds fluttered in and out—keeping up a conversational, cheery twitter all day long. Virginia creeper, too, grew very wild and thick on the rear wall and fell trailing to the ground—turning when “touched by autumn’s fiery finger” to brilliant scarlet and crimson. Great numbers of sparrows built in it and rested at night among the leaves. They claimed it for their own, and finally became so saucy, an attempt was made to drive them off by clipping away the green,—leaving only the bare branches; the birds, meanwhile, prying about to see the changes occurring. Toward sunset they became very impatient; cheeping and wheeling, they flew against the wall trying to find shelter; and then darted off again, pouring out wrathful volleys. It was not unlike going to bed and finding blankets and sheets gone and nothing to shelter them . . . Screaming with astonishment, they flew away into the nearest tree, and the old cherry was alive with them. No one, however, was made very unhappy about their condition, for in a few days they had found new quarters; even invading the pole house in possession of the blue birds, where they squabbled and fought for apartments,—contending loudly for a knot hole, occupied by a pair of swallows. Nests were to be seen in waterspouts and odd places wherever they could fix them; and we used to watch them for hours and see all their comings and goings. Sparrows are very quarrelsome, as well as great thieves; stealing one another’s twigs and grasses from half-built nests, unless a watch is stationed for protection.

The broad hall way, finished in oak, ran through the centre of the house. By its open doors on summer days, the breezes brought delicious odors from the honeysuckles in front that exchanged nods in a most friendly manner with a great clump of pink and red hollyhocks blooming gaily near the back steps.

From this hall opened the principal rooms on the ground floor, each provided with its generous old-fashioned fireplace. The mahogany furniture, much of



CATHARINE TEN BROECK.

which was brought from Holland, looks as if it had been made to last and intended to do so. A Goliath would be required to move some of the pieces.

To the left of the central hall was a small parlor; and adjoining that, the library whose tall bookcases, well filled with attractive volumes, covered the walls on two sides. Its windows looked out over a pied vista of shrubbery and flowers. Around the big chimney lurked closets, the queerest that I have ever seen; large and small, square and three-cornered, close down to the floor, or high up, out of reach near the ceiling, their deep-set shelves filled with bric-a-brac not of the nineteenth century. In this room were large sofas with claw feet, and covered with horsehair cloth studded with brass nails; tables beautifully carved and inlaid; odd chairs; and a secretary which we ascertained to be the hiding place of secret drawers, and which still contains valuable relics of a time long past. There were busts of Schuyler, Washington, and Hamilton in niches, and several old paintings about the walls—it was the custom in the last century for every family of position to have their portraits taken. The charming fireplace that we used to enjoy so greatly when the evenings were cool, had a high mantelpiece adorned with silver candlesticks; fender and andirons of brass; and a broad hearth, on which blazed a huge fire of logs whose ruddy glow brightened the room and shone out on the lawn to give a cheery welcome. Our elders had a fondness for reading; when at home, my father spent many hours of the day there, and altogether it was an ideal spot for reflection and repose.

Quite as interesting was the large parlor into which the sunshine penetrated all day long, and in which were hung the greater number of the portraits, that seemed looking at us from the walls. The likeness of Aunt Bruce, a Scottish ancestress, is black with age; it represents her in a loose-fitting gown, crossed at the waist, with a crimson velvet mantle falling from the shoulders, and the red rose of the clan in her hair—a costume of the sixteenth century. The face is so full of living intelligence that it seems almost rude to stand gazing into it. A portrait of a great uncle, in a high collar encircled by a stock, hung opposite. Although considered a young man of ability, he was persuaded to invest his fortune so securely in manilla rope, that he was unable to get more than a tithe out again. He had just succeeded in "cornering" the market, when two ships from the Philippine Islands laden with the precious article arrived in New York harbor. The crash came and he was ruined. Nearby was a quaint likeness of Catharine Ten Broeck (wife of John Livingston) painted on wood in 1719. This was somewhat warped by age. She is dressed like a young lady rather than a child of three, and sketched with a falcon resting in one hand and holding a brilliant red rose in the other. She really looked as if she heard every word we were saying. Our great-grandfather, Philip Schuyler, was in the full Continental uniform of a major-general, his searching, kindly eyes following us everywhere about the room. Opposite the fireplace hung another ancestral portrait that represented the gentleman in a great coat, only relieved by the lace and frilled shirt front. On his right was a curious painting; it was the full length figure of a boy dressed in a long blue coat reaching to the knees, with large

cuffs turned up at the elbow, knee breeches, scarlet stockings, high shoes, and silver knee buckles. In that room, among middle-aged people, he looked solitary and forlorn. A portrait that I could never pass without a sense of relief that a portrait was all that was left of him, was that of a grandfather in full bottomed wig, gold spectacles, watch chain hanging from a fob, and resplendent in blue coat and brass buttons. Sometimes he was a very naughty man, and I would not repeat his language for anything. In his last years—half sick, irritable, and exasperated by noisy grandchildren—he would scowl over his spectacles, growl from the depths of his cravat, and occasionally tap us with his cane. This latter was a gift to his father from the first president of Columbia College, but that fact did not make the grievance less. When the old gentleman was at last gathered to his fathers, my lamentation over him was not unaccompanied by a certain joy of having felt the last of that stick. One old painting particularly engaged the attention. It was the life-sized portrait of a most beautiful young woman with a smile, half of triumph, in the lovely lustrous eyes. She was robed in a quaint gown of pink satin, and wore the exaggerated coiffure of the day, high heeled shoes, patches, powder and paint. How exquisitely she was dressed! That was our great-grandmother. The two portraits most dear to us, were those of our paternal grandmother, Catharine V. R. Schuyler. In the first, painted by Count de Neuville in 1798, she is represented as a young girl with soft brown ringlets falling about the face, and seated at a piano. In the second, the work of the celebrated Stuart, she appears as a mother with her little daughter in her arms. The lace turban, collar, and a bit of the gold-colored satin dress are still preserved. This room was really the brightest and most inviting in the house; into it the sun flooded every corner with its radiance; and in winter, the three deep windows were always filled with hyacinths blossoming in glasses.

The dining-room was also attractive. There was a large fireplace, and there were a few Dutch and English pictures upon the walls—some so dark one could scarcely make out what they were intended to portray. The high sideboard that looked so much at home there, glittered with cut glass decanters, and the old silver tea service. A christening bowl of silver used at my grandmother's baptism in the old Dutch Church, at Albany, and for each grandchild in turn, had its place of honor there. Wine and cake were served to friends who called; and from the little closets beneath came significant odors of these dainties whenever the doors were opened. There were quantities of blue willow ware, brought from China by the first American ship; the silver was handsome and heavy, and each large piece was engraved with a coat of arms. What a history is attached to much of this furniture and tableware that came from the Schuyler mansion at Albany! It is intimately connected with the great men whose lives have been sketched in former chapters. When General Washington left his headquarters at Newburgh, in August, 1783, he presented the furniture of the house to Dr. Cochran. Time has dispersed much of it, but several pieces still remain in our possession. What tales they could tell!

The main staircase with its balustrade of hard wood and carved post was one of the most interesting features of the house, though hardly worthy of that distinction. It really did not seem like going upstairs at all, the steps were so broad and low; and twice in the ascent one came upon a square landing with old straight backed chairs in the corners.

The sleeping apartments on the upper floor—bright and cheerful even during the darkest of winter days—were curiously connected by closets. Each room had a wide four-poster of mahogany, and a bureau and dressing table of the same beautiful wood. The wall papers were execrable. The pictures on them represented great festoons of gaudy colored flowers, birds and insects—improbable while the laws of nature remain as they are; and land and sea views arranged without regard to perspective. Wrens would come in the morning and sit on the window ledge and sing. Bird houses with small apertures—a most hospitable arrangement—had been placed there for them to nest in, and it was sweet to be roused from sleep by their cheerful, melodious notes; and great fun to watch the dainty sprites go in and out—utterly oblivious of our presence. From time to time I sketched the view we enjoyed from the south windows—a stretch of the river, a bit of the red stone house on the opposite shore half hidden by clustering foliage, and the oak crowned hill beyond toward the west.

There was a fascinating garret with cobwebby windows, and bunches of herbs and clusters of popcorn ears hanging from the rafters. It was filled with broken down haircloth sofas; odds and ends of curious furniture; hair trunks with initials made of brass nails; camphor-wood chests; boxes and barrels and other repositories of family papers and discarded finery of the past eighty years, standing in a solemn row under the eaves. The old attic where all these miscellaneous articles had met as if by some prearrangement was a fine place for the game of hide-and-seek. Side by side with the accumulated rubbish of the past, stood General Schuyler's camp chest—a wooden box three feet long, filled with the table furniture and cooking utensils used by him during the war; and a big square trunk—I have it still—contains the grand ball dress of rich brocade, and the high heeled satin slippers. It was made after the Colonial period, the materials being of light ground with bunches of bright colored, hand-embroidered flowers. It is partly covered with lace and ornamented with ostrich plumes; the sleeves and fichu are also of rare lace. This costume was first worn by our great-aunt, Margarita Schuyler when she was married to Stephen Van Rensselaer. At President Washington's first Inauguration Ball given in New York on May 7th, 1787, it graced the fair form of an ancestress.

In the lower back hall hung a row of leather buckets—relics of a past age when "fire buckets filled the office of hose; in them water was passed by friendly hands disposed in a file from the place of supply to where it was needed, an opposite file returning the buckets when emptied."

The well at the kitchen door was one of our most attractive possessions; with its great wooden bucket—not yet supplanted by the more convenient pump—for bringing up the cooling draught. It was like a deep cup, lined from top to

bottom with the softest of green, living moss; and ferns tender and fine, leaning out over the water—as if to gaze upon the reflections of their own loveliness mirrored there.

But after all, the greatest charm of this realm of delights was the garden—bright with blossoms—that called to us with a thousand voices. Nothing but greenery; shady arbors, fruits and flowers, shut out from the rude world by trellises of grapevines; hedges of the Old World sweet briar with light red fragrant flowers; and thickets of barberry growing wild—whose racemes of yellow blossoms were most graceful—as its bright red berries were most toothsome. On the lower wall, ivy—real English ivy—grew so lavishly that it had to be kept well in hand. Our friends envied us the ivy.

The square lawn on the south side was laid out in wide beds of bloom. A broad walk, bordered with tall box, led through the old garden to the magnolia tree that blossomed so well. No other flower I think in arrangement of details approaches this handsome specimen.

Beyond this a much-trodden pathway wound past a clump of lilacs and shrub evergreens to the latticed summerhouse, which had once been painted green; but time and weather had changed it to a sage-colored drab, with here and there a trace of the original tint. It had benches along the sides; was open, both front and back; and thickly draped with vines—fragrant, but not too sweet—that almost completely enclosed it, and entirely hid the small diamond-shaped windows. Just before reaching it, one was enveloped in a wonderful cloud of fragrance that came stealing on the sense from the rosebushes that rioted closely around it. In sheltered nooks the catbirds built; fidgeting in and out, pouring forth their melodious notes, or uttering their cry of alarm with the mistrust that is born of their diminutive natures. It was a delightful retreat.

Three varieties of hawthorne grew to perfection in our garden. One with white blossoms, refinement itself; another with the branches a mass of pink color—to be compared to nothing but velvet; and a third with deep red, rose-like flowers—that under the hot sun, threw vivid coloring—was quite dazzling. A grand old double thorn—each year it had draped itself down to the very grass in scarlet bloom, graceful, elegant, distractingly pretty,—a cruel wind-storm snapped off close to the ground one day. The gardener made every effort to save it, but the valuable specimen was doomed. When the guelder-rose with its glory of snowballs was in blossom the broad walk looked its best. Thousands and thousands of greenish-white petals dropped from the globose clusters until the soil was covered with innumerable stars. They were great favorites of ours. There were also two varieties of syringa: the mock orange, whose cream tinted flowers of beautifully rounded petals resemble those of the orange in form, though not in fragrance; and the familiar shrub of the olive family. I much preferred the latter with its powerful scent; and it has the merit too, of lasting long enough for one to enjoy it. When the lilacs and other ornamental trees that grew along the high fence and in scattered clumps were in the height of their splendor, the air was full of fragrance and delight.

My grandmother had an exceeding fondness for flowers—a gift in making them grow; and lavished upon them the tenderest care, each fine morning finding her hard at work with hoe and rake among her treasures, which seeming conscious of her love responded to it generously. The borders were crowded with bulbs and perennials; and later, planted with all the old-fashioned annuals that never ceased to bloom the entire season.

Fast on the retreat of snow and ice follow those twin harbingers of spring—the flowers and the birds. To one who loves the varying moods of nature as manifested throughout the Northern States, the early spring has a charm peculiarly its own. The struggle on the part of winter to retain supremacy is often fierce, but always futile. The flowers know that his power is broken, and raise their heads in chill purity above the level of the half-frozen sod. On the threshold of the year, before the trees have begun to shiver and to rustle with awakening life, and the grass to mantle the spaces with green, we greet enthusiastically the blossoms that peer out into a world still cold.

The first to start the glad procession is the fine double snowdrop, piercing the leaf mold, peeping forth from the half-grown, grass-like leaves—each day it grows larger and whiter, its inner petals delicately tipped with green. The courage and self-assertion of this transplanted stranger, looking at itself in the ice and laughing in a bitter March wind is amazing to comprehend.

One of the earliest of the little border flowers is the pretty blue scylla—blue as deep sea water—pushing through last year's dead leaves. It is radiant in early spring, and having come to us from Siberia, this quaint beauty is perfectly hardy. I enjoyed seeing its refreshing tint in among the new blades of grass; for it had long ago with the snowdrop escaped the confines of the garden beds.

As they pierced the black mold everywhere, the prettiest sight imaginable was the white, yellow, and purple crocus of the iris family—appearing almost before the leaves, against the dark greens and browns of box and earth. If you look quite near, these flowers—resplendent in color and of easy cultivation—seem dipped in powdered sugar, as if for a fairy's repast. They would have remained perfect for days had the birds shown more impartiality and not chosen them for their private feast.

In our climate a light snow invariably fell on the hyacinths and the first brood of young robins. Hard fate! I remember the coincidence well for it never failed to occur—

“An envious sneaping frost,
That bites the firstborn infants of the spring.”

The beautiful spike-like clusters of white, pink, purple, and other hues, both single and double,—the delicious fragrance wafted here and there in all directions over the garden—were to me the most precious of all the bulbs. One morning in early springtime, that busy anxious season for the birds, I discovered a young robin standing in a pool of water—his feathers soaking wet, his eyes tightly closed, he, rigid with cold. I took the chilled little body in my hand

most tenderly, and placed him in a sunny window-seat to dry; while his parents in a state of expectancy chirped noisily in the shrubbery. Slowly the tiny creature returned to life; fluttered his wings; opened his eyes and looked about; and when perfectly restored was set free; and the fuss that my feathered friends made over their offspring, was quite the prettiest little drama that I ever saw enacted. The presence of a human being was nothing to them. As I looked on in admiration all three flew away over my head—so closely they almost swept me with their wings.

The daffodil is characteristic of the early year. I remember beds of them in the garden of my childhood, their yellow blossoms and green leaves forming a most beautiful combination of color. The finest grew on the north side of the house; as fine as those I saw on the margin of Ullswater, "Nodding their golden heads beside the dancing and foaming waves"—a veritable golden trail.

"Ten thousand saw I at a glance
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance."

"For oft when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure thrills,
And dances with the daffodils."

The tulip—the flower that best satisfies the fondness for bright colors—was well represented. It was in Holland that I first learned to appreciate tulips. There the varieties were almost endless. The low lands around Harlaam were covered with myriads of them gorgeous beyond expression in tropic coloring—the many single and double species that we are familiar with, biblooms and bizarres; and the parrot tinted with every shade that the human mind can suggest. This last is a rare, grotesque, disorderly beauty: at times this splendid creation trails its untidy head in the wet soil; at times, flaunts its charms full in the face of the sun. To do the scene justice, to paint those bold, brilliant hues would require the brush of a Van Hnysam, himself.

Primroses, yellow-eyed perennials ranging from gold to deepest crimson—emblems of early sweetness—bloomed profusely wherever the sun's rays were strongest.

After a day of rain, it was wonderful how quickly the polyanthus narcissus would pick themselves up and unfold; and there was so much to do in the garden one hardly knew where to begin. Violets blossomed in various odd nooks and corners, and I knew where to find the Johnny-jump-ups. In the orchard, the ground was covered with them—white and purple, on hummocks around the big trees; and to gather them kept one well occupied. Such a charming business it was, too! The old gardener would not pick a flower of any kind under any circumstances; although it was easy to get his promises to do so, because he felt himself under no obligation to keep them. The violet's

sweet scent I much prefer to the pansy—developed from the humbler plant by cultivation into large blossoms of a variety of colors and of great beauty; but Browning says,

“ It seems to me much worthier argument
Why pansies, eyes that laugh, bear beauty's prize
From violet's, eyes that dream.”

Nature may have intrusted the cross-breeding to the horticulturist, but the plan has never left her hands.

As the days lengthen and the sunshine grows warmer, it is interesting to note how flowers increase in size and deepen in tint. In June, the trees and shrubs were in full summer leaf—green grateful to the eye—the garden was in perfection, and the bluebirds had come. A fine red climbing rose made a most beautiful garment for a flowering almond which suddenly refused to grow, concealing its bare and battered limbs with pliant draperies. A double white of lavish bloom, peeped in at the parlor window on one side; and at the other, the lovely pink of a perfect moss-rose, grouped with eglantine whose flowers are excelled by the leaves in sweetness. By the middle of the month, the grounds were bewildering. Rosebuds in countless multitudes bloomed in every part; and the whole space was literally alive with myriads of butterflies, small red tortoise-shells, red admirals, dainty yellow and pure whites. The cloth of gold rose had a peculiarly delightful way of spreading the earth with orange; while yet the laden boughs showed no apparent loss. All the old favorites were there too—from the fragrant and perishable whites and pinks on to the damask and the dark red velvety-leaved George the IV. (less profuse in its bloom) . . . all blossoming for dear life. But a small blush rose well veiled in green, planted by my grandmother for me, was the most precious of all. It survived long after she had done with life and its companions had been winter killed; each year putting forth its leaf and bloom always refreshing and exquisite. I never could understand why such sweet flowers as roses do not secrete honey, nor why the lively worm delights in curling up a leaf for his castle,—then letting himself down from dangerous heights. These leaf-rollers that devour everything and menace speedy ruin would be more ludicrous were they less provoking—one cannot enter into a struggle with them on equal terms.

Rhododendrons never thrived in our part of the country; but the tree peonies from China might have posed as roses for the giant of Rabelais' satire, who could drink a river dry. The vari-colored winecups of the morning-glories and the day lilies were lovely. My mother was fond of arranging them in glass bowls for the breakfast table, the delicate blues and rose-tints of the one contrasting divinely with the ivory white of the other,—at noon they were faded.

The three classes of low-growing peonies must not be neglected; the heavy crimson that changes so quickly in the sun, the pure cold white with a faint tinge of color on the outer petals, and lastly, the large rose-colored for many days retaining its beauty in water.

There was also a fair representation of Oriental poppies, stately perennials with petals burning like flames. Perfectly hardy, and easy of cultivation, they were superb.

But parts of the garden that gave us most pleasure were sunny stretches where certain plants bloomed side by side in every possible combination of beauty, the greater number of them without cessation until frost. Bachelor buttons, charming corn-flowers of France, the fleur sauvage of the fields; tall, showy larkspur ranging through many hues; balsam closely resembling a lady's slipper, but too dainty for the foot of Cinderella herself; bluebells, like those that adorn "Ellen's Isle;" strong-scented marigolds; blue and white campanula; cheery, energetic candytuft; fraxinella, famed for its fragrant leaves; honey-sweet white alyssum; love-in-a-mist of mystic charm; bright-eyed coreopsis, a refulgent, barbaric creation; convolvuli, frail cups for dew-wine; starry, compact clusters of blue forget-me-not that "grows for happy lovers;" four o'clock's, with brilliant calyx; purple spires of foxglove; delicate tufts of lobelia; the showy petunias; exquisite patches of low-growing phlox; nodding spikes of prince's feather; mats of verbena glowing with comfort; pheasant's eye, and clove pinks pure white and fringed, refreshing specimens; clustered flowers of sweet william; bright colored dahlias; deep crimson snapdragon with its densely packed racemes; sweet peas of vivid tints climbing high on trellises; clove-scented stocks lowly and fragrant; tufts of scarlet columbine named for the sweetheart of Harlequin; and tall white lilies—the fairest of all the highly-prized flowers that made the old-time gardens the fascinating things they were.

It is a great temptation to linger; but to penetrate far into this alluring region is beyond my province now, though the materials are practically inexhaustible. It would take too long to tell of all the flowers we had, but a few more I must mention.

The annual poppies—showy herbs of the Old World—came on in all the varied pinks, reds, and whites; they yielded surprises in the almost endless varieties and mixtures of color, and the pleasing uncertainty as to the amount of doubleness to be expected. John Ruskin says: "I know of no flower that has so many charming tricks and manners, none with a method of growth more fascinating. We usually think of a poppy as a coarse flower; but it is the most transparent and delicate of all the blossoms of the field. The rest, nearly all of them, depend on the texture of their surfaces for color. But the poppy is painted glass; it never glows so brightly as when the sun shines through it. Wherever it is seen, against the light or with the light, always it is a flame, and warms the wind like a blown ruby Gather a poppy bud, just when it shows the scarlet line at its side, break it open and unpack the poppy. The whole flower is there complete in size and color, its stamens full grown, but all packed so closely that the fine silk of the petals is crushed into a million of wrinkles. When the flower opens, it seems a relief from torture; the two imprisoning green leaves are shaken to the ground, the aggrieved corolla smooths

itself in the sun and comforts itself as best it can, but remains crushed and hurt to the end of its days."

The gay golden *eschscholtzia* from California had not yet been transplanted to the east, which, beautiful as it is, in the long list of beauties, has a tendency to overrun everything.

In our climate—a climate that one cannot keep in the same mind about for one whole day together—when the capricious weather did not suit the heliotrope, it would look dejected and pitiful with its fragrant, one-sided flower-heads hanging straight down; but a soft rain followed by plenty of heat would make all the difference in the world, and set all right.

Among all cropped out the greenish-white fringes of the mignonette that thrives so well in the autumn, and under the microscope reveals such marvels of construction. No perfume that I know can equal its fragrance, and I am not so sure that the larger variety of to-day smells the sweeter for its great size. The nodding bell-shaped lilies of the valley grew in partly shaded nooks; and farther on, skirting the lane in primal wildness, thick growths of red-berried elder and crimson sumach flourished with sunflowers of golden coronets, and beds of myrtle dark and dense; while the stone wall at the rear was occupied by wild clematis vines, and a quantity of deadly nightshade. The latter had a most marvelous power of growth, and a cleverness for catching hold of and holding on tight to whatever good things happened to be within reach: each year it was cut down, dug up, and thrown away; "Ah! there you are again!" when each year it came back as thrifty as ever. An impertinent malicious weed-like plant that had finally to be left in undisturbed possession—a triumph of Nature!

In September, asters and zinnias of all types and hues formed interesting groups of striking beauty—rich tints to gladden the eye far into the golden days of autumn. When the woods which covered the hillsides were one mass of brilliant foliage, and here and there along the high river banks could be seen large patches of color, and about all hung a misty haze, the scentless white wind-flower (anemone) nodded and clustered, and the hardy chrysanthemum glowed with blossoms that lasted after the garden—a fragrant memory—was stripped, and all else was done.

We loved flowers equally well—grandmama and I; and as I walked with her through the dear old pleasance, out under the trees, and among the nasturtiums and the roses, dense with sweet scents of summer, I realized what a mysteriously beautiful world it is, and that there can be no winter nor age for the heart that finds a tranquil, innocent joy in the wonders and splendors of creation. Oliver Wendell Holmes says: "Nature has more artifices than all the conjurers that ever lived;" and a famous Frenchman writes, "When I admire the beauty of form, the grace of this flower in its freshly opening bloom, what strikes me most is the work of that hidden, unknown, mysterious force which rules over the plant's life and can direct it in the maintenance of its existence, which chooses the proper molecules of air, water, and earth for its nourishment, and

which knows, above all, how to assimilate these molecules and group them so delicately as to form this graceful stem, these dainty, green leaves, these soft pink petals, these exquisite tints and delicious fragrance."

Looking east beyond all this was the orchard, in June thick in growing grass. A brook slumbered along, bathing the roots of the trees, forming arches overhead: early in the year a riotous stream; in summer one that Walton himself might have loved—for trout were there; in winter, a glassy surface for sliding . . . and oh! what sport as on we flew, fast, faster! . . . A little spring as clear as crystal came bubbling forth from under the old hickory; and lower down the pool, fed by the ceaseless stream, was a summer watering-place for birds,—a great attraction to children. Occasionally a belted kingfisher would perch on a branch overhanging the place to watch for prey; while we sat on the bank and watched him dive suddenly into the limpid depths. The gnarled and bent trees held many nests; and the dear birds had much to relate in their charming language to the confiding branches. The golden oriole fleet of wing, and eye, and melody of triumphal richness; the shy blackbird who seeks retired spots; the sociable robin,—and who does not love him! the woodpecker, circling the trees in search of insects; swallows, skirting and dipping; yellow birds, in black and gold; bluebirds, of plaintive note; catbirds with changeful, caressing tones; that prince of jokers, Robert of Lincoln; and other warblers flitting about and singing like friendly angels.

It has always been a mystery to me why more has not been written of the blossoming fruit trees. What a varied treasure nature lavishes upon our fair land when she envelopes it in floral mantle or powders the ground with a wealth of petals. How lovely these are—the cold white of the cherry, the pearl of the pear, the heavenly pink of the peach increasing in fragrance, and the coral of apple-buds, with their distinctive and pleasing odor—heralds of coming spoil to stuff the vast medley of pockets of nimble, voracious lads; and fill the old attic with delightful aroma of fruit placed there to ripen. The pleasure of collecting some of the plunder I enjoyed myself. We never disturbed the birds in our orchard; the robins and other winged pets perched fearlessly, although we did accuse them of making sad havoc among the ripe cherries. I am fully persuaded too, that the trees in our grounds had an incomparably greater number of leaves and bore more fruit than those of the same species nowadays.

Miss Mitford thus pictures an autumn scene: "Ah! they are gathering in the orchard harvest. Look at that young rogue in the old mossy apple tree, bending with the weight of its golden rennets—see how he pelts his little sister beneath with apples as red and as round as her own cheeks, while she, with her outstretched frock is trying to catch them, and laughing and offering to pelt again as often as one bobs up against her; and look at that still younger imp, who, as grave as a judge is creeping on hands and knees under the tree, picking up the apples as they fall so deedily, and depositing them so honestly in the great basket on the grass, already fixed so firmly and opened so widely, and filled to overflowing by the rough brown fruitage of the golden rennet's next

neighbor the russeting ; and see that smallest urchin of all, seated apart in infantine state on the turfy bank, with that toothsome piece of deformity a crumpling in each hand, now biting from one sweet, hard, juicy morsel, and now from another."

As day declined, on warm afternoons a group of happy people gathered on the vine-draped piazza to catch the last rays of the sun as they lighted up the landscape, shining full and lingering longest on the oaks that fringed the distant hills ; then vanishing in a succession of gorgeous clouds.

The curtain slowly lowers as we sit in the enclosing shadows of the delicious summer twilight, when the air is heavy with fragrance too exquisite to be wasted ; the dew is falling, intensifying both sound and perfume ; the flowers are resting ; " katydids and crickets twang their little banjos ; " we hear the drift of the river—an indescribably peaceful effect, the evening star sparkles above the horizon ; the birds have closed their song ; and except for an occasional chirp are silent, as if they too felt the magic of the hour.

Leaf-hidden, we gaze in thoughtful reverence on the harmony of Nature. Altair, Vega, Andromeda, and an innumerable assemblage of lesser worlds on high, move silently ; Capella steals upward in the northeast ; the harvest moon—" like a silver boat launched upon a boundless flood "—pursues its way, exalting and glorifying the scene ; and surely in all her round, " Luna lights no spot more fair."

CHAPTER XX

DISTINGUISHED FRIENDS

GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS

“G. W. P. CUSTIS was the adopted son of Washington and the grandson of Mrs. Washington. * * * In 1749, Daniel Parke Custis, of ancient and honorable descent, married the beautiful Martha Dandridge, daughter of John Dandridge, of New Kent county, and died in 1757, leaving four children: Daniel Parke, Francis Parke, John Parke, and Martha Custis Parke. The two eldest died while young; Martha died at Mount Vernon on the 19th of June, 1773. Mrs. Custis married George Washington on the 6th of January, 1759; she was born in May, 1732, and died at Mount Vernon, the 22d of May, 1802.

“John Parke Custis was, therefore, the only child of this marriage to leave issue; he was born at the ‘White House,’ on the Pamunkey river, in New Kent county, in 1753; died at ‘Eltham,’ the residence of his maternal uncle, Burwell Bassett, on the 5th of November, 1781. He had married on the 3d of February, 1774, the second daughter of Benedict Calvert, of ‘Mt. Airy,’ Prince Georges’s county, Md., a son of Charles Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, who married, in 1698, Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, daughter of Edward Henry Lee, first Earl of Litchfield. The young couple lived for some time at Mount Vernon, and then moved to ‘Abingdon,’ on the Potomac, a short distance above Alexandria, where their three older children were born. It is said that Eleanor Calvert was only sixteen at the time of her marriage; nor was the husband much older, having not yet reached his twentieth year. On the 3d of April, 1773, General Washington wrote to Mr. Calvert, entering a protest against the union of the young people: ‘. . . My son-in-law and ward, Mr. Custis, has, I have been informed, paid his addresses to your second daughter, and, having made some progress in her affections, has solicited her in marriage. How far a union of this sort may be agreeable to you, you can best tell; but I should think myself wanting in candor, were I not to confess, that Miss Nelly’s amiable qualities are acknowledged on all hands, and that an alliance with your family will be pleasing to his. This acknowledgment being made, you must permit me to add, sir, that at this, or in any short time, his youth, inexperience, and unripened education are, and will be, insuperable obstacles, in my opinion, to the completion of the marriage. * * * It may be expected of me, perhaps, to say something of property; but, to descend to particulars, at this time, must seem premature. In general, therefore, I shall inform you, that Mr.



George Washington Custis

Custis's estate consists of about fifteen thousand acres of land, a good part adjoining the city of Williamsburg, and none of it forty miles from that place; several lots in the said city; between two and three hundred negroes; and about eight or ten thousand pounds upon bond, and in the hands of his merchants. This estate he now holds, independent of his mother's dower, which will be an addition to it at her death; and, upon the whole, it is such an estate as you will readily acknowledge, ought to entitle him to a handsome portion with a wife.'

"In spite of Washington's protest the young couple had their way, and were married the next year. Their union was very brief, for Mr. Custis died in 1781, leaving four young children. * * * Their children were: Elizabeth Parke, born the 21st of August, 1776; she married a Mr. Law. Martha Parke, born the 31st of December, 1777; married early in life, Mr. Thomas Peter. Eleanor Parke, born the 21st of March, 1779; 'Nelly Custis,' as she has always been known, was a great beauty, and much of a favorite with her stepfather. She married on 22d of February, 1799, Lawrence Lewis, a favorite nephew of the general's, being a son of Fielding Lewis and Elizabeth Washington. Their fourth child was George Washington Parke Custis, who was born at 'Mount Airy' on the 30th of April, 1781, six months before the death of his father. General Washington, immediately on hearing of the death of the father, said: 'I adopt the two younger children as my own,' and Mount Vernon was thereafter their home. Mr. Custis has always been known as 'the child of Mount Vernon,' and it has been said that his 'Grandmamma always spoiled' him. After the death of Mrs. Washington, in 1802, Mr. Custis moved to Arlington, opposite Washington, which mansion he built. He married in 1806, Mary Lee, daughter of Colonel William and Anne (Randolph) Fitzhugh, of 'Chatham,' and had four children, only one of whom survived infancy. This daughter, Mary Anne Randolph Custis, married Robert E. Lee. Mrs. Custis was born the 22d of April, 1788, and died the 23d of April, 1853. Mr. Custis, died the 10th of October, 1857, 'known and honored by his fellow-countrymen. His departure awakened propound regret.' They were buried in a beautiful grove near the Arlington house, where their remains still rest. Of Mrs. Custis, everyone who knew her has spoken in the highest terms. Bishop Meade wrote: 'But I must not lay down my pen, though my heart bleed at its further use, without the tribute of affection, of gratitude, and reverence, to one who was to me as a sister, mother, and faithful monitor. Mrs. Mary Custis, of Arlington, the wife of Mr. Washington Custis, the grandson of Mrs. General Washington, was the daughter of Mr. William Fitzhugh, of Chatham. Scarcely is there a lady in our land more honored than she was, and none more loved and esteemed. For good sense, prudence, sincerity, benevolence, unaffected piety, disinterested zeal in every good work, deep humility, and retiring modesty, I never knew her superior.'

"For many years Mr. Custis dispensed a generous hospitality at Arlington, his visitors being very numerous, consisting of the most distinguished Europeans

and Americans of his time. The mansion at Arlington was stored with the most precious relics of the 'Pater Patriae,' some of which are yet in the possession of the family, but many of them were stolen from the house in the early days of the late civil war. The few relics that were overlooked by individual depredators were seized by government officials as the rightful spoils of war, and are still exhibited in the National Museum at Washington, labelled 'Taken from Arlington.' Probably Washington hardly anticipated that the time would ever come when the government he had done so much to establish would 'take' the heirlooms he had bequeathed to his adopted son. On this subject, General Lee wrote to a member of Congress, under date of 12th of February, 1869: '. . . . Mrs. Lee has determined to act upon your suggestion, and apply to President Johnson for such of the relics from Arlington as are in the Patent Office. From what I have learned a great many things belonging to General Washington, bequeathed to her by her father, in the shape of books, furniture, camp equipage, etc., were carried away by individuals, and are now scattered over the land. I hope the possessors appreciate them, and may imitate the example of their original owner, whose conduct must at times be brought to their recollection by these silent monitors. In this way they will accomplish good to the country.' Later, when Mrs. Lee's application had been refused, and styled by a committee of Congress as 'an insult to the loyal people of the United States,' the general wrote: '. . . . Had I conceived the view taken by Congress, I would have endeavored to have dissuaded Mrs. Lee from applying for them. It may be a question with some whether the retention of these articles is 'more an insult,' in the language of the committee on public buildings, 'to the loyal people of the United States, than their restoration; but of this I am willing that they should be the judge; and since Congress has decided to keep them, she must submit.'"

By Edmund Jennings Lee, M. D.



G. W. P. CUSTIS ARMS.

“At an early period, G. W. P. Custis, became much interested in the improvement of the breed of sheep. Colonel William Humphreys, American Minister at Madrid, had recently introduced the fine woolled Merino sheep into the United States. Mr. Custis saw the great advantage that his country might derive from the cultivation of fine wool, and the establishment of manufactories of cloth, and in 1803, he inaugurated an annual convention for the promotion of agriculture and domestic manufactures, known throughout the country by the title of ‘Arlington Sheep Shearing.’ These gatherings were at Arlington spring, a large fountain of living waters that gushes from beneath the shade of a venerable oak, not far from the banks of the Potomac. There, for many years, on the thirteenth of April, the annual shearing took place. A large concourse of people would assemble to participate in or witness the ceremonies. Toasts were drunk, speeches were made, and prizes, provided at the sole expense of Mr. Custis, were distributed among those who presented the best specimens of sheep or wool, and domestic manufactures. These were the first prizes ever offered for such objects in America. Under the great war-tent of Washington, yet preserved at Arlington house, many of the noblest men of the land have assembled on these festivals, where they and the entire concourse were entertained in a most generous manner by the host, who usually made a stirring speech appropriate to the occasion. In one of them he said, prophetically: ‘America shall be great and free, and minister to her own wants by the employment of her own resources. The citizen of my country will proudly appear, when clothed in the produce of his own native soil.’ It must be remembered that, at that time, every yard of broadcloth worn in the United States was imported from Europe.

“When Lafayette came to the United States, in 1824, as the guest of the nation, Mr. Custis was among those who met him at the federal capital as a friend. True, his recollection of the illustrious Frenchman, while on his last visit to Mount Vernon in the autumn of 1784, was dim and shadowy, yet the son of that hero and benefactor, who now accompanied him, and who bore the name of George Washington, had been the companion of his youthful days at Mount Vernon, when La Fayette was in exile. Mr. Custis spent much time with the illustrious guest at Arlington and elsewhere. At the tomb of Washington, in the presence of a large number of persons, he presented Lafayette with a ring, in which was some hair of the Pater Patrias. The presentation was accompanied by some touching remarks, to which Lafayette responded in the most feeling manner.”

MARY ANNE RANDOLPH CUSTIS.

ARLINGTON HOUSE

“Arlington was erected by George W. P. Custis in 1802, on land that had been George Washington’s, its façade being modelled after the Temple of Theseus in Athens. It is of brick, a hundred and forty feet in width, with an immense portico upheld by eight massive Doric columns. The house is sur-

rounded by patriarchal trees of oak and chestnut on all sides except in front, where the ground slopes away toward the Potomac river, revealing the picturesque panorama of the American capital.

"In 1831, Mary, the daughter of G. W. P. Custis, married Robert Edward Lee, a young lieutenant in the United States army. The ceremony, which took place at Arlington, was performed by the Rev. William Meade, afterward a distinguished bishop of the diocese of Virginia. On his way to the wedding he was caught in a heavy thunderstorm, which played such havoc with his clerical garb that he was forced to borrow raiment from the bride's father. He being tall and thin, and Mr. Custis short and stout, the effect of the change



ARLINGTON HOUSE.

was very ludicrous, save when the clergyman was covered with the ample folds of his surplice, which he could scarcely be induced to remove during the remainder of the evening.

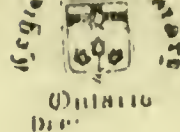
"In those days wedding trips were unheard of, and the guests remained at Arlington for a week of festivity. Every night, at the hour for retiring, the servants brought in a brimming punch bowl, which had been presented to George Washington by Colonel Fitzhugh, a former aide-de-camp. Inside was painted a ship, its hull resting in the bottom and its masts projecting to the brim. It was a law of the house, and one that was always strictly enforced, to drink down to the hull. The festivities were concluded by a ball at Gunston Hall, the neighboring home of the Mason family, after which the guests departed, and the young couple settled down to housekeeping."

The property is now owned by the Government.

1840
1840



WILLIAM HEATHCOTE de LANCEY.



WILLIAM HEATHCOTE DE LANCEY

An American Bishop

“ James de Lancey, the eldest son of the Lieutenant-Governor, born in 1732, was the head of the political party called by his name, from his father's death to the Revolution and its leader in the Assembly of the Province.

“ John Peter de Lancey, the fourth son of the Lieutenant-Governor, was born in the City of New York, July 15th, 1753, and died at Mamaroneck, January 30th, 1828. He received the Heathcote estates of his mother, in the Manor of Scarsdale; and having retired from a military life, in 1789 returned to America and resided at Mamaroneck. He built a new house, still standing on Heathcote Hill, the site of his grandfather Heathcote's great brick manor house, which was accidentally burned several years prior to the Revolution. He married the 28th of September, 1785, Elizabeth Floyd, daughter of Colonel Richard Floyd, of Mastic, Suffolk county. His third son was William Heathcote, born the 8th of October, 1797, at Mamaroneck, and died at Geneva, N. Y., April 5th, 1865. He was the first bishop of Western New York. He graduated from Yale College in 1812, and at once commenced the study of theology with the celebrated Bishop Hobart, as a private student. He was ordained a priest by that prelate on March 6th, 1822. Mr. de Lancey married on the 22d of November, 1820, Francis, third daughter of Peter Jay Munro, the distinguished lawyer of New York and of Mamaroneck. In 1839, upon the division of New York State into two dioceses, he was elected bishop of that part of the state, west of Utica, and consecrated bishop of Western New York, at Auburn, May 9th, 1839, and took up his residence at Geneva in Ontario county, a town nearly in the centre of the new diocese the same year.

“ After a long, distinguished and successful episcopate of twenty-one years, Bishop de Lancey died in his own house in Geneva, on the 5th of April, 1865, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. ‘ In him,’ says a writer of the day, ‘ the church in America loses the further services of one of her oldest and wisest bishops. Descended from one of the oldest and best families in this country—which dates far back in our colonial history, and was from the first one of the staunchest pillars of the Church. . . . Bishop de Lancey had also the good fortune to be personally connected with the leading minds in our American branch of the Church Catholic. After studying for holy orders under Bishop Hobart, and being ordained by him both deacon and priest, he became assistant to the venerable Bishop White, and continued in the closest and most confidential intercourse with him to his death in 1836. * * * During his connection with the Diocese of Pennsylvania, he filled numerous posts of dignity and useful service, among which were the Provostship of the University of Pennsylvania, the Secretaryship of the House of Bishops, and of the Pennsylvania Convention ;

his activity, high character and living influence, were inferior to those of no other priest in the diocese. This early promise was not disappointed, but abundantly fulfilled, in his career as the first bishop of Western New York. He was one of the men whom nature had marked out for a ruler among his fellows. With sound principles, earnest devotion, personal gravity, and spotless purity of life, he possessed a clearness of head, a keen knowledge of human nature, and a coolness, caution, readiness, and boldness, which all combined in making him a successful bishop. His skill in debate was remarkable, and was fully equalled by his mastery of all the resources of parliamentary tactics, either for carrying a measure which he favored, or defeating one to which he was opposed. His vigilance and unflinching tenacity were fully on a par with his other qualities; and yet his courtesy and gentlemanly bearing, together with a pleasant touch of humor, so lubricated the friction of every contest, that no undue heat remained on either side when the struggle was over. No higher testimony could be given to the manner in which he discharged his high office, than the fact of great and steady growth in his diocese, together with a maintenance of an internal harmony, unity and peace, such as no one of our great dioceses has been able to equal, much less surpass; nor was he ever the subject of systematic attack from outside of his own jurisdiction. But his care was not limited to his own immediate charge. While Hobart College, and De Veaux College, and the Theological Training School, and other flourishing church schools, manifest his power of organization and maintenance, and his success in rallying aid by means of the confidence which his personal and official character inspired, he never neglected the General Institutions of the Church. Not only in General Convention was he one of the strong men of the Upper House; but in the Board of Missions, in the Church Book Society, in the General Theological Seminary, he has been the foremost, sometimes the one of all others to lead the way at critical moments, and to sound the call to which others were glad to rally. His clear sightedness, indeed, sometimes made him a little in advance of his time; and no truer proof of wisdom could be given by a tenacious man than the promptness with which he dropped a subject when satisfied that it was not yet ripe for action. One case of this kind was in regard to the General Theological Seminary, which he foresaw must sooner or later change its form from a general to a local institution; and about twenty years ago he proposed it in the Board. The proposal failed, and was not renewed. The time for that change is much nearer now than it was then, and the shape which it will take, will probably be different in some important respects from Bishop de Lancey's ideas at that time. But his foresight as to the coming change will continue on record. Another and still more important subject was also introduced first by him into the General Convention—the adoption of the Provincial System. Bishop White, indeed, had sketched out the plan long before, and he had taken it from the universal system of the church in all ages and countries; but Bishop de Lancey was the first to propose it, formally, to the legislature of the church. The time had not come; and the bishop wisely let it sleep thereafter; but here,

as before, the proof of his foresight as to the approaching and certain needs of the church is written in the records of her institutions. Bishops of more brilliance in some departments, of more moving eloquence, of more sympathetic temperaments, of more personal popularity, of more rapid visible success, we may behold; but a bishop more sagacious, more steady, more true, in laying the foundations of the church, like a wise master-builder, we never expect to see.' ”

By his son, EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY.



De LANCEY ARMS.

HONORABLE HAMILTON FISH

An American Statesman

“The decease, on September 7th, 1893, of the Honorable Hamilton Fish, L.L. D., President-General of the Cincinnati, at his country seat, ‘Glenclyffe’ near Garrison’s on the Hudson, N. Y., was a loss to the United States of one of the most eminent citizens, whose labors in its service had become historic.

“The family of which he was a representative originally settled at Cape Cod, Mass., in 1635, from whence the branch to which he belonged removed to Long Island.

“Hamilton Fish was born in the City of New York, August 3d, 1808. He received his early education at private schools in his native city, and entered Columbia College in 1823, and was graduated in 1827, in the same class with John Player Crosby, and Professor William Henry Crosby of the New York Cincinnati, Dr. John Clarkson, Henry Onderdonk, Jr., and Professor Henry Augustus DuBois, M. D., LL. D. Mr. Fish then read law in the office of Peter Augustus Jay, Esq., and was admitted to the New York bar in 1830.

“The limits of this memoir will not admit of a detailed account of his subsequent political career, which, whenever opportunity afforded, always rounded to the credit of his country. From March 4th, 1843, he served one term as representative in the Twenty-eighth Congress, from the Sixth Congressional District of his native city. On November 2d, 1847, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York, to fill a vacancy; and in 1848 was elected Governor, and held that office one term. On March 19th, 1851, he was elected a Senator of the United States from his state, and at the close of his term, in 1857, went abroad with his family for a considerable period. He was in Paris during the régime of Napoleon III., when the court etiquette of the Bourbons was, as far as practicable, observed, and was, by reason of his office in the Order of the Cincinnati, received at a court ceremonial at Versailles with special honors.

“In April, 1861, he became prominent as a champion for the preservation of the Union, and was chairman of the Union Defence Committee, 1861-65, and frequently consulted by President Lincoln. On March 11th, 1869, he was appointed United States Secretary of State in the administration of President Grant, and held that responsible office with great advantage to his country for eight years. In the negotiation of the great treaty of Washington with Great Britain for the arbitration of the Alabama and Fisheries claims; in the satisfactory settlement of the Virginus case with Spain; in the negotiation of an extradition treaty with Great Britain, as well as in other less important diplomatic negotiations; in the vigorous assertion of American dominance over Hawaii as



Hamilton Fish

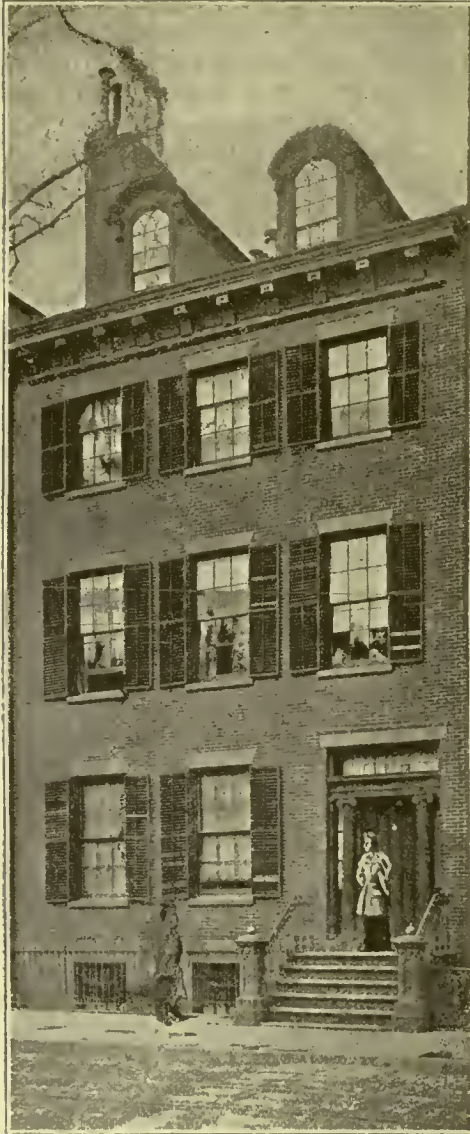
against foreign interference, and in the steadfast protection of American interests in every quarter of the globe, he won an enduring reputation, and by his labors potentially aided in placing the United States in the forefront of the nations of the world. So tactful, quiet, but unremitting, were his labors in the great Alabama claims matter, that his countrymen hardly realized the obligations they were under to him for the successful and satisfactory termination of an international question, which, sooner or later, would have resulted in war. As years have gone by, his diplomatic forethought and acumen have been more and more realized and appreciated, and it only remained for the very recent work of Mr. J. C. Bancroft Davis, entitled 'Mr. Fish and the Alabama claims; a chapter of Diplomatic History,' to show how much the American people were indebted to this patriotic and able statesman for the vindication of its rights under the Law of Nations.

"In the office of Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish will rank with Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, William L. Marcy and William H. Seward, whose services are enduringly written in their country's history. Secretary Fish's diplomacy was, as has been aptly said, not only successful in its immediate object, but has been vindicated in its wisdom by lasting results of high utility; and it must have produced a grateful feeling in his honored old age to watch the beneficent operation of the treaties he had dictated, and the international relations he had established.

"In 1840 he became a trustee of Columbia College, and in 1859, was chosen president of its Board of Trustees and continued in that capacity until his decease. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from his own Alma Mater in 1850; from Union College in 1869, and from Harvard University in 1871. From 1867 until he became Secretary of State, he was president of the New York Historical Society. He was also a trustee of the Lenox Library and Astor Library, and a trustee of the 'Peabody Educational Fund,' and was for a time president of the Union League Club. Inheriting an ample fortune he was enabled to fulfil the social duties incumbent on the position he occupied as a leader of society, and the elegant hospitality of his home in Washington while head of the State Department, was a marked feature of the social side of President Grant's administration.

"The relations sustained by Secretary Fish to the Society of the Cincinnati were peculiarly interesting. On July 4th, 1834, he was admitted an hereditary member as the eldest son of Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas Fish, deceased, and in 1844, was elected treasurer of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, an office he continued to hold until elected president of that State Society, July 4th, 1855. Meanwhile, in 1848, he became Vice President-General of the Cincinnati, and on May 17th, 1854, he was chosen by the General Society to be President-General, vice General Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn, of Massachusetts, deceased, and continued in that high office until his death, at which time he was the senior hereditary member in date of admission.

“Secretary Fish was the ninth President-General of the Cincinnati, his predecessors having also all held office respectively until their decease.



THE BIRTHPLACE OF HAMILTON FISH.
No. 21 Stuyvesant Street.

“Of Vice Presidents-General during this period of one hundred and ten years, four were from Massachusetts, three from Pennsylvania, three from New York, two from New Jersey, two from South Carolina, and one from Virginia, Major-General Horatio Gates, LL. D. Major Popham was the latest of the Continental Line of the Revolution chosen President-General.

“The peculiar and remarkable respect and uncommon attention which the Cincinnati had shown President-General Washington was, to nearly as great a degree, bestowed on all his successors. President-General Fish had the unbounded regard of the members, which he reciprocated, and in the closing years of his life he gave much thought to the principles of the institution and the purposes of the founders.

“When he became Vice President-General in 1848, but few of the venerable and honored original members survived, and in 1854 the last of them, Robert Burnet, passed away.

“With the difficulty of communication before the era of railways, telegraphs and frequent and cheap postal rates, and by reason of the absence, at great distances, of properly qualified descendants of original members, who were thereby debarred from acquiring hereditary membership, the Society of the Cincinnati had gradually diminished in numbers until it was perceived that it was liable to extinction at no distant day. President-General Dearborn, in a communication to the

diminished in numbers until it was perceived that it was liable to extinction at no distant day. President-General Dearborn, in a communication to the

General Society, dated November 29th, 1848, called attention to the fact, and suggested the adoption of some such rule concerning admission of members as had been contained in a report made to the South Carolina State Society on March 4th, 1799, adding that, in his opinion, 'unless such a measure is adopted, this time-honored and glorious association will cease to exist within less than a third of a century, or be so reduced in numbers as to be unavailable for the purposes of its organization.' The General Society, on the same day, appointed a committee, of which Mr. Fish was a member, to consider 'if it be not expedient and proper to suspend, alter, or abrogate the limitation with regard to the admission of members,' and to inquire and report what alterations are necessary and proper on the subject. This committee brought in a report at the next triennial meeting in May, 1851, submitting, in amendment to the Institution, an 'ordinance relative to the succession and admission of members;' making eligible all male descendants of officers of the Revolutionary army. The ordinance, however, failed of ratification by the several State Societies, and consequently the Institution remained as originally adopted in May, 1783. At the next triennial meeting of the General Society, held in Baltimore in May, 1854, President-General Fish was a member of a committee which reported new resolutions on the subject of admissions, giving to every State Society 'full right and power to regulate the admission of members both as to the qualifications of the members and the terms of admission,' whereby more than one descendant of an officer of the Continental army or navy could be admitted. He voted for the resolutions and for a submission of them to the several State Societies, in order that, upon consent being given by each of the State Societies, the same should become operative, and each State Society be 'at liberty to act upon the power given thereby.' This amendment or alteration of the Institution also failed of ratification by the refusal in one instance, and neglect in others, of several State Societies, to ratify the resolves. Thereupon, at a special meeting of the General Society held in Trenton in May, 1856, so much of the resolutions of 1851 as required the consent of the several State Societies in order to make them valid, was rescinded. Neither the Rhode Island nor New York State Societies were represented at this meeting, nor was President-General Fish able to leave his duties in the United States Senate to attend. For a limited period the New York State Society, from 1857 to 1860, enlarged its rules of admission under this questionable action of the General Society, and admitted for their own lives only several descendants of original members, two of President-General Fish's own family being thus admitted to represent, with himself, his father.

"The rapid extension of the railway system of the United States, and increased facilities of communication, soon thereafter enabled proper descendants to claim their hereditary membership. The apprehension of the extinction of the society, which had induced these resolves, was thus dissipated, and the necessity for any relaxation of the prescribed rules as to admissions was obviated. The admission of more than one descendant to represent the same *peopositus* not

having been found to be satisfactory within the scope and intent of the Institution, President-General Fish came to the conclusion, upon mature deliberation, that, as the necessity for any relaxation of the strict rule had passed away, it ought henceforth to be rigidly adhered to.

“The rise and progress of the patriotic society of the ‘Sons of the Revolution,’ from their first meeting in the hall of the New York Historical Society, on December 18th, 1875, for consultation and organization, was viewed with lively interest and satisfaction by President-General Fish, who was wont to term the members ‘younger brothers of the Cincinnati.’ Considering as he did the Society of the Cincinnati to be merely the symbolism of certain great principles enunciated in their Institution, to be perpetuated to the eldest male posterity of original members and their associates, he perceived in the ‘Sons of the Revolution’ a society of descendants of Revolutionary patriots, who, in their laudable objects and purposes supplement the Society of the Cincinnati, and are destined to carry on in a national way the work long performed, from 1783, by the ‘Society of the Revolution’ of South Carolina, in fraternal unison with the Cincinnati.

“At the last triennial meeting of the General Society of the Cincinnati, held in Boston, Mass., in May–June, 1893, President-General Fish, by reason of infirmity of years, was unable to attend. Deeply solicitous in regard to its affairs, he corresponded constantly with the Secretary-General—as to its business and kept himself thoroughly informed. On June 9th, 1893, he addressed his ‘dear brethren’ of the General Society, and, after expressing his deepest regrets at being unable to be with them, earnestly wrote as follows: ‘I beg to commend especially to your calm and wise consideration, the establishing of an uniform rule to be observed by all the State Societies, as to the qualification of applicants for admission to the Society. In this each State Society is a trustee of the interests and character of each of its associate State Societies, and I beg permission to commend to your decision the strictest possible adherence to the intent of our Institution, to confine admissions to the blood of those who instituted the Society and of their associates in the war of the Revolution, in the right line of descent.’ After referring to having been honored for thirty-nine years with the President-Generalcy of the Society, he concludes as follows: ‘With most profound gratitude for your long-continued favor and for your generous indulgence, and with affectionate regards to each and every of our members, my earnest prayer is that God may bless our Society of the Cincinnati, *esto perpetua*.’

“In compliance with his solemn injunction, the whole subject concerning admission of members was referred to the Standing Executive Committee for report and recommendation at the next general meeting.

“Upon the occasion of his obsequies at St. Philip’s Church in the Highlands, on September 11th, 1893, a representation of the Society of the Cincinnati, attended, including a special delegation from the New York State Society, and were accorded the position of principal mourners, next after the immediate

family. The several State Societies have since adopted appropriate resolutions, which, however, were not necessary, as the affectionate respect and esteem always entertained by the Cincinnati for their late honored and venerated President-General was well known."

By ASA BIRD GARDINER, LL. D.



Hamilton Fish.

BOOK PLATE.

WASHINGTON IRVING

An American Author

“Washington Irving was born in the City of New York, April 3d, 1783. He was the eighth son of William and Sarah Irving, and the youngest of eleven children. ‘Washington’s work is ended,’ said the mother, ‘and the child shall be named after him.’ The appellation was the means of procuring him an early introduction to that illustrious personage, when he came back to New York, then the seat of Government, as President of the United States. A young Scotch maidservant of the family, struck with the enthusiasm which everywhere greeted his arrival, determined to present the child to his distinguished namesake. Accordingly, she followed him one day into a shop, and pointing to the lad who had scarcely outgrown his virgin trousers: ‘Please your Honor,’ said she, ‘here’s a bairn was named after you.’ In the estimation of Lizzie, for so she was called, few claims of kindred could be stronger than this. Washington did not disdain the delicate affinity, and placing his hand on the head of her little charge, gave him his blessing.

“In his fourth year, Washington was sent to school in Anne street, kept by a Mrs. Ann Kilmaster. From Mrs. Kilmaster he was transferred, toward the close of 1789, to a school for both sexes kept by Benjamin Romaine. At the age of eleven, books of voyages and travels became his passion. ‘How wistfully,’ says he, in the introduction to the Sketch Book, ‘would I wander about the pier-heads in fine weather, and watch the parting ships bound to distant climes—with what longing eyes would I gaze after their lessening sails, and waft my imagination to the ends of the earth!’ So strong did this desire become, that at the age of fourteen it had nearly ripened into a purpose to elope from home, and engage as a sailor. The idea of living on salt pork, which was his abhorrence, was, however, a great drawback to his resolution, but with the courage of a martyr he determined to overcome his dislike, and accordingly he made it a practice to eat it at every opportunity. It was another part of his discipline, by way of preparing for a hard couch, to get up from his bed at night, and lie on the bare floor. But the discomforts of this regimen soon proved too much for his perseverance; with every new trial the pork grew less appetitious, and the hard floor more hard, until his flattering resolution came to a total collapse.

“His education was completed before he had attained his sixteenth year; at least from this period he assumed the direction of his own studies. His brothers, Peter and John, had been sent to Columbia College, and why he did not receive the same advantages he could never satisfactorily explain, except that he was more alive to the drudgery than the advantage of a course of academic training. He never failed, however, to regret the omission in after life. At the age of sixteen he entered the law office of Henry Masterson, a respectable practi-



WASHINGTON IRVING.

tioner. It was at this period of still happy boyhood, that he made his first voyage up the Hudson, the extraordinary beauty of which, says Bryant, he was the first to describe. Two of his sisters had married and settled about forty miles west of Albany; that country being then filled with Indians, with whom the trade in furs was extremely profitable. To gratify his restless desire to see more of 'the vast globe' he inhabited, his parents had consented to his making an excursion to visit these two married sisters.

"In the summer of 1801, Mr. Irving left Masterson, and entered the office of Brockholst Livingston; and when that eminent lawyer was called to the Bench of the Supreme Court of the State in January, 1802, he continued his clerkship with Josiah Ogden Hoffman.

"Mr. Irving came of age on the third of April, 1804. The delicate state of his health at this time began to awaken the solicitude of his family, and his brothers, animated by a common spirit, determined to send him at their own expense to Europe. Before his departure, the author had acquired no inconsiderable celebrity by his scribblings, and beside the solicitude of his relatives a very general interest had been awakened in his favor. At the end of nearly two years, he came back with health renewed and invigorated. At that 'home-keeping' era to have visited foreign parts was of itself quite a title to consideration. New York was a more 'handy' city in those days, to borrow a descriptive epithet of the author, and offered much greater facility of intercourse. No man could hide his light under a bushel. Everybody knew everybody, and there was more of good fellowship and careless ease of manners than distinguish the social circles of either sex in these more formal times. The literati and men of wit and intellect entered more into society, and gave to it something of their own tone and character. If the dinners were less costly than now, they were more merry, and there was greater heartiness of enjoyment. Singing—sentimental and bacchanalian—was quite a feature in the entertainment. Conviviality, however, it must be confessed, was sometimes pushed to an extreme; it was almost treason against good fellowship not to get tipsy, and the senseless custom of compelling guests to drink bumpers, not unfrequently laid many under the table who never would have been led willingly to such excess. Mr. Irving used to tell a witty anecdote of one of his early friends, Henry Ogden, illustrative of this feature of the dinners of those times. Ogden had been at one of these festive meetings on the evening before, and had left with a brain half bewildered by the number of bumpers he had been compelled to drink. He told Irving the next day that in going home he had fallen through a grating, which had been carelessly left open, into a vault beneath. The solitude, he said, was rather dismal at first, but several of the other guests fell in, in the course of the evening, and they had on the whole quite a pleasant night of it.

"Mr. Irving was admitted to the bar in November, 1806, after which he shared the office of his brother John, at No. 3 Wall street. So little, however, does he seem intent at this time upon professional employment, that we find him concerting with James K. Paulding, the project of *Salmagundi*, the first number

of which appeared only two months after the date of his license. Paulding readily fell in with the idea. They were afterward joined by Washington's eldest brother William, who made up the trio, Launcelot Langstaff, Anthony Evergreen, and William Wizard. The work was undertaken purely for their own amusement; if they covered the expense of paper and printing it was all they cared for. The success of the first number was decisive. The sensation increased with every issue, and eight hundred numbers were disposed of in a day. The authors were astonished at their own success, and finding that the work was yielding a large profit to the publisher, began to doubt whether some share of the advantage should not accrue to themselves. Soon after the eighth number of *Salmagundi* was issued, Mr. Irving was called suddenly from New York, on an informal retainer from one of the friends of Colonel Burr, whose trial was expected to take place at Richmond. His client had little belief in his legal erudition, and did not look for any approach to a professional debut, but thought he might in some way or other be of service with his pen. He, himself felt that the movements and deportment of Burr were likely to be highly interesting in his present circumstances, and seems eagerly to have embraced the opportunity of mingling in the excitements of the trial. Enveloped as had been the proceedings of Burr in doubt and mystery, he did not at the time share in the prevalent belief of his treason, and he writes to Mrs. Hoffman, 'though opposed to him in political principles yet I consider him as a man so fallen, so shorn of the power to national injury, that I feel no sensation remaining but compassion for him.'

"After the completion of *Salmagundi*, Mr Irving resumed his literary labors and in connection with his brother Peter commenced the *History of New York*.

"On the 25th of May, 1815, Washington Irving bade adieu to his aged mother, his brothers, and his friends, and embarked on board the ship *Mexico* for Liverpool, looking forward to a pleasant voyage, but little dreaming that the ocean he was about to cross would roll its waters for seventeen years between him and his home. During his residence abroad he traveled much in England, Scotland, France, and Spain. His '*Sketch Book*,' was sent home in fragments and published in pamphlet numbers during 1818. The titles of his succeeding works are well known. He returned to New York in 1832.

"He was minister to Spain from 1842 to 1846, and on his return published several important works, the most elaborate of which was '*The Life of George Washington*.'

"For a number of years he resided on the Hudson, near Tarrytown, in the beautiful old mansion which he christened '*Sunnyside*.' He was indebted to his friend, Mrs. Renwick, the heroine of '*The Blue-eyed Lassie*,' of Burns, for the slip of ivy from Melrose Abbey, which she planted with her own hands, and lived to see, running in rich luxuriance over the walls of *Sunnyside*."

Washington Irving died on November 28th, 1857.

By his nephew, PIERRE M. IRVING.



SUNNYSIDE.

SUNNYSIDE

“ About two miles south of Tarrytown, a winding lane leads (1847) to Sunnyside the residence of the Honorable Washington Irving. There is scarcely (observes Mr. Downey) a building or place more replete with interest in America than the cottage of Washington Irving, near Tarrytown. The legend of Sleepy Hollow, so delightfully told in the Sketch Book, has made everyone acquainted with his neighborhood, and especially with the site of the present building there celebrated as the ‘ Van Tassel House,’ one of the most secluded and delightful nooks on the banks of the Hudson. With characteristic taste, Mr. Irving has chosen this spot, the haunt of his early days, since rendered classic ground by his elegant pen, and made it his permanent residence. The house of ‘ Baltus Van Tassel ’ has been altered and rebuilt in a quaint style, partaking somewhat of the English cottage mode, but retaining strongly marked symptoms of its Dutch origin. The quaint old weathercocks and finials, the crow-stepped gables and the hall paved with Dutch tiles, are among the ancient and venerable ornaments of the houses of the original settlers of Manhattan, now almost extinct among us. There is also a quaint keeping in the cottage, and grounds around it, that assists in making up the chain of the whole; the gently swelling slope reaching down to the water’s edge, bordered by prettily wooded ravines, through which a brook meanders, and threaded by footpaths,

ingeniously contrived, so as sometimes to afford secluded walks, and at others to allow fine vistas of the broad expanse of the river scenery.

“ Over the porch is the following inscription :

Erected
Anno 1650,
Rebuilt by
Washington Irving,
Anno 1835.

Geo. Harvey,
Architect.

“ Above the peaked turret of the portal, glitters a horse in full gallop, once the weathercock of the great Van der Heyden palace at Albany ; the other upon the eastern gable formerly surmounted the Stadt House of New Amsterdam.

“ The interior is in perfect harmony with the exterior design of this quaint and venerable edifice. In the library are preserved the elbow chair and writing desk of Diedrich Knickerbocker.”



Benson Lossing

BENSON JOHN LOSSING

An American Historian

“DEAR MRS. BAXTER :

“In reply to yours of March 26th, I have at hand some papers to which I will refer, for the short sketch which you have requested. An Albany work says: Mr. Lossing was born at Beekman, Dutchess county, N. Y., and descended from the Dutch from Holland; his ancestors having come early into the country, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His father was a farmer, who died in his son's infancy; and the home of the mother's brother, Samuel Dorland, became the home of the family. There the son remained till he was between eleven and twelve years of age, when at the death of his mother, he went out into the world, by going to a cousin's near Washington Hollow, Dutchess county. There at an old schoolhouse, his education, commenced at a similar schoolhouse in Beekman, was completed. It was, of course, a very simple one; but there in partnership with a friend, he subscribed for his first newspaper; it was there, too, probably from his fondness for the water, for there was a pretty Sylvan lake at Beekman, and a small pond at Washington, he went too much in the water. He was taken with the only severe illness of his lifetime, acute rheumatism; he became unable to walk; school comrades and neighbors, helped to alleviate his condition, and with paints and pencils, he was entertained with occupation during his convalescence. Afterward, it was finally decided he should go to Poughkeepsie and learn the watchmaker's trade. With a knowledge of the good people, with whom he was surrounded, there was cause for gratitude, as this first going out into the world. His mother's family was tenderly affectionate, and absence from them was a measure full of hardship, to which it was long before the boy became accustomed, in future efforts to earn his livelihood.

“A biographical notice prepared for the Worcester Society of Antiquity, says it was while learning the trade of watchmaker at Poughkeepsie, that Mr. Lossing, ‘became interested in historical matters, an odd volume of Gibbon's Rome found among some rubbish—being the incentive and first inspiration in this line, in which he was destined to obtain an extended reputation as an historical writer. His apprenticeship, which lasted for several years, was a severe one, he being required to work incessantly, and having but little time for reading or study.’

“Notwithstanding the prevalent hardships and disadvantages that under the circumstances, a lad of literary tastes, would encounter in the early part of this century, ‘he contributed at the early age of sixteen, prose and poetry to the local newspapers. He made progress also in his trade, and at nineteen years of age, manufactured an old-fashioned English clock. About the year 1830 he be-

came a joint editor and proprietor of "The Poughkeepsie Telegraph," and for six years kept up his connection with that enterprise. Afterward he, with the assistance of two or three friends, started a semi-monthly newspaper called, "The Casket," and assumed the editorial chair and wrote stories, poems, essays and editorials, in fact furnished nearly all of the reading matter.'

"His interest in having appropriate illustrations to his various publications, which became so prominent in later years, seems to have started about this time, for he employed John A. Adams, a wood engraver of some note, to instruct him in the art. '. . . In 1838 he removed to New York City, "where there were only five engravers on wood," and later he became the editor of, and made the illustrations for, "The Family Illustrated Magazine," the first fully illustrated periodical in the United States. . . . He pursued the business of wood engraving for about thirty years, most of the time under the firm name of Lossing & Barritt.'

"The first book prepared by Mr. Lossing was an Outline History of the Fine Arts, published in 1840. According to the biographical notice of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, 'his Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, a work which gave him a wide reputation, was completed in about five years, and published in 1851 in two large octavo volumes of some fifteen hundred pages and a great number of illustrations. In the preparation of this great work Doctor Lossing traveled about nine thousand miles in the original thirteen states and Canada, in collecting the material which was used in its production. In 1868 he produced a similar work on the war of 1812, and one on the Civil war, in three volumes of two thousand pages and twelve hundred illustrations, the first volume being published in 1866, the last in 1868.'

"Many engravings made in Mr. Lossing's earlier works were from his own original sketches, and many of his own original sketches, were drawn on the block by himself, for the engraver.

"He spared neither labor nor pains in the preparation of these valuable volumes, and they are now recognized as historic works of more than common accuracy.

"In 1860 there appeared in the London Art Journal a series of very interesting articles on 'The Hudson River from the Wilderness to the Sea,' which was published in book form in 1866. He also annotated 'Custis's Recollections of Washington,' at the request of Mrs. Robert E. Lee of Arlington, and about the same time prepared the volume entitled 'The Home of Washington and its Associations,' also fully illustrated.

"In 1876 Doctor Lossing wrote 'The American Centenary,' by request of a Philadelphia publisher, working fourteen hours a day, writing and correcting the proofs with his own hands, and at the same time furnished sixty four pages a month for 'Our Country,' a work published in parts.

"In 1870 he read before the New York Historical Society, 'A memorial of Alexander Anderson, M. D., the first engraver on wood in America,' which was privately printed in 1872. In 1872-3-4 he edited the 'American Historical

Record,' a magazine of much historical value. 'Vassar College and its Founder,' was written and illustrated by Doctor Lossing by desire of the board of trustees, of whom he had been one since the establishment of the college. Besides his series of historical and biographical works, which numbered forty-two, he wrote or edited many others of value.

"In 1855 he received the honorary degree of A. M. from Hamilton College, in 1870 the same degree from Columbia College, and that of LL. D. in 1873 from the University of Michigan. He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society, of the New York Historical Society, honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and an active and corresponding member of ten or twelve other historical and literary societies.

"Doctor Lossing's first wife was a daughter of Thomas Barritt, an Englishman who came to the United States about 1800; his second wife was a daughter of Nehemiah Sweet.

"He was a member of the Episcopal Church, and Mr. Nathaniel Payne who collected much of the foregoing data, writes he was elected an honorary member of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, June 5th 1877.

"Mr. Satterlee of Highland Falls in his 'Evening with Lossing,' quotes a letter of Washington Irving, in which he says to Mr. Lossing, 'I have been gratified at finding how scrupulously attentive you have been to accuracy of facts, which is so essential in writings of an historical nature.'—Mrs. Forris has written of him, 'he was a courteous gentleman of the old school,' and his old New York publishers, 'that he passed a long afternoon to his useful and blameless life.' A friend in his own county says, 'the reader is to be pitied, who has not been enlarged and fortified in the knowledge of his own country, who is not familiar with his name in this connection, and that he was an untiring, industrious, painstaking citizen.'

"I thank you, Mrs. Baxter, for having brought us to speak of our beloved and *fervent* historian. The *fervor* of his love for history never abated. It must have had its foundation in his love of God's people, perhaps peculiarly for those of America, and yet he was deeply impressed with the stories of foreign peoples and that story of the Genoese sailor, the story of Columbus, so soon to become so prominent. For Mr. Lossing, the coming of the anniversaries, and the ending of the century, were to be a land of promise, into which he was not to enter, but the fervent love of history, was unabated from the first to the last.

"I need not say to you how he would have enjoyed what you are now doing, or how he would have been pleased to send you fresh words, of those loved and honored, of the founders of the Republic, Washington and Schuyler, and of the little godchild, who amid such blessings and surroundings, was to enter life, with its field of duties and enjoyments.

"Sincerely yours,

"HELEN S. LOSSING."



RESIDENCE OF B. J. LOSSING.
"The Ridge."

THE LOSSING LIBRARY

"I send you two photographs of our present home, in which Mr. Lossing lived longer than at any other, and where he closed his earthly career. The very simple little home where he was born in Beekman is now torn down, and the one where he lived with his mother and his uncle's family till he was ten years of age, is materially changed, as must be others in New York City, where he went early. Probably the least changed building connected with his youth, is the schoolhouse of Shady Dell, near Washington Hollow, which I think still has his name or initials cut in a desk. He lived but a short time in Poughkeepsie, where his wife died, but was frequently at his father's home near by. Mr. Lossing's library, when he lived in New York City, was contained in a room the size of a city hall bedroom of a house of moderate size. At my father's house in Poughkeepsie he built a room twenty-five feet square, to accommodate it. The health of our children caused us to come here, to my father's old home, where my little grandchild when she comes to visit us, is the sixth generation. Here a two-story stone building was put up for the library. Mr. Lossing wrote in the upper room in the summer and in the lower one in winter. We have been here about a quarter of a century; the library is the pointed roof in the picture. I never heard Mr. Lossing allude to a coat of arms, but once. A lady gave me a painting of what would be my father's coat of arms and its motto 'Per crucem ad stellas.' Mr. Lossing laughingly told us what his ought to be. If there ever was one it would be in Holland and difficult to find as the name was spelled in so many ways, Lassen, Lasink, Laisinck, Lawson, Lassing, and Lossing. We have one deed of Queen Anne's time that gives a patent from

Fishkill to Poughkeepsie, afterward covered by Beekman and another, and there was one prior to that from the Indians, but I forget all the spelling of the names, though for a genealogist, I spent some time over them last spring. The Friends or Quakers, with whom Mr. Lossing was always more or less associated were opposed to marks of distinction. Probably through this influence Mr. Lossing would often smilingly refer to what was most primitive, but what was also most exclusive.

“I have not read all that has been recently published, but I do not believe in the opening up of the past in any ungraceful way, which the contemporaries themselves, did not perceive. Because some have fallen in latter days perhaps, from the highest standard, is no reason why all past standards should be brought down to fit them. Washington and his mother, Mary, are as perfect to me as ever, and a hundred years after them, is entirely too late for a new and misunderstanding generation, to put its interpretation on education and manners and speech, the difficulties of which, the present comparatively frivolous existence, cannot take cognizance. There is nothing more eloquent to me than Washington's understanding of the Indians. It was the same with your great-grandfather, General Schuyler. I know it by the Indians camping here on this spot of ground, tradition, and the last of personal encounters with the last of the races here. What I know and feel intuitively, in the same degree a later generation cannot know.”

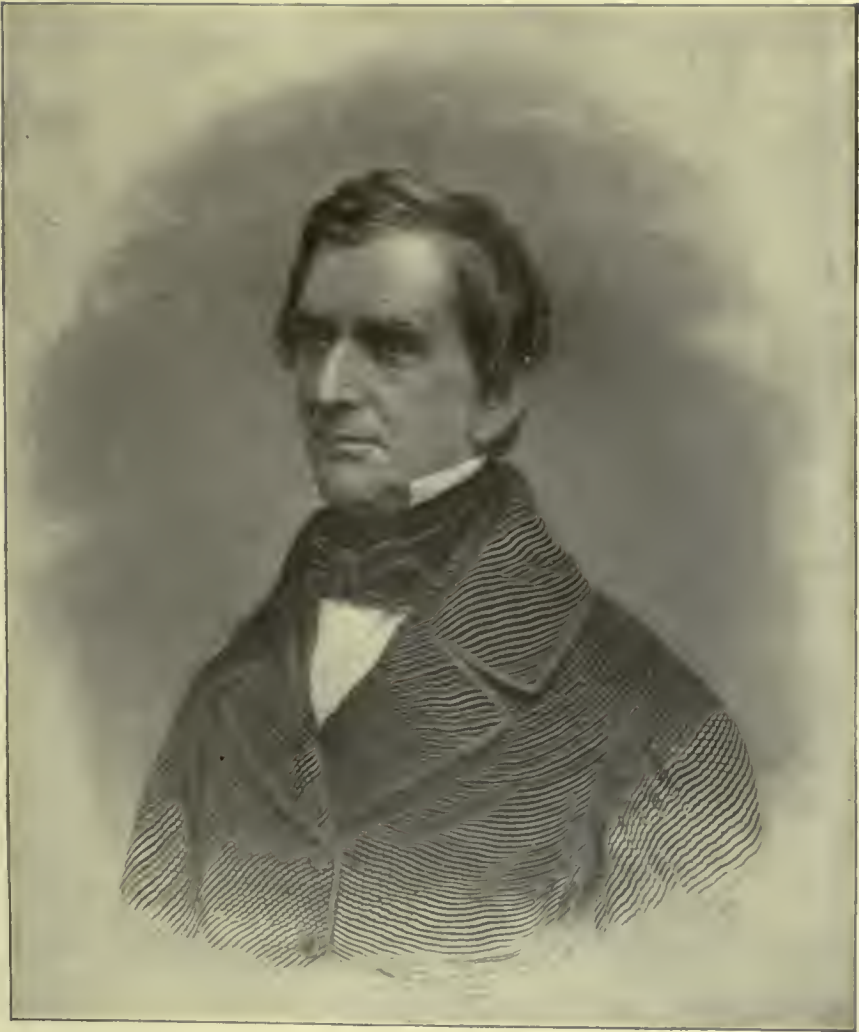
H. S. L.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD

An American Statesman

I was the fourth of six children, and the third son, born in 1801, May 16th. . . . I have been told that the tenderness of my health caused me to be early set apart for a collegiate education, then regarded, by every family, as a privilege so high and so costly, that not more than one could expect it. . . . My native village, Florida, N. Y., then consisted of not more than a dozen dwellings. While the meeting house was close by, the nearest schoolhouse was half a mile distant. . . . At the age of nine years I was transferred to the Farmers' Hall Academy, at Goshen, where my father had been educated. . . . I think I am six years older than the first steamboat on the Hudson. But my first sight of a vessel of that kind was when I embarked on one, at night, to ascend that river on my way to college. What a magnificent palace! What a prodigy of power, what luxury of entertainment, what dazzling and costly lights! More than by all these was I struck with the wondrous crowd of intelligent passengers, among whom some youthful acquaintances, newly made, pointed out many of the eminent men of the day. But no one was able to identify Chancellor Kent, who was said to be on board. At noon there was what I thought to be an alarm of colliding with some other vessel, or running upon a rock, or encountering an enemy. The vessel certainly scraped against something that obstructed her speed. The captain had mounted a bench on deck, and was objurgating violently with somebody on the level of the water below. I climbed up behind the crowd, and saw that we were running against upright poles, which had been stuck into the river-bottom by the fishermen. A short, thick-set, cheery-looking man leaped upon the bench, and seeing at a glance the state of the case, cried out in a loud voice, heard by all: "That's right, Captain! that's right! bring those fellows into my court, and I'll take care of them!" This was Chancellor Kent, the great judge, who was upholding the steamboat monopoly conferred by the State of New York upon its citizens, Fulton and Livingston, against the no less great and finally overruling authority, the Supreme Court of the United States. The monopoly was lost; the inventors died unrewarded; but the public gained. On my first passage I paid eight dollars fare. We now make the entire voyage of the navigable Hudson for fifty cents. Chancellor Kent was the most buoyant and cheerful of men. When he afterward lost his great office and dignity, he told me that he had never experienced any disappointment worth grieving over. "A gentleman wants," he said, "only a clean shirt and a shilling, every day, and I have never been without them. . . ."

I passed my legal examination at Utica, in October, 1822, having lost no considerable time by my one year's absence from college. . . . The



William Holmes

Chief-Justice, Spencer, won me to grateful and confiding friendship by the affectionate kindness with which he delivered to me the diploma for which I had so hardly labored.

Certain heavy scales fell from my eyes as I descended from the wharf and entered the packet-boat that was to convey me on the Erie canal (which two years before I had pronounced impracticable) eighty miles to Weedsport, the landing place for Auburn. . . . Between two offers of legal partnership which I received at Auburn, I declined the one that promised the largest business, but involved debt for a law library, and accepted the less hopeful one which I might assume without new embarrassment. I returned home to announce to my parents and friends that I had made that engagement, and on the 20th of December, 1822, receiving fifty dollars from my father, with the assurance of his constant expectation that I should come back again too soon, I took leave of my native home and arrived at Auburn by stage-coach through the southern tier of counties on Christmas morning.

My new business began on the 1st of January, 1823. I had stipulated with my senior partner, Elijah Miller, that if my earnings during the first year should fall short of five hundred dollars, he would make up the deficiency. The younger portion of the bar were at that time generally in the habit of employing their elder brethren to try their causes in court. I shocked the bar by trying my own causes, where the rules of the court permitted, from the first. At the end of the year I had exceeded my stipulated gains. My distant creditors were fully paid, and so long as I continued in my profession I was neither without occupation nor independence. . . .

On the 20th of October, 1824, my marriage took place with Francis A. Miller. She was then nineteen years of age, daughter of my partner and friend, Elijah Miller. . . .

The first railroad constructed within the United States, was the branch of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad which extended from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills. It was opened in this year (1831). In the same year the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, a worthy rival of our own New York canals, was opened from Georgetown to Harper's Ferry. My earnest advocacy of internal improvements made me distrust the policy of obstruction which, as I have shown, General Jackson's administration had adopted. . . . The year 1831 will be memorable in the history of the country, for being the one in which the nation received its first practical and solemn warning against the error of perpetuating African slavery. A savage outbreak of negro slaves occurred at Southampton, Virginia, and spread terror and consternation throughout the state. Although it was suppressed, and the revolutionists were executed, it left it no longer a matter of doubt that, if the Government should not provide seasonably for the removal of slavery, it would, sooner or later, be brought about by the violent uprising of the slaves themselves. It was this instruction which first stimulated me to inculcate, on all proper occasions and in all proper ways, the necessity of a peaceful reform of that great evil. . . .

My nomination for Governor by the State Convention was made with promptness and unanimity. When my nomination for the chief office was decided upon, it was thought necessary to take a politician of Democratic antecedents for the second office. Very properly the choice fell upon Silas M. Stillwell. Not without talent, and possessing untiring activity and perseverance, he, as a Democratic member of the Assembly from the City of New York, had introduced into the Assembly, and aided to carry through the Legislature, the benign law abolishing imprisonment for debt.

The scene which occurred at the American Hotel in Auburn on the return of our local delegates was infinitely amusing. My political friends received them with complaints and reproaches, saying: "You promised to oppose Seward for Lieutenant-Governor, and here you have let him be nominated for Governor. The nomination is a disgrace to the state, and will be the ruin of the party!" Mr. Jacobs, the orator of the delegation, attempted to reason with them: "Why, gentlemen, it is very easy for you, who have stayed at home, to say all this. But, if you had been where we were, you would have found that we had nothing to do with making Seward the candidate, and we did all we could to prevent it. The people from the other parts of the state wouldn't hear of anybody else." "We don't believe it," they replied; "they could have found a more proper man in every other county in the state." "Well, gentlemen," replied the orator, preserving his good humor, "I have known Mr. Seward long, and thought him a bright and smart young man, but I never supposed he was a great man; but, when I came to Utica, I found that everybody inquired of me about him, and spoke of him as if he were the greatest man in the state." "Well," replied they, "the state must be in a strange condition if Seward is among its greatest men." "Gentlemen," answered the delegate, "I have learned one thing by going to Utica, and that is, that a great man never lives at home!"

Extracts from his autobiography edited by his son, FREDERICK W. SEWARD.

MEMOIR

"Everybody in Auburn, forty-five years ago, knew Judge Miller's house on South street. A large, square mansion of unpainted brick, very substantially built, its exterior plain, its interior handsome, with a row of Lombardy poplars in front, and a grove of locust, apple, and cherry trees around it; it stood not distant from the main street, and at the same time not very far from the outskirts of the little town. It was the first brick dwelling in Auburn. As land was abundant, and neighbors were few, five acres were occupied with the usual accessories of a rural residence—barn, carriage and woodhouse, vegetable and flower garden, orchard, and pasture lot. Here lived the owner, retired from active practice of his profession. With him lived his mother and a maiden sister. His two daughters had grown up under their grandmother's care. The elder, Lisette, whose sprightly vivacity made her a general favorite, had recently

married and left the paternal home. The younger, Francis, was of unusual beauty, but extreme diffidence. She had a few years before married a promising young lawyer, her father's partner, named Seward. Opinions had differed in the village as to his capabilities; but the majority conceded that he was industrious in his profession, though many doubted if he were old enough, or grave enough, or wise enough, for the responsible position of Senator in the State Legislature to which he had been recently elected. Two children completed the family circle.

"It is in this scene and with these surroundings that my earliest recollections of my father begin. It is in the same scene, with the same surroundings, that the notes of his autobiography in the preceding pages were written.

"He was at that time over thirty years old, but his slender frame, of not more than medium height, his smooth-shaven face, clear blue eyes, red hair, quick, active movements, and merry laugh, gave him almost a boyish appearance. The house was always cheerful when he was in it. That was never for long at a time, for he was indefatigable in his toil at the little one-storied law-office on South street, where he prepared his papers and received his clients. One evening that he spent at home, reading aloud, from Scott and Burns, is so vividly remembered by the children that it must have been a rare event.

"Auburn was about as distant from New York then as Omaha is now. The annual stage ride to Albany to attend the session of the Legislature was a serious and important undertaking. Of my father's journeyings to and from the capital, and of his legislative life there, he has spoken briefly in his autobiographic notes. But the picture there presented is based merely on recollections of a later date. It will be more complete if supplemented by some extracts from his letters, written at the time, giving more detail of persons, places, incidents, and character; for the autobiography he had no opportunity to revise or read, and the letters he never saw again after writing them.

"Long and closely written, those letters from the distant capital were eagerly read by the household at Auburn. Under favorable circumstances, they were three days on the road from Albany—under unfavorable ones, a week. Sometimes they would come by post, sometimes by private hand, a favorite method of transmitting correspondence in that time of high postage and uncertain mail service. The postage on a letter from Albany was eighteen and three-quarters cents; from New York, thirty-seven and a half cents. A traveler by stage coach often had his pockets filled with letters and remittances handed him by his friends on the eve of his departure; and these it would be his first duty, on arriving at his destination, to distribute.

"At the close of December, 1830, the newly-elected Senator was on his way to Albany. His first letters describe his journey and his entrance into public life.

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"In one he speaks of a visit to Aaron Burr, in regard to the case in which he was counsel.

“ ‘ He was at the Merchants’ Exchange, one of the fourth-rate houses of this city. I could not but think, as I ascended the dirty, narrow staircase, to his lodgings, in a small two-bedded room in the upper story, of the contrast between his present state and that he enjoyed when he contended so long, even-handed, with Jefferson for the Presidential chair, on the second election after the retirement of Washington. He had lost property, fame, character, and honor. Once so gay, so fashionable in his dress, so fascinating in his manners, so glorious in his eloquence, and so mighty in his influence, how altered did he seem, as he met me, drawing a coarse woolen surtout over his other clothes, his coarse cotton shirt and cravat struggling, by the form of modern fashions, to display the proud spirit of the wearer ! His few grey hairs, just filled with powder, put on as thickly as paste, wet down and smoothed over his head ; his form shrivelled into the dimensions almost of a dwarf ; his voice forgetful of its former melody, while naught remained to express the daring spirit of his youth but his keen, brilliant, dark eye. He approached me with the air and demeanor of a gentleman of the old school, and, as I shook his shrivelled and trembling hand, I felt a thousand recollections come to my mind of most unpleasant nature. Is this the same being who shared for years the confidence and did the bidding of General Washington ? Do I recognize in this lingering relic of an age gone by the man who was the ornament and delight of every fashionable circle ? Is this squeaking, unsteady voice that instrument which wiled away the hearts of men ? Is this tottering frame the same that commanded at his pleasure the stormy waves of a new and enthusiastic people ? Do these wretched habiliments cover him who was the second in honor and office in this nation, and whose sure ascent to the highest place was prevented only by his rash and dishonest ambition ? Is this the same fascinating being who entered with the recklessness of a fallen angel into the peaceful and classic abode, and stole the confidence only to ruin and destroy the happiness of Blennerhassett ? Is this the same proud spirit, which, determined to rule, raised the standard of treason, and attempted alone and almost single-handed the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of empire ? Do I actually grasp the hand which directed only too successfully the fatal ball which laid low Alexander Hamilton ? Miserable comment upon unchastened ambition ! Unhappy man, to drag out a dishonored existence among a generation which knows thee only by the history of thy crimes ; and judges thee without allowing the merit of purpose or the extenuation of passion ! ’

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“ Returning to Auburn early in January, 1835, accompanied by Mr. Weed’s daughter Harriet, he announced their arrival in a letter to her father :

“ ‘ I am once more, thank God, and I hope for a long time, at home ; really, I was so weary of the unprofitable life I was leading at Albany, that I was unable to regret, as I otherwise must have done, that the time had come when a termination must be set to our long, confidential, and intimate association. Keep me informed upon political matters, and take care that I do not so far get

absorbed in professional occupation, that you will cease to care for me as a politician.'

"Resuming his place among his law-books and papers in the old white office on South street, he resumed with it his industrious habits there, and worked early in the morning and late at night at the cases of his clients.

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"Toward the close of May (1835), the weather had grown propitious for the summer trip. A light, strong carriage, having two seats and an extension-top, was provided with a pair of grey horses, 'Lion' and 'the Doctor.' Mr. and Mrs. Seward occupied the back seat. Only the youngest of their two little boys could be taken, and he shared the front seat with the colored driver, William Johnson. What little luggage was necessary was carefully stored in the boxes under the seats. A stout fishing-rod, and a few ropes and straps in case of accident, packed in front, and a tin cup and a pail hanging behind, for use at the roadside streams, completed the equipage for the journey, which was commenced on the 23d of May. The letters written at various points on the way described the incidents and impressions of this tour.

"While at Long Branch there occurred an incident that Seward used to relate with humorous relish. One day, while sitting after dinner in the shade, a benevolent-looking old gentleman said: 'Excuse me, sir, if I ask you an intrusive question; but I see by the papers that there was a candidate for governor in your state last fall—the one who was defeated—whose name was the same as yours. Pray, was he any relative of your family?' Mr. Seward had to admit that he was. 'A near relative?' 'Yes.' 'Not your father was it, sir?' 'No, not my father.' A pause ensued; and then, overcome by curiosity, the old gentleman returned to the attack. 'Could it have been a brother of yours?' 'Well, Mr. T——,' said Seward, 'I may as well confess to you that I am myself that unfortunate man!' 'Dear me,' said the other with unaffected surprise and sympathy, 'I should never have thought it. And so young, too! I am very sorry. How near did you come to being elected?' 'Not very near. I only got a hundred and sixty-nine thousand votes.' 'A hundred and sixty-nine thousand votes, and not elected?' was the astonished reply. 'Why, that is more than all the candidates together ever got in New Jersey! A hundred and—good Heavens, sir! how many votes *does* it take to elect a man in New York?'

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"AUBURN, September 15th, 1838.

"GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication announcing my nomination by the Whig State Convention, recently assembled at Ulica, for the office of Governor of the State.

"Be pleased to make known to the members of that body that I accept the nomination, with a profound sense of the honor conferred upon me by this renewed demonstration of the confidence of my Whig fellow-citizens.

"I am, gentlemen, with sincere respect and esteem, your obedient servant,
"W. H. SEWARD."

* * * * *

“The close of the contest, brought the following note from Mr. Weed :

“FRIDAY, November 9th.

“‘Well, dear Seward, we are victorious ; God be thanked, gratefully and devoutly thanked !

“‘Judge Miller will of course come to Albany with you. We want the aid of his experience and wisdom. A fearful responsibility is upon you. God grant you the light necessary to guide you safely through ! I go to New York this afternoon to temper and moderate the joy and rejoicings of our friends.’

“Great were the Whig merry-makings and festivities over the result. It seemed almost too good to be true that they had actually gained control of the state government at last. Eating and drinking still occupied a prominent place at political assemblages—a custom doubtless derived from England, happily since fallen into disuse.

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“Cases of far more melancholy nature were now pressing for the governor's judgment. There is a ‘black care’ that rides on the shoulders of every governor, that follows him by day, haunts him by night, and will not be shaken off. This is the ‘pardoning power.’ There are two or three thousand poor wretches always in prison, or on their way there, or to the scaffold, and hardly one of them but has either a wife or a child, or a friend, to implore executive clemency. Public opinion itself, which is an avenging Nemesis as long as the culprit is at large, softens as soon as he is behind bolts and bars ; and not unfrequently the turnkey who locks him in, the public prosecutor who arraigned him, the jurors who convicted, and even the judge who sentenced him, join in the appeal for his release. If legal and religious influence is wanting, there are always clergymen whose hearts incline to mercy, and lawyers with whom ‘stay of proceedings’ is a part of their vocation. Yet, if the governor weakly yields to the pressure, the same instinct of self-preservation in the community which sent the criminal to jail is aroused with fresh indignation by seeing him again at liberty in the streets. But the suitors for mercy will take no denial. How can they ? Their pleading letters come in every mail ; their piteous faces are ever round the door of the executive chamber. They watch the governor's path ; they wait in his hall ; they sit on his doorstep. If he be of a kindly, compassionate nature, disposed to listen to their ‘oft-told tale’ of misery, he will have time neither to eat, nor sleep, nor write messages, nor make appointments. The applicants and their applications are often unreasonable, grotesque, and absurd, yet always sad and always painful.

“The year (1839) which had opened with the ‘wars and rumors of wars’ of the ‘Patriots’ in Canada, was not to close without a call to arms nearer home. The ancient manor of Rensselaerwyck, which dated back to the time of the early Dutch settlers, had been handed down from father to son in the Van Rensselaer family, through a long line of ‘Patroons.’ While modern customs and innovations had gradually changed the aspect of the whole country, society,

and government, the Patroon and his tenants were still continuing the old usages of feudal tenure, of perpetual leases, of rent payable in fowls, and bushels of wheat, in personal service, and in quarter sales. The manor comprised a broad region of Albany and Rensselaer counties, 'extending northward, up along both sides of Hudson river, from Barren Island to Kahoos, and east and west each side of the river backward into the woods, twenty-four English miles.'

"It had now become well settled, cultivated and improved. The tenants had gradually come to think that their long occupancy of the lands, and their improvements, had vested at least a part of the ownership in themselves, and that the rents paid during so long a series of years more than compensated for the wild land which the first Van Rensselaers had sold to the original tenants. This theory had been vastly strengthened by the neglect of 'the old Patroon,' General Van Rensselaer, to make collections of his rents. When he died in the early part of this year, the manor had been divided between his sons, Stephen taking the part in Albany county, on the west side of the river, and William that on the eastern side, in Rensselaer county. A third brother, Courtlandt, took the real estate in New York City. It was in Albany county that the troubles with the tenants commenced, the young Patroon's lawyers having advised him that he might enforce his legal right to collect arrears. When this claim was made in behalf of the heir, the tenants very generally resolved to resist it as illegal and unjust. Legal measures were taken to compel payment; but, when the sheriff went out upon the farms, he was met by gatherings of angry men, with threats and denunciations. Alarms were given throughout the neighborhood, horns sounded, tar-barrels fired, and the obnoxious writs seized and thrown into the flames, while shouts of 'Down with the rent!' were heard from the gathering crowd of rural rioters, who with brandished sticks and arms, and threats of personal violence, compelled the official to turn his horses' heads toward home. Deputies sent on similar errands to various localities had the same experience. There still remained the resource of the posse comitatus. The sheriff summoned six or seven hundred citizens to appear at his office on Monday morning, at ten o'clock. Great was the excitement and much the merriment in the crowd that gathered round the office, either in obedience to his call, or from curiosity to hear the results. The merriment increased when Sheriff Archer came out on the sidewalk, and commenced to call the roll, which showed that he was no respecter of persons, for among the names were those of ex-Governor Marcy, Recorder McKoun, John Van Buren, the presidents and cashiers of the banks, the Patroon's lawyers, and the Patroon himself.

"The posse proceeded on horseback, on foot, and in carriages, with the sheriff in command, twelve miles from the town, till they reached a hamlet at the foot of the Helderberg. But here the posse, summoned according to law, met another posse, not summoned at all, and defiant of any law whatever. The unlawful gathering outnumbered the lawful one, for it mustered fifteen or eighteen hundred men, and furthermore it had clubs, while the sheriff's posse had none. The sheriff became satisfied that the whole force was 'entirely in-

adequate to overcome the resistance,' an opinion in which his whole force unanimously concurred. So they retreated to Albany, in as good order as they went out of it.

"Only one alternative remained to vindicate the majesty of the offended law. That was to apply to the Governor, 'according to the statute in such case made and provided,' for a military force to enable the sheriff to execute the process.

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"The United States Bank had now (1842) finally collapsed. It had overthrown both of the political parties: first, that which opposed, afterward, that which supported it; and then ended by destroying itself. There were many sad incidents of individual misfortune attending its fall; for, while prospering, everybody had been eager to grasp the stock, believing no other so safe. One man, living in Philadelphia, had invested his whole property, forty thousand dollars, in it. His wife had twenty thousand in her own right, which they also put in. A legacy, the next year, of ten thousand, was also deposited, and then the bank collapsed; they lost every farthing, and he became a day laborer, etc., etc.

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"The misguided Americans who had taken part in the 'Patriot War' and were now prisoners at Van Dieman's Land, had been a frequent subject of Seward's correspondence with the Government at Washington. Moved by his representations, and by various considerations which showed the present to be a favorable opportunity for obtaining their release, Webster urged it in a letter to Lord Ashburton.

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"On one occasion Seward had a perplexing legal question, arising out of the settlement of an estate. Taking the papers with him when he went to New York, he consulted Chancellor Kent, asking his opinion about it. The Chancellor listened, sat a few moments in thought, and then gave his opinion in the matter. 'But, Chancellor,' said Seward, 'your Commentaries, which I have carefully looked into, take the other ground. They say that the contrary view is the correct one.' 'Do they?' said the Chancellor; 'let's get down the book and see.' The book was taken down, the passage read, and the Chancellor emphatically gave the decision. 'The book is right. I may guess wrong now, but when I wrote the book I knew. Always go by the book in preference to me.'

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“Not merely were Seward’s views on political subjects comprehensive, but the same characteristic prevailed in all his dealings. He liked toleration better than polemics, and in business matters had an aversion to petty stipulations. Once, in early life, he gave one-half of all his property to a friend, to save him from bankruptcy. His habit was to labor hard and long, travel hard and long, give liberally and spend freely. The Chautauqua enterprise attracted him by its breadth and scope, and did not frighten him by its complications, for he liked to overcome difficulties. When one of the copartners became alarmed by a financial panic, he offered to take his share. When, a few years later, it seemed to him that the company’s creditor’s were to be unfairly dealt with by a plea of usury, he refused to join in making it, and protected their rights by placing his whole interest in trust for their benefit.

“So in regard to political preferment. He was ambitious of achievement, not of office. He sought no place, and was reluctant to accept any, if he saw that in so doing he was crossing the ambition of friend or associate. He would have preferred to leave the field to Granger in 1838, and did leave it to Fillmore in 1844. Always free in conversation, yet what he said of friends and enemies behind their backs might have been repeated to their faces. He put generous construction on their conduct, never exulted in an advantage, could not strike an opponent when down, and, when a victory was gained, would take no part in the triumph over the vanquished. ‘The war is over with me,’ he said, ‘when the enemy lays down his arms.’

“He had no great respect for the *vox populi*, for he knew it to be a voice given to hasty utterances and frequent contradictions. Yet on the ultimate sound judgment of the people he always relied. His own speeches and acts, so far as they were shaped to gain popular approbation, sought to appeal to the calm impartiality of future years, rather than to the excited passions of the passing hour. When revising his speeches, he would say of some expression which he was warned would subject him to attack, ‘Well, I think that will stand.’

“Whenever he prepared an address or public communication at home, he liked to read it aloud to Mrs. Seward; and though her suggested corrections were not frequent, they were usually in reference to some point of taste, or principle that commended itself to his judgment. When away from home, he would in like manner read to some intimate friend. In this case it was perhaps not only for the sake of criticism, but for the suggestions which the process of reading aloud would make to his own mind.

“He was not sensitive to the attacks of opposing newspapers, and so far from being galled by them, generally made them the subject of pleasant remark. ‘The newspaper will have the last word,’ he used to say; ‘and it is not seeking for truth, but for triumph.’ Undeserved abuse he always believed would, in the long run, injure its author more than its object. Misapprehension by friends he would endeavor to correct by kindly word or letter; but he would not allow himself to be drawn into a controversy with either friend or foe on merely

personal grounds. He lightly esteemed the value of personalities as a weapon of either offence or defence in political warfare, but addressed himself to the measure or principle involved. He believed the public would only take lasting interest in questions that concerned their own welfare. Whatever temporary mistakes they might fall into about individuals, their calmer judgment would sooner or later modify. His imperturbability under such attacks was not the fruit of stolid indifference, but rather of that equanimity with which one listens to hasty words that he knows will afterward be regretted.

“Not unfrequently his friends thought him too lenient in judgment when he excused his adversaries by explaining the probable motives or inducements they had for apparently malicious acts. Magnanimity is a trait difficult of appreciation by those who do not possess it. With the mean it passes for meanness; by the timid it is ascribed to cowardice; by the cunning, to selfish design. It was often ludicrous to see what motives were ascribed to him by his opponents, and how ingeniously they would undertake to prove his acts to be the successive steps of some deep-laid scheme; when, in reality, they were the natural fruit of some generous impulse or straightforward sense of duty.

“Trifles are often the best, because the most unpremeditated illustrations of character. His love of decision, breadth, and vigorous energy, in all things, showed itself in the details of daily life. He liked a large house, and plenty of people in it; a good fire, and a large family-circle round it; a full table, strong coffee, and the dishes ‘hot and sweet and nice.’ He preferred long rides, long and fatiguing walks, bathing in cold water or strong surf, working steadily for hours, and even taking recreation with determination and perseverance. No one ever saw him listless, or complaining of ennui. His habits of life were in literal compliance with the injunction, ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.’

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“In his argument on the preliminary trial in reference to Freeman’s insanity (in the famous negro arraignment for murder), he made allusion to the feeling which had been kindled against him for his fidelity in a cause where he was doomed to defeat:

“‘In due time, gentlemen of the jury, when I shall have paid the debt of Nature, my remains will rest here in your midst, with those of my kindred and neighbors. It is very possible they may be unhonoured, neglected, spurned! But, perhaps, years hence, when the passion and excitement which now agitate this community shall have passed away, some wandering stranger, some lone exile, some Indian, some negro, may erect over them an humble stone, and thereon this epitaph, “He was faithful!”’

“More than a quarter of a century has passed since these painful scenes. Judge and culprit, prosecutor and defender, all have gone together to their long account. The passion and excitement which agitated the community at that

hour have long since passed away, and he from whom this appeal was wrung sleeps peacefully in their midst, not unhonored or neglected, for no day passes that his grave is not visited by reverent hearts, or strewed with flowers by loving hands. On the marble above him is carved the epitaph of his choice :

“‘He was faithful.’”

Extracts from his “Life and Letters,” by his son, FREDERICK W. SEWARD.



Seward.

HORATIO SEYMOUR

His Life Among His Neighbors.
In Memoriam

Horatio Seymour.

Born at Pompey Hill, Onondaga
County, New York, May 31, 1810.

Married Mary Bleecker, daughter
of John R. Bleecker, and Hetty Bai-
ley Linn, at Albany, May 31, 1835.

Died at Utica, N. Y., at the resi-
dence of his sister, Mrs. Roscoe
Conkling, on the evening of Friday,
February 12, 1886.

“Ten years ago to-day the shadow of a great sorrow fell over our city and spread rapidly through the state and the entire country as the sad intelligence was flashed over the wires that Governor Seymour had breathed his last.

“Here in his own home where he had lived as a country gentleman and private citizen for many years the loss was felt as a personal one by young and old, high and low, rich and poor; and as the message passed from friend to friend, ‘the Governor is dead,’ on that evening in February, a hush and silence pervaded the streets and thoroughfares where his figure had been a familiar one, as it was slowly realized that the beautiful, kindly face was gone from us forever.

“Rarely has a man so long in public life been honored with more noble, appreciative tributes to his memory. They were the more excellent from the fact that they were not all entirely eulogistic. Many of the men who wrote them differed far too widely and honestly from him to pour forth only praise. Yet all united in expressing their admiration for his high, unsullied character and his ability as a statesman and publicist. While the American press thus accorded him such just praise the foreign journals were not silent, and from the London Times of February 16th, 1886, the following beautiful notice is taken:

“‘Horatio Seymour, whose death has been announced from his rural home in the centre of New York State, was perhaps the best beloved man in America. In the race for power in the field of achievement he was easily outshone by others, but for the last ten years of his life at least it was true that the name of no other American could so surely touch the chord of popular feeling and enthusiasm all over the country.

“‘With but few exceptions he was the best of American orators, and was without any exception whatever, the kindest, most attractive and valued of American publicists—alike in his utterances and his personality.



Horatio Seymour

“ ‘His private life was so beneficent, so gracious in all his aspects, that the whole country came to know of it and to take pride in it as exemplifying the very highest qualities of an American gentleman.

“ ‘Death has of late dealt unsparingly with American notables, but there has been no other loss in recent years which has occasioned one tithe of the genuine mourning, or evoked one tithe of the heartfelt eulogies which will be called forth by the death of Horatio Seymour.’

“ While such able pens have sketched his life as a statesman, it has seemed as though his true greatness in all the little things of life—if there be any little things with God—the kindly generous acts and deeds which made up such a large part of his daily life, might well deserve more than a passing notice; and it is to record these gentle lovable qualities of mind and heart which go so far toward the making of a great character, to depict him as a friend and neighbor in his intercourse with his townsmen in Utica and Deerfield, that these words are written.

“ Horatio Seymour was the oldest son of Henry Seymour and Mary Ledyard Forman, his wife. Both were unusually handsome, striking looking people, and it is not claiming too much to assert that very rarely does one see such remarkably fine types of physical beauty, combined with the high-bred courtesy of manner which always marks the true gentleman and gentlewoman, as were manifested in the family of sons and daughters born to them. Mrs. Rutger B. Miller, Horatio Seymour, Mrs. Edward F. Shonnard, John F. Seymour, Mrs. Ledyard Lincklaen and Mrs. Roscoe Conkling formed a family circle the eye might well delight to dwell on with pride and pleasure.

“ Horatio Seymour added to his handsome face a graceful, soldierly carriage, with a head well set on his shoulders. He walked remarkably well and rapidly—moving without apparent effort or motion as a man who loved to walk, which truly he did, and in his younger days he was a most graceful dancer. Even when a young boy his face was strikingly beautiful—‘just like a sunbeam,’ said his friend and neighbor, David Gray, of Marcy, who was his schoolmate and always remembered how handsome his ‘chum’ could look when racing and jumping in schoolboy frolics. Time and cultivation and ‘thought, which is always carving our features,’ could but add to the natural gifts of face and manner until they had formed a countenance never to be forgotten. However strongly people might differ from him on political or religious subjects, few could resist the winning charm of his appearance or fail to be impressed with his thoughtful, intelligent grasp of all living topics of the day. It was this universality of interest that brought him so closely to the people.

“ With the statesmen of his time he ranked a peer.

“ In the councils of his church, where he represented his parish and diocese for many years, he was always a striking figure, and delighted to devote to its service much of the best of his time and talents. The bishops and clergy were among his most valued friends unto his life’s end; and the words and petitions of the beautiful Liturgy were as familiar as household words to him, springing

unbidden to his lips in hours of weakness and suffering and strengthening him with their heavenly comfort. With the farmers and settlers around him he delighted to converse and to exchange his theoretical for their practical knowledge—and the 'Deerfield Farmer' was proud of his title, although he thought the office of Road Master, to which he was afterward appointed, a very high and exalted one.

"As the first President of the Oneida Historical Society he infused something of his own deep interest and enthusiasm into its members, and with what keen delight would he have witnessed the forming of our various patriotic societies for both men and women to honor and commemorate the deeds of our brave, heroic forefathers.

"No country can be truly great that forgets and neglects its past history. We owe it to the dead to remember their virtues, and when wrong has been done we can learn from the past to avoid its errors and mistakes. History should not be merely glorification; it should record the truth and thus allow the past to instruct the present in well doing when possible and in acknowledging faults and failures.

"His great love of flowers and plants was inherited from his mother, whose botanical knowledge was remarkable in its day; the trees and shrubs of field and moor gave him an intense interest in country life. A walk or drive with him across the 'Flats' was to have your attention attracted to all the various forms of growth of leaf and flowers. He knew the spot to look for the earliest hepatica and blood roots; and all the wild flowers of his farm were as well known to him as the faces of his neighbors. His favorite microscope was kept ready for use on his table when specimen after specimen would be examined with the keenest pleasure. Geology, astronomy, meteorology, all came within the scope of his active mind. He was always a student in Dame Nature's school, and had a rare faculty of conversing instructively and delightfully on all these themes.

"The approach to the Deerfield Farm—'Glen Davie' as it was sometimes called—was through a picturesque lane where he had planted a row of the tamarack trees of which he was so fond, both in their exquisite tints of tender green in the early spring, and in the golden glory of their autumnal prime. They stand to-day a living monument to his memory.

"This lane led away from the river road, and it was not until a bold sweep of the carriage drive had been passed that the full beauty of the site of his house and the wide expanse of the Mohawk valley broke upon the eye. The fertile fields sloping down to the river, dotted with magnificent elms, the city of Utica half hidden in its trees, the line of southern hills rising grandly in the distance, the occasional gleam of the river as it curved and doubled on itself through the rich flats, what a noble prospect it was at all seasons of the year, in seed time and harvest, equally beautiful.

"'I am inclined to think our winter landscapes are as fine as our summer ones,' he observed on a brilliant winter's day. 'We now get such a perfect idea

of the beauty of outline in our large elm and maple trees. Every branch and twig stands out in perfect relief against the intense blue of the sky, and when the sunset lights up the crowns and boles of these giants, they are indeed trees of glory. I always feel like taking off my hat to these superb elms. They inspire me with a feeling that amounts to reverence.'

"An enormous black cherry that stood for many years in front of his house was at all seasons a source of delight and interest; it held the enormous antlers of the moose he had shot in the Adirondacks; it was the nesting spot of in-



THE DEERFIELD FARM.

"Glen Davie."

numerable birds and on its bark he loved in winter to hang little baskets with lard and suet for the chickadees and nut hatches to feed upon, listening with pleasure to their cheery chattering in return. It was like the loss of a friend when a severe storm laid it prostrate and its beauty was gone forever. 'How is the mighty fallen,' was his ejaculation; 'it is as though the King of the forest had been laid low.'

"An ice storm that coated the trees with glistening diamonds, the occasional 'rime' on the fine evergreen and other foliage shrubs around the place aroused his enthusiasm to the highest pitch and on a cold winter's night the whole household was aroused to see the effect of light fleecy snow on the rounded tops of the apple trees near the house. The moon broke suddenly through the clouds and tipped each branch and spray with silvery sheen; and the orchard looked as though in fullest bloom. 'What a world of beauty we live in, and what a shame to sleep away these beautiful nights when there is so much to enjoy; but, (and here came a suspicious twinkle in his bright brown eyes), I am beginning

to feel a little sleepy myself, and I want you all to stay up and enjoy it, and tell me about it in the morning.'

"He was no horseman; his slow plodding steeds and old-fashioned country wagons were apt to excite humorous comments from the travelers on the country road from Deerfield to Utica, where they were such familiar objects. His progress was sure to be a slow one, for he was perpetually stopping to exchange greetings with his neighbors or 'to give them a lift' to town, or to do anything to help his fellow-man in the little matters of friendly accommodation. Of 'universal philanthropy' he had no opinion, but his heart was overflowing with the kindly spirit which prompted to deeds of friendliness and charity in daily life.

" 'This man makes me ashamed of myself,' said Seth Green, the noted Fish Commissioner of the state, who had been staying with him for a few days. 'As we rode over to town the Governor had a pleasant word for every man, woman and child we met on the road, and offered to give half the town of Deerfield a 'ride in his carriage!'

"What a vehicle that was! A low swinging rockaway or Jersey milk cart, as it was often jestingly called; with the Governor driving 'old Jimmy' from the back seat, and the front of the carriage filled in with baskets of fruit and vegetables to give away en route.

"His apple orchard was filled with the early varieties, and was of course often visited by the boys of the neighborhood. On one occasion the Governor strolling through his grounds on a Sunday afternoon, came upon a large party of small boys busily helping themselves to the best on the trees. 'Now, boys,' said he, 'you must hurry and fill your bags; a very cross old gentleman lives up the hill, and if he catches you there will be trouble. I don't know what he wouldn't do to you, but if you hurry away now and don't come back I will promise not to tell.' And so helping them to fill the bags he hurried them off, laughing heartily at the grim picture he had drawn of himself.

"The Sister's of Charity of St. John's came with a party of orphans one afternoon and asked permission to picnic in his woods, a short distance from the house. The Governor became so interested in the clean, hearty, happy-looking children that he sent off directly to town for ice cream, and when the time for going home came he had up all the farm wagons and hay racks and gave the children such a happy, rollicking hay ride they had never even dreamed of before. From that time on, the visit of St. John's orphans became an annual affair, looked forward to with as much pleasure by the host as by the children, and on the day of his funeral no more genuine mourners were present than the good sisters, and their little charges. As the procession passed the Asylum on John street, the children were drawn up in line on the outside of the house, while the little ones were grouped in the windows with the sisters—a sorrowful group, paying this tribute of respect and affection to one who, with no child of his own, entered so fully into the pleasures of these motherless and fatherless children.

" 'I never know how to talk to children,' he once said, 'but I let them talk

to me and find great pleasure in hearing their wise little speeches—so full of inexperience and perfect confidence.'

"It is often said the whole spirit and mind of a man will, if he has opportunity, express itself in the appointments and furnishings of his house. None could deny this truth after a visit of a few hours at 'The Farm.' The simple, unpretending rooms were filled with treasures of furnishing unknown to any mere 'Decorator' or collector of bric-a-brac. Every quaint table and chair and clock had a definite meaning and a story to tell of patriotic ownership, of family history and association. The Dutch vases on the mantelpiece were reminders of the Mappas, and their connection with the Holland Land Company, Bishop White's chair and Daniel Webster's chair combined both church and state, while the quaint, many-paned window at the end of his library came from Faneuil Hall. The beautiful heavy carvings over the doors were brought up from Albany and rescued from destruction when one of the oldest houses was demolished. The spirit of refined intelligent simplicity pervaded the whole house. Every nook and corner held something of interest as well as beauty, and the inanimate pieces of furniture were the outward expression of inward intellectual taste and grace. His library shelves were filled with books of state craft, of history, both local and general, of delightfully illustrated books on botany, trees, birds, insects, fishes, everything that pertained to the wonderful world around him. The walls of this room presented a somewhat sombre appearance, but were covered with framed colonial autograph letters, rare prints of Hogarth's, Revolutionary swords and canes, Indian arrow heads, tomahawks and flints, old fowling pieces, old maps, old records of the sale of slaves from the New York colony to the colony of Massachusetts, 'in the name of God and the Christian Religion' in 1711. The huge hospitable fireplace was lined with Dutch tiles and crowned with a colonial mantelpiece, with fine allegorical figures on its panels. Everything had an interest and a value far beyond the ordinary stereotyped library of much greater pretensions. The whole house was an object lesson of public and family history, yet there were but few things therein that were not within the reach of anyone who had the thought to appreciate and the eye to behold the value of these records of the past.

"Here he and Mrs. Seymour led a happy, contented life, given only to those of refined tastes in the country. Mrs. Seymour's gracious manners were those of a lady of the olden school, while her ready wit and quickness at repartee made her an agreeable companion at the fireside as well as at the more public receptions. During the greater part of the year an evening visitor was apt to find them both seated around the blazing fire on the hearth (the Seymours were all fire worshippers), enjoying a game of cards or backgammon. To receive the cordial welcome of their greeting and to enjoy the pleasure of a social hour with them, was to receive a lasting impression of high-bred simplicity of manner combined with rare gifts of intellectual interesting conversation.

"There was always some object of beauty or interest to be shown and information asked for in return. There is such a quality as intelligent ignorance—

an ignorance that seeks to be enlightened and that draws instruction from all reliable sources. Thus the visitor often felt that he had conferred as well as received a pleasure never to be forgotten while memory holds her own.

“There was a quiet humor about Governor Seymour that was irresistible, and how keenly he enjoyed the fun and frolic inseparable from the large circle of nieces and nephews who surrounded him; he was always a most welcome addition to their numbers and without taking any very active part was a close observer of all that was going on around him, taking all the jests in excellent part and often quoting them when the authors had forgotten them.

“Perhaps never did Governor Seymour’s striking appearance show more prominently than at the time of the reunion of the Army of the Cumberland at Utica in September of 1875. The opera house was beautifully decorated with flags and flowers, and the large platform built over the stage was crowded with noted men of military and civil fame. Governor Seymour had dined with President Grant, General Sherman, General Hooker and others at Senator Conkling’s and declined an invitation to occupy a seat on the stage, fearing the fatigue of so much excitement. But the president and generals would take no refusal and promised he should not be asked to speak; his presence they insisted on having.

“The scene at the opera house was most inspiring. It was crowded to the very roof and as the distinguished guests and officers appeared on the stage the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. Cheer upon cheer arose and the name of each of the great men was called out with deafening applause. Governor Seymour took advantage of the turmoil to enter quietly and seated himself well in the background, but with no avail. He was too well known and far too much beloved to pass unnoticed and repeated cries of ‘Seymour, Seymour,’ compelled him to come forward and acknowledge the compliment, looking so splendidly well and handsome from the pleasure and excitement that he well deserved the verdict of having by all odds the finest form and face of any man present.

“‘Brother Horatio carried off all the honors,’ said Mrs. Conkling, who was watching the proceedings with intense interest from one of the boxes. ‘I was so proud of him and the generals from north and south declared it was worth coming thousands of miles to meet him.’ When we recall that many of these men had been bitterly opposed to him politically, and as some of them honestly confessed had formed a very poor opinion of him in every other way, the power of his personality is brought more fully into prominence.

“Still another ovation was to greet him later on in the evening. Colonel G. J. Waterman was the eloquent orator of the occasion and when the applause following his speech had subsided cries long and loud arose for ‘Grant, Grant,’ who at length slowly arose from his chair and in a very few words expressed his pleasure at being with his friends, but his dislike at being asked to speak and his diffidence in doing so; but he added dryly, and pointing to General Sherman and others, ‘there are those who are not troubled with any of this sort of diffidence.’ General Sherman, General Hooker and General Slocum then

followed in brief, witty, telling speeches. General Sherman was especially happy, both in his humorous and pathetic allusions which followed each other in a rapid, almost breathless succession and which in a few moments electrified the whole audience. General Slocum abounded in happy allusions to the past and the present and then once more arose the cries of 'Seymour, Seymour,' and the Governor was compelled to come forward. Never did he speak more earnestly, more beautifully, and never did he look so perfectly the statesman and the elegant cultivated man.

"After alluding to the embarrassment he felt as a man of peace in addressing men of such soldierly deeds, he turned toward the president and bowing courteously to him, continued, 'I think I have some soldierly traits myself; at all events, General Grant, you must acknowledge that in a little contest you and I had not long ago, you ran a great deal better and further than I did.' This telling allusion to the late presidential contest between the two men brought down the house in tumultuous applause. General Grant, though convulsed with laughter (as were also General Sherman and General Hooker at this witty compliment and humorous allusion to the governor's defeat) arose and bowed his acknowledgments to the graceful speaker.

"The Governor was not always a fluent talker. Unless the subject interested him he would sit in a dreamy silence, and was often a failure at a dinner, where he could not 'talk to order.' Nor was he always a good listener to the conversation of others, and was apt to break the thread of discourse by irrelevant remarks, often giving offence, as when a pompous politician was expounding his views at some length he wickedly played with a frolicsome kitten on the carpet and allowed all the arrows aimed at him to fall harmlessly on the ground. But let the topic interest him and he would give to the humblest man his earnest attention in both listening and responding.

"He was constitutionally prone to attacks of severe depression which rendered him negligent of ordinary social duties and observances. His friends were often offended at his failure to present himself at the proper hour after accepting their invitations, and as equally propitiated and delighted by his sudden appearance at unexpected seasons, in happiest mood for conversing and charming a whole circle of people.

"Among the many beautiful tributes to Governor Seymour none were more just and appreciative than that written by Rev. James Bolles, of Cleveland, Ohio. It is not all praise; he recognized the weak points in his character and gave the full justice to his strong qualities. After enumerating the many qualifications he had for making a successful clergyman, he concluded with this delightful sentence, 'and he would have made a splendid Vicar of Wakefield.' This irresistibly recalls the testimony of his Military Secretary, Colonel William Kidd, of Albany, who saw him in daily intercourse with all classes and conditions of men and writes as follows of his former chief: 'If Governor Seymour had a weakness it was in believing every man was as honest as himself until their actions convinced him to the contrary; in this way he was frequently im-

posed upon by undeserving persons to whom he gave appointments whose conduct became a source of embarrassment to him afterward. His kindness and charity were beyond measure. I was his almoner to those who applied at the executive office and know how freely he gave, especially to the families of convicts or persons applying for pardons for their relatives. He gave strict orders they should never be refused access to him. Many of them were taken over to his house by a messenger for food and rest and were there provided with tickets or passes home. I truly think that, including subscriptions to entertainments, etc., these charities absorbed nearly all his salary. He was apt to be a victim to all collectors of subscriptions and schemers, and could never be trusted for one moment to contend with a book agent.

“While most thoroughly appreciating refinement of manner and feeling wherever he met it, he had no sympathy with pompous pretension to rank and family based upon mere pride of wealth and so-called ‘position’ and some of his keenest shafts of irony were aimed at these follies.

“On being told that in a neighboring town it was absolutely required to keep horses and carriage and live in a certain street, if social position was to be maintained, he replied very blandly, ‘Ah, is it possible? In Utica it is different; you may live where you please, but you must keep a cow. Mrs. Seymour and I have set up ours.’

“Who shall attempt to enumerate or describe his deeds of neighborly kindness, the thousand and one ways his heart devised to help his fellow-men. To this day you have but to mention his name and you touch a well spring of grateful acknowledgments from those he had helped and who after the lapse of so many years hold his name in loving memory.

“A story he was fond of telling to illustrate the terrible lack of courteous treatment among our native Americans was quite irresistible in its way. A poor German had moved into the neighborhood, out of work and not able to speak a word of English. Governor Seymour spoke no foreign tongue, but his warm heart understood all languages, and he gave the man speedy relief from present needs and secured him work. The German’s gratitude knew no bounds and whenever he saw the dear old Governor driving along the river road in the Jersey cart he would draw himself up on the side of the road, and bowing profoundly, almost to the ground, stammer out: ‘Hullo, Gofernor Seymours; Hullo, Sirs!’ ‘Now,’ said the Governor, ‘that was the only salutation between man and man he ever heard and he supposed it to be our customary greeting. What he will do when he discovers it is not our best form, I don’t know. I tremble to think of it, for his outward gesture and tone of voice is so profoundly respectful and so illy suited to his form of speech. I really must break it to him gently some day,’ and he would laugh most heartily at the impending catastrophe.

“A black woman who had come from New Jersey with his mother when a young girl, and had lived a slave and afterward a free woman in her house for many years was aided and befriended by the Governor when rendered helpless

by the infirmities of years. Word was finally sent to him of her death at a very advanced age at Oswego. He telegraphed promptly: 'Have Violet properly buried and send me the bill.' Some days afterward he drove over to Utica in his very poorest wagon, drawn by the sorriest of steeds. 'Has any special misfortune befallen you?' he was asked. 'Well, yes. I have had such a bill sent me for Violet's funeral I can scarcely afford to keep up even this appearance much longer.' All the darkeys in Oswego had taken a ride at his expense, and the function was heralded as 'Governor Seymour's funeral,' and most regally did they honor his memory by riding in his chariots!

"He was an enthusiastic lover and admirer of the great Northern Wilderness, with its lakes and streams and trackless forests, and detected with the quick eye of a landscape painter all the beautiful play of light and shade, the still reflections in the quiet waters, the wonderful, endless variety of color and form of foliage, the clear, brilliant atmosphere, the endless perspective of mountains and hills, holding all the wonderful colors of sunlight and moonlight in their caverns and crevices. It is doubtful if he ever drew or painted a line, but no man ever appreciated more fully the power of pencil and brush. 'You may write or describe an object at length, but three skillful strokes of a pencil and the thing stands before you.'

"He was not a good shot as a sportsman, though he brought down a deer occasionally, and most bitterly did he deplore their wholesale slaughter in the Adirondacks. In the excitement of the chase he could kill one, but his anger was raised to its highest pitch at the idea of floating for deer, of alluring one of the beautiful creatures to swim confidently up to your boat, dazzled by the bright light, and then in cold blood to plunge a knife into its throat. 'What was the thing that pleased you most in the woods?' was once asked him. 'A doe and two nearly grown fawns feeding on the lily pads at a spring hole close by the lake.' 'Did you fire at them?' The fire flashed from his eyes as he said hotly: 'No, I did not. I could as soon have fired at my own friends.'

"Were there no blemishes—no faults in his character? Is this a landscape without a shadow to bring out the full beauty of the sunlight? He was a man of flesh and blood, not of wood or stone, and therefore he had faults; he was a man of head and heart, but head and heart must often err before the rounded symmetrical character is attained. Yet even his failings leaned toward virtue's side. He was charged with being unduly cautious when boldness was required; those who disliked him called this caution the extreme of diplomacy or worse still a lack of courage. But a man who walked from the St. Nicholas Hotel down to the City Hall on the day of the July riots, in 1864, without any guard or means of defence, refusing even the protection of a carriage, in spite of the remonstrances of the city officials, can never be accused justly with lack of courage in the hour of need, and his bravery called forth the warmest admiration of all who witnessed it. He was a man of high temper when once aroused, but as a rule held it well under control; those who once experienced his anger had the sensation forever after of having been temporarily struck by

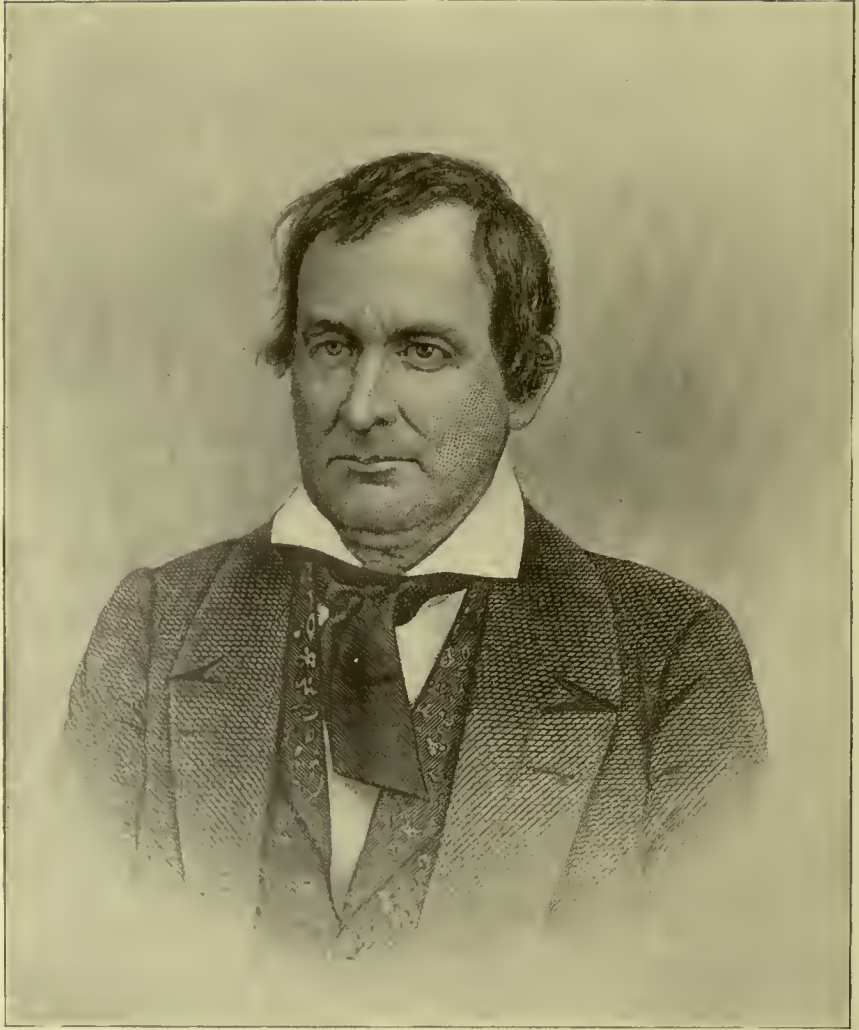
lightning. He was charged with being too credulous and aiding the undeserving, and of rewarding, not punishing, his enemies; of being a bitter partisan, a Democrat of the Democrats, although some of his lifelong friends were Republicans; of being too entirely devoted to the Empire State to the neglect of the Union. His far-seeing judgment could never be limited by the natural or political boundaries of New York, and his most glowing eulogies of her position and the wonderful system of lakes and rivers originated from his grasp of the fact that she was thus naturally the keystone of the arch of all the states. Read his many beautiful addresses, long after he had retired from politics, before the different historical societies of the state and no doubt will be left of his love of the whole country. If New York came first, the other states followed closely after.

“What wonder is it this man was so greatly beloved; that to so many of us there is a lonely feeling as we tread the old familiar streets where, on these bright winter afternoons, his face was seen to greet us on his way to his office on the corner of Broad and Genesee streets, or on Whitesboro street, where the houses of three different members of his family were like homes to him, and where his coming was looked for as part of the daily sunshine of life! What wonder that the spot where he rests at peace in Forest Hill Cemetery is thronged with people on any pleasant holiday afternoon, anxious to pay their loving tribute to one who in life was so truly their friend!

“The River road and ‘The Farm’ are as beautiful as ever, but the spirit of the place has fled. The winter sunshine pours a golden flood through the windows as in days of yore, yet a chill of desolation and sorrow strikes to the heart as one realizes here more than in any other spot the Governor is dead.

“‘Peace to his gentle spirit.’ Surely if true goodness finds reward in the next world, there was joy in Paradise when the soul of Seymour entered there. Never will his memory fade from the minds of the citizens whose privilege it was to know him in his own home. While the hills of Deerfield stand silent guard beside the valley that he loved, his name will be preserved with tender vigilance from the obliterating hand of time.”

By his niece, BLANDINA DUDLEY MILLER.



Smith

GERRIT SMITH

An American Philanthropist

“Gerrit Smith, philanthropist and reformer, was born in Utica, N. Y., March 6th, 1797, the son of Peter Smith, born at Greenbush, Rockland county, N. Y., November 15th, 1768, the descendant of Hollanders, who were among the earliest to settle in America. When Peter was sixteen years old he became a clerk for an importing merchant in New York City, and finally formed a partnership with John Jacob Astor, a poor youth like himself, the two keeping a small store and trading furs at first hands with the Indians. Smith ultimately took up his residence in the valley of the Mohawk, and opened an Indian trader's store in a corner of his house on the Bleecker property in Utica, to eke out the profits of the fur business. The furs were sent to Mr. Astor in New York. In course of time the partnership was dissolved, and while Mr. Astor bought real estate in New York City, Mr. Smith purchased sixty thousand acres of land in central New York State, at three dollars and fifty-three and one-third cents per acre, of which enough was sold at auction in 1802, to repay the purchase price and still leave enough to make Mr. Smith the largest landholder in the state, and subsequently, additions made him the owner of more acres than any other one man in the Union. Mr. Smith was a man of sensitive temperament, quick emotions, great kindness of heart, and very religious, much given to the distribution of tracts on a large scale. He married, in 1792, Elizabeth, the daughter of James Livingston, of Montgomery county, a man who was a particularly active patriot during the Revolution. She died in 1818.

“Gerrit Smith was the second son born to the couple. He was educated at the Clinton Academy, and at Hamilton College, from which he graduated in 1818, with the valedictory honor. In college he was an excellent scholar, an enthusiastic reader of the books of the period, especially the letters of Junius; he was handsome in person, popular, gay and sportive. His expectation was to study law, but the death of his mother just after his graduation took him to Peterboro, the family home, and the care of his father's estate devolving upon him soon afterward, he made that town his permanent home, and married Wealthy Ann, the only daughter of Azel Backus, D. D., the first president of Hamilton College. She lived but seven months after marriage, and in January, 1822, he was married to Ann C., daughter of William Fitzhugh, of Geneseo, N. Y. The care of his father's estate precluding any other occupation, he became a man of business, and, according to the testimony available, was one of the strictest in the country. The fact that his business life continued during fifty years, that he left an estate of more than one million dollars, and is said to have given away more than eight million dollars, is of itself sufficient evidence on this point. His capacity and integrity is illustrated by an incident of the panic of

1837. Being in need of ready money, he borrowed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of his old partner, John Jacob Astor, the security to be a mortgage on a certain piece of property. Mr. Astor's check for the amount was received, but through the stupidity of the county clerk the papers were not sent to Mr. Astor. Weeks went by, until a note of inquiry from Mr. Astor caused an examination and a satisfactory conclusion, but the fact remained that the New York capitalist had loaned a quarter of a million on the security of Mr. Smith's bare word.

"On March 17th, 1826, Mr. Smith and his wife joined the Presbyterian Church of Peterboro, and thence forward his piety, particularly in his family, was the most remarkable feature of the home which grew up around him. In course of time he broke away from the religious bodies with which he had been in union, but his reverence for the Bible as the Word of God was profound. He labored for the upholding of the Sabbath, and fought against the exclusion of the Scriptures from the public schools, but he opposed sectarianism. After he withdrew from the Presbyterian Church at Peterboro, 'The Church at Peterboro' was established and a declaration of principle, issued, which may be found in O. B. Frothingham's excellent 'Life of Gerrit Smith' (New York, 1878). In 1847, he built a chapel for its use, and it was in regular use until two years after his death. Here the ordinances of the church were observed, and the sacraments, Mr. Smith often preaching. He was an earnest advocate of temperance, and an inveterate preacher of politics, both in and out of the pulpit. He once wrote: 'No man is better than his politics; his religion is pure whose politics are pure, while his religion is rascally whose politics are rascally.' His religion, so far as it differed from the accepted and orthodox standard, was largely speculative, perhaps illogical, but it did not affect the practical religious side of his life. In later life he swung almost completely away from the form of orthodoxy, but his humanity for his fellow-men was almost unbounded, setting at defiance all the rules which usually govern men in their charitable deeds. The tide of his benefactions was always overflowing in large streams, or in small. He literally gave away fortunes to relieve immediate distress. No public subscription of his day lacked his name at the head for the largest sum, and established institutions were liberally helped. He always gave away fifty thousand dollars, and not seldom one hundred thousand dollars each year. One of his unique charities was the distribution, through committees, of thirty thousand dollars to destitute 'old maids' and widows in the State of New York. Nearly three thousand persons, white and black, received from him from forty to sixty acres of land in the counties of Franklin, Essex, Hamilton, Fulton, Oneida, Delaware, Madison, and Ulster, New York, and he made an unsuccessful attempt to colonize negroes in northern New York. He believed in and labored for the rights of women, including that of suffrage. In the courts he plead the causes of unfortunate beings of whose innocence he was persuaded, obtaining special permission to practice at the bar for this purpose. Although as executor of his father's estate he had paid, in 1837, to all

the heirs their proper share, in 1860, when his own portion had increased so enormously, without legal obligation he gave to each another portion, and four years later, still another.

“He kept open house in a fine old mansion, and all who came to his door were liberally entertained, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, alike. All his personal family were trained to aid him in his charitable works, and the house became a gathering place for all kinds of people. All under the roof were expected to attend prayers, and it is said that on one occasion, besides the family, were assembled an Irish Catholic priest, a Hicksite Quakeress, a Calvinistic Presbyterian minister of the Jonathan Edwards



RESIDENCE OF GERRIT SMITH.
Peterboro, N. Y.

school, two abolition leaders, a Seventh-day Baptist, a Democratic official, a Southern slaveholder, and a runaway slave and his wife. For this motley assemblage he afterward ‘did the honors of the table, carving meat like a gentleman.’ The relations of Mr. Smith to slavery are the most vital of his career. Up to the time of his second marriage, his father owned slaves, but he early manifested his sympathy, with the subject race, and was an early and liberal patron of the American Colonization Society. While attending a meeting of the society in Syracuse, in 1831, he was assailed by what was called a ‘select mob,’ and had a similar experience in 1835, at Utica, after which he invited all to go over to Peterboro, where fair play could be had. From this time he entered the front rank of the agitators. His object was to create a sentiment which would demand the immediate abolition of slavery, and to this end he

wrote and spoke, and gave freely from his abundant means. The 'Liberty' party was formed under his lead at Arcade, N. Y., in 1840, and in 1848 and 1852, he was its candidate for the Presidency. He was, in 1848, the candidate also of the 'Industrial Congress,' at Philadelphia, and in 1852, of the 'Land Reformers.' In 1840, and again in 1858, he was nominated for Governor of New York, and accepting the latter nomination on a platform of abolition and prohibition, instituted an active canvass, speaking more than fifty-three times, and spent several thousand dollars, and received about five thousand five hundred votes. From 1850 until 1860 he was peculiarly active, and aided habitually in the escape of fugitive slaves, and paid the legal expenses of persons accused of infractions of the Fugitive Slave Law.

"In 1853, he was elected to Congress and served one term, declining a renomination. While in the House he was the acknowledged friend of the black man, and advocated every public measure to secure his welfare, but in spite of this, his open-handed, sunny and hospitable nature made him an acceptable and respected associate of men of all political parties and shades of belief, even to many of the southerners, whose most cherished opinions he combated. At the same time his general course seemed of little consequence, and the Chicago 'Tribune' expressed the common opinion when it described him as 'a wrong-headed fanatic, wilful and intractable, conceited and wayward, whose intellect ran to paradox, whose wisdom was akin to folly, and who injured his own side more than the opposition.' He was accused of complicity with John Brown in the Harper's Ferry raid, but it was shown that all he did was to give him money; but that he might not be arrested by the United States authorities, he was guarded and secreted by his friends. Just at this time his health gave way, and he was confined for a few weeks in an asylum for the insane in Utica, but at the end of six weeks he was discharged, cured. He was charged by the Chicago 'Tribune' with having feigned insanity, but the accusation was finally retracted. During the war Mr. Smith gave powerful support to the government, contending, from the firing of the first gun on Fort Sumpter, that it meant the end of slavery. He would never allow that the North was blameless in the matter of slavery, and always counseled moderation and kindness toward the leaders when the end should come. Consistently with this opinion he went upon the bail bond of Jefferson Davis with Horace Greely, and interceded for prisoners confined in Albany for participation in the 'Ku Klux' outrages. The end of slavery did not lessen his activities, but gave him an opportunity to seek other channels. He took an active interest in politics, befriended the freedmen, worked earnestly for temperance, and was active in ordinary business affairs and in the promotion of local, state and other public works. He comprehended and helped with funds the Italian patriot Mazzini, and withheld neither his prayers nor his helping hand from any good work in which he could cooperate. His death was sudden, being caused by a stroke of apoplexy while on a visit to New York City. Tributes came to him from all sources, the most remarkable, William

Lloyd Garrison, with whom he differed for many years. Mr. Garrison said: 'His case is hardly to be paralleled among the benefactors of mankind, in this or any other country. The language of eulogy, often absurdly or timidly applied, may, in this instance, be used in the strongest form without danger of exaggeration. No description of sublime deeds can match their performance. Truly, in the Peterboro philanthropist and reformer was seen:'

"A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man';

of a man not only remarkable for the beauty and stateliness of his person, the suavity of his manners, and the charm of his social intercourse, but exceptional among millions in the matter of self-conquest over the strongest temptation and the most ample opportunities to lead a luxurious and a purely worldly life. Mr. Smith died December 28th, 1874."

"ALBANY, April 15th, 1857.

"DEAR COUSIN:

"Here I am for the fifth time during this Session of the Legislature. My first term was to help defeat the selfish project of discriminating against the Oswego Canal.

"Now I am endeavoring (possibly in vain) to persuade the Legislature to pledge the protection of the State to the poor fugitive class, who come within its boundary.

"What should I do the other day but yield to the promptings of my veneration for the memory of your great father, and take a walk around the home of your childhood and then enter it. I spent an hour in going through its many apartments, dwelling on its deeply interesting historical associations. Mrs. McIntosh, the present owner, received me very kindly and accompanied me throughout the house—pointing out the room where Harriet Ackland was; the room where Burgoyne was prisoner; the mark on the railing made by the tomahawk hurled at Margarita with you in her arms; the stairs where your mother adroitly checked the pursuers of your father; the dark way which your father took to get to the top of the house and signalize to the fort by discharging a pistol, the peril he was in; the kitchen and the negro quarters; and, most interesting of all, the room where your father's spirit exchanged worlds.

"You will be glad to know that the house is in the most perfect repair; the walls are covered with paintings most of which Mrs. M. collected in her European tour. She is a very pleasant lady. I hope to reach home in a day or two. Nancey's health is poor this spring. I trust that yours is comfortable. Make my affectionate regards to William, his wife and their children.

"Affectionately yours

"GERRIT SMITH.

"MRS. CATHERINE V. R. COCHRANE.

"Oswego, N. Y."

(The marriage of Mrs. McIntosh to ex-President Fillmore took place in the old Schuyler mansion.)

WILLIAM LEETE STONE

An American Author

“William Leete Stone, author, born in New Paltz, N. Y., April 20th, 1792, died in Saratoga Springs, N. Y., August 15th, 1844.

“His father, William, was a soldier of the Revolution, and afterward a Presbyterian minister, who was a descendant of Governor William Leete.

“His son removed to Sodus, N. Y., in 1808, where he assisted his father in the care of a farm. The country was a wilderness at that time, and the adventures of young Stone during his early pioneer life, formed material that he afterward wrought into border tales. At the age of seventeen he became a printer in the office of the Cooperstown ‘Federalist’ and in 1813 he was editor of the Herkimer ‘American’ with Thurlow Weed as his journeyman. Subsequently he edited the ‘Northern Whig’ at Hudson, N. Y., and in 1817, the Albany ‘Daily Advertiser.’ In 1818, he succeeded Theodore Dwight in the editorship of the ‘Hartford Mirror.’ While at Hartford, Jonathan M. Wainwright (afterward bishop), Samuel G. Goodrich (Peter Parley), Isaac Toucey, and himself, alternated in editing a literary magazine called ‘The Knights of the Round Table.’ He also edited while at Hudson ‘The Lounger’ a literary periodical which was noted for its pleasantry and wit. In 1821 he succeeded Zachariah Lewis in the editorship of the New York ‘Commercial Advertiser,’ becoming at the same time one of its proprietors, which place he held until his death.

“Brown University gave him the degree of A. M., in 1825. Mr. Stone always advocated in its columns the abolition of slavery by Congressional action, and at the great anti-slavery convention at Baltimore, in 1825, he originated and drew up the plan for slave emancipation which was recommended at that time to Congress for adoption. In 1824 his sympathies were strongly enlisted in behalf of the Greeks in their struggles for independence, and, with Edward Everett and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, was among the first to draw the attention of the country to that people and awaken sympathy in their behalf.

“In 1825, with Thurlow Weed, he accompanied La Fayette on his tour through part of the United States. He was appointed by President Harrison, Minister to the Hague, but was recalled by Tyler. Soon after the Morgan tragedy, Mr. Stone, who was a freemason, addressed a series of letters on ‘Masonry and Anti-Masonry’ to John Quincy Adams, who in his retirement at Quincy had taken an interest in the anti-Masonic movement. In these letters, which were afterward collected and published, (New York, 1832), the author maintained that masonry should be abandoned, chiefly because it had lost its usefulness. The writer also cleared away the mists of slander which had gathered around the name of De Witt Clinton, and by preserving strict impartiality he secured that credence which no ex-parte argument could obtain, however ingenious.



William L. Stone

"In 1838 he originated and introduced a resolution in the New York Historical Society directing a memorial to be addressed to the New York Legislature praying for the appointment of an historical mission to the governments of England and Holland for the recovery of such papers and documents as were essential to a correct understanding of the colonial history of the state. This was the origin of the collection known as 'The New York Colonial Documents' made by John Romeyn Brodhead, who was sent abroad for that purpose by Governor William H. Seward in the spring of 1841. In 1840 he was defendant in a suit brought by J. Fenimore Cooper on account of reviews in the Commercial Advertiser of 'Home as Found' and 'The History of the Navy' which were decided to be libelous by the Supreme Court of the State of New York, to the dismay of many who thought that the liberty of the press in the matter of literary criticism was endangered by this judgment.

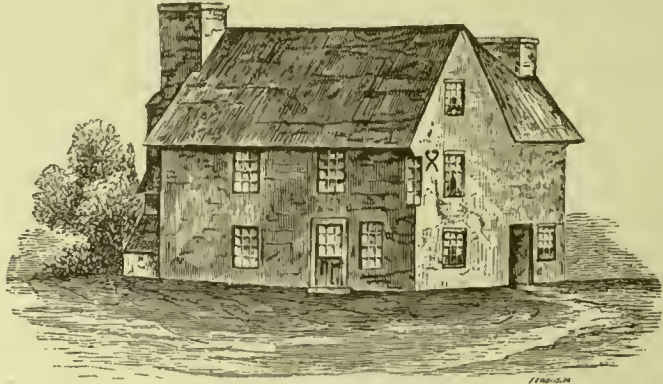
"He was the first superintendent of public schools in New York City, and while holding the office, in 1844, had a discussion with Archbishop Hughes in relation to the use of the Bible in the public schools. Although the influence of Colonel Stone (as he was familiarly called from having held that rank on Governor Clinton's staff), extended throughout the country, it was felt more particularly in New York City. He interested himself in religious enterprises and benevolent associations, especially the Institution for the deaf and dumb and the Society for the reformation of juvenile delinquents.

"His wife was a sister of Francis Wayland. His published works are 'History of the Great Albany Constitutional Convention of 1821' (Albany 1822); 'Narrative of the Grand Erie Celebration' prepared at the request of the New York Common Council (New York 1825); 'Tales and Sketches' founded on aboriginal and revolutionary traditions (two volumes 1834); 'Matthias and his Impostures' (1833); 'Maria Monk and the Nunnery of the Hotel Dieu,' which put an end to an extraordinary mania (1830); 'Ups and Downs in the life of a Distressed Gentleman,' a satire on the fashionable follies of the day (1836); 'Border Wars of the American Revolution' (1837); 'Life of Joseph Brant' (1838); 'Letters on Animal Magnetism' (1838); 'Life of Red Jacket' (1840); New edition, with memoir of the author by his son, William L. Stone, (1866); 'Poetry and History of Wyoming,' including Thomas Campbell's 'Gertrude of Wyoming' (1841), with index Albany, (1864); and 'Uncas and Miantonomoh' (1842). By his son, WILLIAM LEETE STONE, second.

THE STONE HOUSE

"The noted stone house of Mr. Whitfield, said to have been built in 1639, erected both for the accommodation of his family and as a fortification for the protection of the inhabitants against the Indians, is supposed to be the oldest dwelling house now standing in the United States. This house was kept in its original form until 1868, when it underwent such renovation as changed its appearance and internal arrangement to a great extent, although the north wall and large stone chimney are substantially the same as they have been for over

two centuries. It occupies a rising ground overlooking the great plain south of the village and commanding a very fine prospect of the Sound. It is said that the first marriage was celebrated in it, the wedding-table being garnished with the substantial luxuries of pork and pease. According to tradition the stone of



THE STONE HOUSE.

which this house was built, was brought by the Indians on handbarrows, across the swamp, from Griswold's rocks, a ledge about eighty rods east of the house, and an ancient causeway across the swamp is shown as the path employed for this purpose. The house consisted of two stories and an attic. The walls were three feet thick. At the southwest corner of the second floor there was a singular embrasure, commanding the approach from the south and west, which was evidently made for defensive purposes. In the attic there were two recesses evidently intended as places of concealment."



STONE ARMS.



REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH.

REUBEN HYDE WALWORTH

The Last of the New York Chancellors

“In many of the Colonies, prior to the Revolution, equity jurisprudence had no distinct recognition; but in the Province of New York it was in evidence from the time of the ‘Duke’s Laws,’ about 1665, and the Court of Chancery was established in 1683. It was continued through many vicissitudes, such as the effort of the Assembly to abolish it in 1727, and in the case between Governor Cosby and Rip Van Dam, in 1732, which was ruled out of the Chancery Court, as the Governor, being Chancellor, could not pass on his own case. This incident led to some marked changes in the judicial system, interesting in its history, yet the Chancery Court continued until it was reaffirmed by the first state constitution in 1777, when Robert R. Livingston was appointed the first chancellor of the state. Unfortunately, reporters of the court were not provided for, and hence its early record is meagre. The record of the Royal Court of Chancery during the Revolution is extant, and shows that the court was held in the old City Hall, or at the Governor’s residence. The imposing ceremony and splendor of dress maintained by the Lord Chancellors of England was imitated in this country and continued throughout the period of Livingston’s and Lansing’s terms of office. The chancellor entered the court in flowing silk gown, with powdered hair in queue, lace ruffles, and jewelled buckles, and was preceded by a sergeant-at-arms in knee breeches, wearing a sword. Lansing’s tragic death was followed by the appointment of Judge Kent, whose name is illustrious as a writer and jurist. Chancellors Sandford and Jones were predecessors of Reuben Hyde Walworth. I remember well that Chancellor Walworth was solicited by eminent lawyers, and by publishing houses, to write a book on equity law. He sometimes thought of complying with this demand, but his interest and inclination were so strongly bent in the direction of genealogical work, such as this Society encourages, that the law book was never written. His Genealogical Record of the Hyde Family is, I believe, one of the largest works of its kind and time in this country; it contains one thousand four hundred and forty-six pages in large octavo, in two volumes. His numerous letters asking information on this subject, made quite a sensation among the Hyde family in certain quarters; some persons seemed to think that a great estate had been discovered, and to fancy that Hyde Park in England was to be divided among them, and very amusing replies came to his letters. To this day I now and then receive letters urging me to give information about this fabulous Hyde estate. While the chancellor was so eager in pursuit of the Hyde family, one of his older daughters recommended him to put a sign over his door, ‘Cash paid for Hydes.’ Neither ridicule nor entreaty could divert him from his work. There were friends who deplored his devotion to genealogy, and urged that a man whose decisions were

of authority in England, as also in his own country, should embody such knowledge in a volume other than in the official reports of the court; but to you members of this Society, who recognize the important part that genealogy is destined to take in the historical records of our country, I need not say that the time and labor given by the chancellor to this subject was well applied. His book is a model of painstaking accuracy, and a collection of facts that renders it a standard in its line. His genealogy of the Livingston family is of great value.

“With the chancellor’s personal characteristics doubtless some of you are familiar, especially those who frequented Saratoga during the many years that



THE WALWORTH RESIDENCE.

Saratoga, N. Y.

he was so prominent a figure at the Springs. His old homestead at Saratoga, my own home, is still a point of historic interest in that village, although changes have come to it. When the chancellor bought it from Judge Henry Walton, it was a large country place, surrounded by a grove of stately pine trees, and was a part of the original Kayerderassoras patent granted by Queen Anne, about 1704, to Rip Van Dam, Livingston and others. The old parchment document, with the great seal of veritable wax suspended from it, is now in the county clerk’s office at Ballston, the county seat; I took the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Saratoga, there to see it and other historic papers last October, on the anniversary of the Battle of Saratoga. Chancellor Walworth’s old homestead has but three conveyances from the ownership of the Indians down to that of my own children. But few of the old pine trees remain, as

they gradually decay and we are obliged to fell them. This year six of the old giants, more than one hundred feet in height, had to come under the axe, and I am sure you will sympathize with the pain I felt in seeing them lying prostrate at my feet.

“In Saratoga the memory of Chancellor Walworth is cherished, as a resident identified with the brilliant days when American society had a definite form and meaning, and often gathered at the old hotels of that place; the days when eminent men of the nation were not merely professional politicians, but were statesmen, jurists, noted lawyers, and men of large business capacity and wealth, who still were not given over body and soul to money-getting. These with their gifted and beautiful wives and daughters, met at various points in the country, then not so hopelessly large as now. Before the expansion of the Mexican victory and purchase, the men and women of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, of St. Louis and Cincinnati, of New Orleans, Charleston and Savannah, met in Washington, in the larger cities, and in Saratoga, and formed a well-known and definite society in which each knew the other, and all were as friendly and social as if they lived in the same country town. Mrs. Harrison Grey Otis, Mrs. Dr. Rush, Mrs. Chancellor Walworth, Mrs. John Jay Crittenden, Madame Le Vert, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Willoughby, and Mrs. Cutting were a few of those from widely distant cities who frequently met in New York, Saratoga and Washington; each held her own little court, yet all came together at the White House and cabinet receptions, and at Mr. Cochrane's beautiful home at the capital, or at Mrs. Roosevelt's large mansion on Broadway, near Grace Church, New York, or in after dinner talks in the great hall (as it then seemed to be) of the Fifth Avenue Hotel; there at dinner they were in full dress, and the tablecloth was removed before the dessert and coffee appeared. Those were stately old days, when the multitude stayed at home, and only society was on parade, yet some of the 'swells' of the present time would smile at the unaccustomed etiquette. Politics and coquetry were the themes of conversation. Have we improved on them with the talk about stocks and theatres? Yet we did not neglect the theatre and concert room in those days of Charlotte Cushman, Julia Dean, and Jenny Lind; of the elder Booth, of Forrest, and the older Wallack; while the Italian Opera at the Academy of Music, brought together all of the fashionable world. In Saratoga there were morning prayers at the Union Hall, which is now the Grand Union, with its dining-room that seats eighteen hundred people. The religious aristocracy, and they were a strong body at that time, had their headquarters at the Union Hall, and the more fashionable set at the United States Hotel. It was typical of Chancellor Walworth's broad and sunny nature, that he was equally at home with both sets. He had long been an elder in the Presbyterian Church, a Trustee of the Board of Foreign Missions, and the Bible Society and Tract Society, and he was President of the National Temperance Society; he was active in all of these organizations, yet his intercourse with the gayer world was cordial and full of zest. Always ready for a game of whist in the evening, his lively interest in the game some-

times startled a timid lady into a sort of terror of his displeasure. This greatly amused the old gentleman when he realized the effect of his judicial manner, and the next morning he would be up with the birds and in his own garden, gathering a nosegay of old-fashioned flowers; these he would take to the Congress Spring and present, with many compliments, to his fair opponent. All the world went to the Spring before breakfast at that time; a cup of coffee was to be found in the park, then a walk about the grounds, and another glass of water, while the band played joyous melodies, and one met 'everybody' on the lawn, the ladies in Watteau-like costumes, and the men with no thought of what their dress might be, except in regard to the spotless linen and shining boots considered typical of a gentleman. Men could scarcely be said to have fashion then, their dress was so little-considered; all was lavished on the ladies—there were no women outside of the working class. One garment, worn by the men of rather an earlier time, was most picturesque; this was a very long, full circular cloak, with a short cape or collar. Some old gentlemen, and the chancellor was one of them, clung to the habit of wearing one of these cloaks; and he was a most interesting figure with this wrapped closely about him in the sharp winter days. His hair was exceedingly heavy, rather long, and of a silvery whiteness, his complexion of that transparent white and pink peculiar to many persons of New England birth, and, without exception, his clear blue eyes were the most brilliant I have ever seen in a human face. I am sure that those who remember him will bear me out in this assertion, for the charm of his countenance was very rare, and it never failed in animation to the latest months of his long life. He surrounded himself with young people, and with those who had an active participation in affairs. With children he was a veritable child himself, entering into all of their sports; he played croquet with his grandchildren all of the last summer he lived. He would lead young people to talk of history and geography, for he was eminently practical in his taste, and cared little for literature except as it related to facts.

“It was singular, but with this strongly marked characteristic, he yet dwelt so profoundly on the principles and theories of law, and had so little patience with the more modern method of classifying and specializing law practice, which sometimes seems to make it but a set of rules and precedents, like parliamentary law, when Jefferson said it had no foundation in justice and reason.

“Chancellor Walworth felt a pride in having attained self-education, and in being the son of a farmer, but he had in reality unusual privileges. His grandfather was a man of large means for that day, and gave each of his sons a good start in the world. The father of the chancellor, the youngest son, Benjamin, had a fine farm at Hoosick, in this state; it was a singular fact that before he purchased this place, and while looking about that region, the present site of the whole city of Troy was offered to him for two thousand dollars, and was not accepted. The old Revolutionary homestead at Hoosick, where the chancellor spent his youthful days, is still a fine place, and is now occupied by Mr. Geer, of Washington, who resides there in summer. The chancellor had a half-

brother, son of his mother by an earlier marriage, who was a university man; he taught a classical school, and he superintended the education of his young brother, Reuben, for some time.

“The history of this family was full of interest on both the paternal and maternal sides. The chancellor's great-grandfather, William Walworth, came from England with Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, at his request, about 1680, to make a model farm and show the colonists English methods. Walworth settled on Fisher's Island, near New London, where he succeeded with the model farm, and had a handsome residence, and, as stated in his will, he had much table silver and other valuables. In the latter part of his life, the pirates, then infesting the eastern shore of Long Island, caused so many alarms at Fisher's Island, that Walworth bought farms at Groton, and other places in that vicinity, and moved his family on to the mainland. He was a descendant of Sir William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, who killed Wat Tyler and thereby saved the life of King Richard II. William Walworth was knighted on the spot. A representation of the dagger with which he struck Wat Tyler was incorporated in the coat of arms of the City of London, and for that reason the original dagger has been preserved in the Guildhall in London, and may be seen there now, as also the pall that covered the remains of Sir William Walworth at his death. This dagger also appears in the coat of arms of the Walworth family, with the motto ‘Strike for the Laws.’ From a very ancient time a large district in London was named Walworth, and the name still lingers in that region. The maternal side of the family has been developed in the chancellor's Hyde genealogy which shows an illustrious line in this country, including a descent from the Winslows and Tracys, and in the old world a genealogy of twenty-seven generations, carefully traced back to Queen Margaret of Scotland, wife of Malcolm III., and yet further, to Queen Clothilde of France. Reuben Hyde Walworth, afterward the chancellor, was born at Bozrah, in Connecticut, but while he was a lad his father moved to Hoosick, as we have seen. He, the father, was an officer, with the rank of major, in the Revolutionary war, in Nicoll's regiment, Heath's division. When the young Reuben had finished his studies at home, he went to Troy and taught school for a short time, when he entered the law office of John Russell, State's Attorney for the northern district, who was said to be the best common law practitioner in the state. Fellow-students in the office with young Walworth were William L. Marcy and George Monell.

“Mr. Russell was impressed with the ability and energy of young Walworth, and proposed to introduce him into practice in the northern part of his circuit; thus the young lawyer was led to settle in Plattsburgh. He quickly acquired a good practice there, and soon had occasion to refuse political preferment that would be out of the direct line of his profession, but he accepted an appointment as a justice of the peace, and, later, one as a Master in Chancery. In 1818 a new law created the office of commissioner to perform certain duties of a judge of the Supreme Court, and the young lawyer, Walworth, was chosen for this place.

“ During the war of 1812 he was engaged in the conflict at Plattsburgh, with the rank of major, and acquitted himself with marked courage. During the military occupation of the town he was selected by General Wilkinson to act as Judge Advocate in a difficult case that arose concerning a British prisoner. After the war Major Walworth was appointed Division Judge Advocate, with the rank of Colonel.

“ In 1821 he consented to run for Congress, and was elected by a large majority, running ahead of his ticket at every point in the district. His extraordinary industry and close attention to the affairs of his constituents enabled him to carry some important measures in their behalf. However, as a member of the Military Committee, an arduous and ungracious task was assigned to him. In the previous year, Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of War, had, under a new act of Congress reorganized and reduced the army; legal objections had been raised to the method used by Calhoun, and the matter was referred to the Military Committee for investigation. Colonel Walworth made an exhaustive and able report, which sustained Mr. Calhoun; but it gave offence to a distinguished gentleman, afterward a senator, who had an opportunity to retaliate at a later day, when the name of the chancellor was before the Senate for the appointment of Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

“ Judge Walworth was appointed Chancellor of the State in April, 1828, when he was thirty-eight years of age, by Governor Clinton. He held the office of chancellor twenty years, and had jurisdiction in all matters relating to the rights of infants and lunatics, and appeals from the surrogates of all counties; and he was also ex-officio a member of the Court of Errors, and required to review the intricate legal decisions of the Supreme Court in cases of dissatisfaction. His decisions as chancellor are found in fifty-two volumes of printed reports and thirty-nine books of manuscript. Several of these decisions have influenced the legislation and largest business interests of this state for good, and have led to its remarkable progress in wealth and power. When he entered the office of chancellor the calendar was so far behind that it seemed to be following the habit of the English Chancery Court, so graphically presented by Dickens in *Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce*, but Chancellor Walworth, with his accustomed vigor, worked literally day and night to bring the business forward, and succeeded in doing this in a remarkable way. It was, in this effort, doubtless, that he acquired the habit he carried through life, of working until two or three o'clock in the morning. He would spend the evenings in society or with his family, and when others retired he went to his office in the north wing of the house, where two wax candles were burning, and in cold weather an open wood fire was on the hearth; here the scratching of his pen could be heard, and his beacon light, as the village people called it, could be seen until the early hours of morning. His health did not seem to suffer nor his energy flag under this strain.

“ At the close of his term of office it required but three years to clear up the business of the court. Of his ability Judge Story said: ‘Walworth is the

greatest equity jurist now living; ' and Chancellor Kent says in his Commentaries, in referring to Walworth's decisions, 'I am proud of my own native state.' An American who had practiced many years in the courts of England told me that he was surprised and gratified to hear, in that country, these decisions so frequently quoted as authority. Princeton, Yale, and Harvard conferred their honors on him.

"Amendments to the constitution of the state in 1847 again made changes in the judiciary, and the Court of Chancery was abolished. After having successfully closed the business of the court, Chancellor Walworth retired. The large and valuable miscellaneous library which he had collected for the Chancery Court was incorporated in the State Library.

"About 1844 the New York delegation in Congress and lawyers outside of Congress presented the name of Chancellor Walworth to President Tyler to fill a vacancy then existing in the Supreme Court of the United States. Tyler sent the name to the Senate; it was referred to the Judiciary Committee, which delayed making a report. Mr. Charles O'Connor used to tell some amusing stories of wire pulling in that committee; one of the absurdities related was that, after President Tyler had sent the chancellor's name to the Senate, some one told Tyler that this Walworth was a descendant of that Sir William Walworth who killed his, President Tyler's, progenitor, Wat Tyler, and thereupon the president withdrew the chancellor's name. The real cause was one of those curious combinations that are peculiar to New York politics. Political ambition had small hold on the chancellor. He once allowed his name to be used as a candidate for governor of the state, but it was understood that there was no chance of an election. He was a lifelong Democrat of the Jeffersonian school, but took no active part in politics. President Buchanan offered him a place in his cabinet, and urged it upon him, but the chancellor declined it, as he had declined other political appointments. His high standard of regard for the obligations assumed in government office, and his conscientious fulfilment of public duty, held him back from any place for which he thought he had not a special preparation; his standards of honesty were equally rigid, and he constantly protested against the modern methods of speculation; he refused to sell a piece of property at a speculative price, telling the would-be purchaser that it was not worth so much; that if he wished to keep the property he could have it at a lower figure, but for speculation he could not have it at all.

"After his retirement his counsel was sought from all parts of the country, and as referee in cases from the Supreme Court of the United States he held his court at his homestead in Saratoga; there cases were argued by such men as William H. Seward, Blatchford, Butler, Daniel Lord, and other distinguished lawyers. When the court adjourned in the afternoon it was the custom for some of these gentlemen to dine with the family almost daily, and the delightful intercourse with these learned and jovial men in the ease of such friendly hours was an education in the history of the times and of the past; their stories were inexhaustible, and the references to past events was like a calcium light thrown

upon inaccessible places. It was my privilege to be a favored daughter in this charming family circle, and every anxiety was softened and banished under the cheering and generous light of the true and noble character of the chancellor. His elevated spirit and his intense vitality dominated the coterie around him, in the family, the social circle, or in the court; not by any arbitrary act, but by his tender charity, his cheerfulness and his strength.

“ We may say of his public career with Professor Dane of Harvard, ‘ That no court was ever under the guidance of a judge purer in character or more gifted in talent than Reuben Hyde Walworth, the last chancellor of New York.’ ”

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH.



WALWORTH ARMS.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ERIE CANAL

THE Erie Canal "traverses the State of New York in an east and west line three hundred and sixty-five miles, between Buffalo and Albany, and connects the waters of the great upper lakes and those of the Hudson river by a great navigable stream. It was constructed by the State of New York at a cost of \$7,600,000; and it was the consummation of a scheme which General Philip Schuyler (the father of the American canal system), Elkanah Watson, Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawly, De Witt Clinton and others had cherished for years.



ERIE CANAL MEDAL.

"The Erie Canal was completed on the 26th of October, 1825, water from Lake Erie was admitted into it at Black Rock, and on this day the first boat ascended the Lockport Locks, passed through the mountain ridge and entered the lake. The opening ceremonies were attended with unbounded joy and enthusiasm; cannon were stationed along the banks, from one end to the other, at a distance of four or five miles apart, and a series of reports was echoed through its entire length, in token of the mingling of the waters; music and all the festivities that a grand national success can invent were put in requisition to glorify the occasion. A flotilla of boats having on board Governor Clinton, a committee of the Common Council of New York, and numerous delegates from the towns along the line of the canal, made the passage from Lake Erie to Sandy Hook.

"There the Chancellor Livingston was anchored, with a swarm of other vessels around her, which were gaily decorated with flags and crowded with people. At a proper time Governor Clinton advanced to the taffrail of the Chancellor Livingston, and holding up a keg containing water of Lake Erie, which had been brought from Buffalo in a canal boat, and pouring the liquid into the sea, completed the nuptials of the Ocean and the Great Lakes.

"The occasion was observed with similar demonstrations of delight. Medals



ERIE CANAL MEDAL.

were struck, sketches of canal scenes were imprinted on earthenware, on handkerchiefs, etc., in commemoration of the event."

THE ERIE CANAL MEDAL

I have before me a silver medal and the box presented by the Common Council of New York City. The box was made from a piece of wood brought from Erie in the first canal boat—"The Seneca Chief."

The medal is somewhat larger than a silver dollar. The obverse bears a representation of a Satyr with a horn of plenty at his side, and Neptune holding his trident; they are seated on the seashore in conversation. The picture is surrounded by the legend, "Union of Erie with the Atlantic." On the reverse is seen the "Seal of the City of New York," and surrounded by the legend, "Erie Canal Comm. 4th July 1817, Comp. 26th Oct. 1825." Underneath the seal is the date 1826, and the words, "Presented by the City of New York."



DE WITT CLINTON.

DE WITT CLINTON

An American Statesman

“As far back as the reign of Charles I., the family from whom Mr. Clinton was lineally descended, were possessed of such character and influence as to invoke the displeasure of the ruling powers for their attachment to that ill-fated monarch. On which account, during the usurpation of Cromwell, they were obliged to expatriate themselves, and finally settled at Longford in Ireland, where Colonel Charles Clinton, the grandfather of Mr. Clinton, and son of James Clinton, was born. He emigrated to this country from the north of Ireland, in 1729, and was soon thereafter, appointed surveyor-general. His intimacy with the Honorable George Clinton, then governor of the colony of New York from 1743 to 1753, contributed to give him greater influence. He settled in Ulster county in 1731, and died at Little Britain, Orange county, November 18th, 1773, aged eighty-three. He was lieutenant-colonel of one of the Ulster county regiments, and likewise first judge. He commanded a regiment at the reduction of Fort Frontenac, under General Bradstreet, when nearly seventy years of age. His sons, Alexander and Charles, were bred to the profession of medicine; James and George distinguished themselves in the French war, and in the war of the Revolution, holding the office of majors-general in the American army. James died in 1812, and George on the 20th of April, of the same year; having been governor of this state for twenty-one years, and vice president of the United States at the period of his death. The truly illustrious subject of this memoir was a son of General James Clinton. His mother was Mary De Witt, a lady of Dutch descent. He was born at his father's residence in Little Britain, on the 2d of March, 1769, and received his primary education at a grammar school in the neighboring village of Stonefield, under the care of the Rev. John Moffat, from which, at the age of thirteen, he was sent to an academy at Kingston, taught by Mr. John Addison, where he remained till prepared to enter the junior class of Columbia College in 1784, and graduated at the first public commencement of that institution after the Revolution in 1786. He was acknowledged to be the first scholar in his class, manifesting at an early age a remarkable quickness of perception and a vigorous power of intellect, which he ever after exhibited, added to a fine talent for composition and extemporaneous debate. On his leaving college he entered upon the study of the law, in the office of Samuel Jones, a gentleman deservedly eminent in his profession, formerly recorder of the city, and subsequently comptroller of the state. Under such tuition, with a mind well disciplined to habits of study, and richly stored with all the elementary knowledge of his profession, he soon accomplished his judicial studies; and accordingly, in 1790, we find him practicing at the bar, with a success, that gave promise of high legal reputation, when he

was invited to be secretary to his uncle, Governor Clinton, which he retained till the close of his administration in 1795. In the meantime he had been chosen secretary to the board of regents of the university. In 1797, he was elected a member of assembly for the City of New York, in 1800 a member of the Senate, and in 1810, was chosen by the Legislature, a senator of the United States, as the colleague of Gouverneur Morris.

“ In August, 1799, he had an affair of honor with John Swartwout, Esq., in which after exchanging five shots, the latter was wounded in the leg. The parties were afterward reconciled and remained through life on friendly terms.

“ In the same year, Mr. Clinton was appointed first judge of Queens county, where he occasionally resided ; but circumstances induced him to decline the appointment. In 1803, he resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, on being made mayor of New York, which office he retained till March, 1807. He continued in this situation, by successive reappointments, till 1815, when, from violent party opposition, he was compelled to retire ; and during the years 1815, '16, and '17, lived a private citizen. In 1817, he was elected, almost unanimously, to succeed Daniel D. Tompkins as governor of the state. He was reelected again in 1820, although opposed by Mr. Tompkins, then vice president of the United States, who had once more become a candidate. In 1823, he voluntarily declined the office, and once more retired to private life, devoting himself to the pursuits of science and literature, holding only the unprofitable office of canal commissioner, but from which he was removed, in 1824, by the shameless malignity of political opponents. This extraordinary act of party meanness and puny persecution was thoroughly rebuked by the majesty of public opinion, and resulted in his elevation to the gubernatorial office by a larger majority than had ever been known in this state at a contested election. He was reelected in 1826, and retained the office till his death, which occurred suddenly at his house in Albany, on the 11th of February, 1828. This great calamity was universally felt ; and the public testimonials of respect and veneration for his memory in every part of the state and Union, were alike honorable to the people, and a due appreciation of the character, talents, and services of the deceased. As a philosopher, a statesman, a writer, a scholar, an orator, a delightful companion, a correct citizen, and a pure and honest man, (says Dr. Hosack,) will go down to posterity divested of every reproach. His reputation was not confined to the country he immediately benefited by his services. In the literary circles, and in the scientific institutions of Europe, his name was familiarly known as among the most eminent of his day. It is evidence of the high estimation in which he was held, that he was honored by being made a member of many learned societies in Great Britain, and held also an extensive correspondence with some of the most distinguished men of the age. He was an honorary member of the Linnean, the horticultural societies of London, and of the Wernerian society of Edinburgh ; was in habits of intercourse with the late Sir James Edward Smith, the learned president of the first, and with Mr. Knight and Mr. Sabine, the able officers of the latter. The acknowledged repu-

tation which Mr. Clinton attained in his literary character, taken in connection with his extensive public services, is to be ascribed, not only to his native taste and ardent love of knowledge, but to the wonderful industry and order with which he performed his many and varied duties. He was an early riser, and devoted every moment that could be spared from official and necessary calls to the cultivation of his mind. No one was more ambitious of a reputation for science and literature, and few ever made a more successful progress in the acquisition of useful knowledge. In some of the physical sciences he was especially well versed; and as a classical and belles lettres scholar, his proficiency was very considerable. He observed the utmost punctuality in all his engagements; his regard for truth and honor being one of the cardinal principles of his mind and character. When released from the severer labors which employed his attention, a volume of the classics or a work on science occupied his moments of relaxation; and his large and well-stored library constantly afforded him ample sources of study and entertainment. The ordinary amusements of fashionable life presented no attractions for him, but were avoided, as not only involving the loss of time, money, and reputation, but as incompatible with those pursuits and views, belonging to him who has at heart the dignity of his own character, the higher interests of science, and the welfare of his country. In his person Mr. Clinton was tall, finely proportioned, and of commanding aspect. His physiognomy pointed out great mental activity and power, and the phrenological developments of his head were of the most remarkable character, uniting great benevolence with the highest degree of integrity and moral courage. The superior dignity of his person indicated a bold and haughty temper; yet nothing was further from the truth, for he was constitutionally timid, and only an exalted sense of public duty caused him to exercise on any occasion his ability for public speaking. His untiring industry and perseverance in various public stations were distinguishing attributes, and exercised, to their fullest extent, amidst the abuse, calumny and ridicule which he was compelled to encounter from the vampires of reputation, while prosecuting his great objects of internal improvement. Indeed, few men were ever assailed by a more determined opposition, and no man ever triumphed more completely over every obstacle which came in his way. The task was truly herculean, and the issue most honorable and glorious for his future fame.

“In his domestic and social relations he was cheerful and kind; in his friendships warm and sincere; and in his moral character most unexceptionable. As a speaker, he was slow, cautious and deliberate, manifesting the constant exercise of the understanding. He never indulged in rant or vehemence, either of voice or gesture; yet his clear and logical method, force and perspicuity of style, and dignity of manner, gave, whether in the judgment seat or in a deliberate assembly, an effect and influence which few others ever exercised in this state. If, indeed, the possession of strong native powers of mind, aided by extensive attainments; if an innate spirit of patriotism, quickened and directed by a knowledge of the interests of his country; if a life devoted to the unceas-

ing performance of public duty and expended in the service of his native state, entitle the possessor to respect and gratitude, Mr. Clinton presents the strongest claims, not only to the affections of his countrymen, but to a distinguished place among the sages, statesmen, and benefactors of America.

“Two of the most important objects of his heart, he lived to see accomplished—the establishment of a better system of common schools, and the Erie canal, the last of which should be called by his name, as the appropriate and durable monument of his fame and services. Whatever claims may be asserted by others in this stupendous project, all impartial and intelligent men are now convinced that the glory of its execution of right belongs to him. From its commencement, through all its subsequent embarrassments, he stood forward, through good and evil report, as its fearless and unwavering advocate, staked his character upon its success and tendered his reputation as its surety. He lived to see the consummation of the work, desiring no other recompense for his time and services than a consciousness of the incalculable importance of the project to present and future generations. In the performance of his judicial duties, his learning, firmness, and integrity have received an unqualified eulogium from all. As a magistrate, he was enlightened and dignified; in all the relations of life, public and private, he had few equals and no superior; and his death was truly a subject of regret, not only to his friends but to the nation. As yet no monument has by the public been raised to his memory, (1842); but, to the honor of the late executive of the State of New York, the subject has been brought before the legislature, and will, it is presumed, result in the adoption of some measure, creditable alike to all. For, in the words of Governor Seward, ‘the custom of honoring the dead commends itself to the natural sentiments of mankind; and although, in ignorant and depraved countries, it has been abused by the erection of pyramids, and temples, and tombs, to preserve the ashes of tyrants, it cannot among an enlightened people, be otherwise than right and expedient to perpetuate the memory of public benefactors, and thus stimulate and encourage emulation of their deeds.’

“It may without fear of contradiction, be affirmed that to Mr. Clinton is the State of New York more indebted for her present astonishing prosperity than to any other man that ever lived, and that the loss sustained by his death was one of the greatest that could happen by the decease of any individual then living.

“Mr. Clinton married February 10th, 1796, Maria, daughter of Walter Franklin, of New York, by whom he had several children. She died in 1818, and in 1827 he married Catharine, daughter of the late Dr. Thomas Jones, of New York.’”

By BENJAMIN F. THOMPSON.



JOSEPH ADDISON.

CHAPTER XXII

EXTRACTS FROM THE SHELVES OF OLD BOOKS

Joseph Addison

JOSEPH ADDISON, the celebrated wit, and most brilliant essayist of his time, was born in Wiltshire, England, May 1st, 1672; and died in Kensington, June 17th, 1719. He edited in connection with Sir Richard Steele, the periodical paper called "The Spectator." Beginning in 1711, he contributed two hundred and seventy-four essays which were read with avidity by all classes. His favorite ideal character was Sir Roger de Coverly. "A masterpiece as well as an historical record is that of Sir Roger, the country gentleman, a loyal servant of State and Church, a justice of the peace, with a chaplain of his own, and whose estate shows on a small scale the structure of the English nation. 'This domain is a little kingdom, paternally governed, but still governed. Sir Roger rakes his tenants, passes them in review in church, knows their affairs, gives them advice, assistance, commands; he is respected, obeyed, loved, because he lives with them, because the simplicity of his tastes and education puts him on a level with them, because as a magistrate, a land proprietor of many years' standing, a wealthy man, a benefactor and neighbor, he exercises a moral and legal, a useful and respected authority. Addison at the same time shows in him the solid and peculiar English character, built of heart of oak, with all the ruggedness of the primitive bark, which can neither be softened nor planed down, a great love of kindness which extends even to animals, a love for the country and for bodily exercises, an inclination to command and discipline, a feeling of subordination and respect, much common sense and little finesse, a habit of displaying and practicing in public his singularities and oddities, careless of ridicule, without thought or bravado, solely because these men acknowledge no judge but themselves. A hundred traits depict the times, a lack of love for reading, a lingering belief in witches, rustic and sporting manners, the ignorances of an artless or backward mind. Sir Roger gives the children who answer their catechism well, a Bible for themselves, and half a fitch of bacon for their mothers. When a verse pleases him he sings it for half a minute after the congregation has finished. He kills eight fat pigs at Christmas, and sends a pudding and a pack of cards to each poor family in the parish. When he goes to the theatre he supplies his servants with cudgels to protect themselves from the thieves which, he says, infest London. Addison returns a score of times to the old knight, always showing some new aspect of his character, a distinguished observer of humanity, curiously assiduous and discerning, a true creator, having but one step farther to go to enter like Richardson and Fielding upon the great work of modern literature, the novel of manners and customs."

Addison says, "When I am in a serious humor I very often walk by myself to Westminster Abbey. When the gloominess of the place and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building and the conditions of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy or rather thoughtfulness that is not disagreeable—When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tombs of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who despised them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men who divided the world with their contests or disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions and debates of mankind."

His ashes lie in this superb Campo Santo.

EXTRACTS FROM "SPECTATOR"

PATCHES.—BY ADDISON

"About the middle of last winter I went to see an opera at the theatre in the Haymarket, where I could not but take notice of two parties of very fine women, that had placed themselves in the opposite side boxes, and seemed drawn up in a kind of battle array, one against the other. After a short survey of them, I found they were patched differently; the faces on one hand being spotted on the right side of the forehead, and those upon the other on the left. I quickly perceived that they cast hostile glances upon one another; and that their patches were placed in those different situations, and party signals to distinguish friends from foes. In the middle boxes, between those two opposite bodies, were several ladies who patched indifferently on both sides of their faces, and seemed to sit there with no other intention but to see the opera. Upon inquiry I found, that the body of Amazons on my right were Whigs, and those on my left, Tories; and that those who placed themselves in middle boxes were a neutral party, whose faces had not yet declared themselves. These last, however, as I afterward found, diminished daily, and took their party with one side or the other; insomuch, that I observed in several of them, the patches, which were before dispersed equally, are now all gone over to the Whig or Tory side of the face.

A LETTER.—BY ADDISON

Fans

"Mr. Spectator: Women are armed with fans as men with swords, and sometimes do more execution with them. To the end, therefore, that ladies may be entire mistresses of the weapon which they bear, I have erected an academy for the training up of young women in the exercise of the fan, according to the most fashionable airs and motions that are now practiced at Court.

The ladies who carry fans under me are drawn up twice a day in my great hall, where they are instructed in the use of their arms, and exercised by the following words of command,

“ ‘ Handle your fans,
 “ ‘ Unfurl your fans,
 “ ‘ Discharge your fans,
 “ ‘ Ground your fans,
 “ ‘ Recover your fans,
 “ ‘ Flutter your fans.’

“ By the right observation of these few plain words of command, a woman of tolerable genius, who will apply herself diligently to her exercise for the space of one half year, shall be able to give her fan all the graces that can possibly enter into that little modish machine. The master enters into an elaborate explanation of the six exercises and concludes by saying: ‘ I shall have a general review on Thursday next; to which you shall be very welcome if you will honor it with your presence.’

“ I am &c.

“ P. S. I teach young gentlemen the whole art of gallanting a fan.

“ N. B. I have several little plain fans made for this use, to avoid expense.

ADVERTISEMENT.—BY ADDISON

“ The exercise of the snuffbox, according to the most fashionable airs and motions, in opposition to the exercise of the fan, will be taught with the best plain or perfumed snuff, at Charles Lillie's, perfumer, at the corner of Beaufort buildings in the Strand, and attendance given for the benefit of young merchants about the Exchange for two or three hours every day at noon, except Saturdays, at the toy shop near Garraway's coffee house. There will be likewise taught the ceremony of the snuffbox, or rules for offering snuff to the stranger, a friend, or a mistress, according to the degrees of familiarity or distance; with an explanation of the careless, the scornful, the polite, and the surly pinch, and the gestures proper to each of them.

“ N. B. The undertaker does not question but in a short time to have formed a body of regular snuffboxes ready to meet and make head against all the regiment of fans which have been lately disciplined and are now in motion.

ADVERTISEMENT.—BY ADDISON

“ SIR,

“ I am a young woman, and reckoned pretty; therefore you'll pardon me that I trouble you to decide a wager between me and a cousin of mine, who is always contradicting me because he understands Latin. Pray, sir, is dimple spelt with a single or a double p?

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your very humble servant,

“ BETTY STAUNTER.

A LETTER.—BY ADDISON

“MR. SPECTATOR,

“I am a country clergyman, and hope you will lend me your assistance in ridiculing some little indecencies which cannot so properly be exposed from the pulpit.

“A widow lady who straggled this summer from London into my parish for the benefit of the air, as she says, appears every Sunday at church with many fashionable extravagancies, to the great astonishment of my congregation.

“But what gives us the most offence is her theatrical manner of singing the Psalms. She introduces above fifty Italian airs in the hundredth Psalm; and whilst we begin *All People* in the old solemn tune of our forefathers, she in a quite different key runs divisions on the vowels, and adorns them with the graces of Nicolini; if she meets with *eke* or *aye*, which are frequent in the metre of Hopkins and Sternhold, we are certain to hear her quavering them half a minute after us to some sprightly airs of the opera.

“I am very far from being an enemy to church music; but fear this abuse of it may make my parish ridiculous, who already look on the singing Psalms as an entertainment, and not part of their devotion: besides I am apprehensive that the infection may spread; for *Squire Squeekum*, who by his voice seems (if I may use the expression) to be cut out for an Italian singer, was last Sunday practicing the same airs.

“I know the lady's principles, and that she will plead the toleration, which (as she fancies) allows her nonconformity in this particular; but I beg you to acquaint her, that singing the Psalms in a different tune from the rest of the congregation, is a sort of schism not tolerated by that act. I am, Sir,

“Your very humble servant,

“R. S.

A LETTER.—BY ADDISON

“DEAR MR. SPECTATOR,

“I have a sot of a husband that lives a very scandalous life, and wastes away his body and fortune in debaucheries; and is immovable to all the arguments I can urge to him. I would gladly know whether in some cases a cudgel may not be allowed as a good figure of speech, and whether it may not be lawfully used by a female orator.

“Your humble servant,

“BARBARA CRABTREE.

A LETTER.—BY ADDISON

“MR. SPECTATOR,

“I am a footman in a great family, and am in love with the housemaid. We were all at hot-cockles last night in the hall these holidays; when I lay down and was blinded; she pulled off her shoe and hit me with the heel such a rap as almost broke my head to pieces. Pray, Sir, was this love or spite?

AN ESSAY —BY ADDISON

“I was this morning surprised with a great knocking at the door, when my landlady’s daughter came up to me, and told me that there was a man below desired to speak with me. Upon my asking her who it was, she told me it was a very grave elderly person, but that she did not know his name. I immediately went down to him, and found him to be the coachman of my worthy friend Sir Roger de Coverly. He told me that his master came to town last night, and would be glad to take a turn with me in Gray’s-Inn walks. As I was wondering in myself what had brought Sir Roger to town, not having lately received any letter from him, he told me that his master was come up to get a sight of Prince Eugene, and that he desired I would immediately meet him.

“I was not a little pleased with the curiosity of the old Knight, though I did not much wonder at it, having heard him say more than once in private discourse, that he looked upon Prince Eugenio (for so the Knight always calls him) to be a greater man than Scanderbeg.

“I was no sooner come into Gray’s-Inn walks, but I heard my friend upon the terrace hemming twice or thrice to himself with great vigour, for he loves to clear his pipes in good air (to make use of his own phrase), and is not a little pleased with anyone who takes note of the strength which he still exerts in his morning hems.

“I was touched with a secret joy at the sight of the good old man, who, before he saw me, was engaged in conversation with a beggar man that had asked an alms of him. I could hear my friend chide him for not finding out some work; but at the same time saw him put his hand in his pocket and gave him a sixpence.

“Our salutations were very hearty on both sides, consisting of many kind shakes of the hand, and several affectionate looks which we cast upon one another. After which the Knight told me my good friend his chaplain was very well, and much at my service, and that the Sunday before he had made a most incomparable sermon out of Doctor Barrow. I have left, says he, all my affairs in his hands, and being willing to lay an obligation upon him, have deposited with him thirty merks, to be distributed among his poor parishioners.

“He then proceeded to acquaint me with the welfare of Will Wimble. Upon which he put his hand into his fob, and presented me in his name with a tobacco-stopper, telling me that Will had been busy all the beginning of the winter in turning great quantities of them; and that he made a present of one to every gentleman in the country who has good principles and smokes. He added, that poor Will was at present under great tribulation, for that Tom Touchey had taken the law of him for cutting some hazel sticks out of one of his hedges.

“Among other pieces of news which the Knight brought from his country-seat, he informed me that Moll White was dead; and that about a month after her death the wind was so very high that it blew down the end of one of his

barns. But, for my own part, says Sir Roger, I do not think that the old woman had any hand in it.

“He afterward fell into an account of the diversions which had passed in his house during the holidays; for Sir Roger, after the laudable custom of his ancestors, always keeps open house at Christmas. I learned from him, that he had killed eight fat hogs for this season, that he had dealt about his chines very liberally among his neighbors, and that in particular he had sent a string of hogs’ puddings with a pack of cards to every poor family in the parish. I have often thought says Sir Roger, it happens very well that Christmas should fall out in the middle of winter. It is the most dead uncomfortable time of the year, when the poor people would suffer very much from their poverty and cold, if they had not good cheer, warm fires, and Christmas gambols to support them. I love to rejoice their poor hearts at this season, and to see the whole village merry in my great hall. I allow a double quantity of malt to my small beer, and set it running for twelve days to everyone that calls for it. I have always a piece of cold beef and mince-pye upon the table, and am wonderfully pleased to see my tenants pass away the whole evening in playing their innocent tricks, and smutting one another. Our friend Will Wimble is as merry as any of them, and shews a thousand roguish tricks upon these occasions.

“I was very much delighted with the reflection of my old friend which carried so much goodness in it. He then launched into the praise of the late act of parliament for securing the church of England; and told me with great satisfaction, that he believed it already began to take effect; for that a rigid dis-senter, who chanced to dine at his house on Christmas day, had been observed to eat very plentifully of his plumb-porridge.

“After having despatched all our country matters, Sir Roger made several inquiries concerning the club, and particularly of his old antagonist, Sir Andrew Freeport. He asked me with a kind of smile whether Sir Andrew had not taken the advantage of his absence to vent among them some of his republican doctrines? but soon after gathering up his countenance into a more than ordinary seriousness, tell me truly says he, do you not think Sir Andrew had a hand in the Pope’s procession?—But without giving me time to answer, Well, well, says he, I know you are a wary man, and do not care to talk of public matters.

“The Knight then asked me if I had seen Prince Eugenio; and made me promise to get him a stand in some convenient place where he might have a full sight of that extraordinary man, whose presence does so much honor to the British nation. He dwelt very long on the praises of this great general; and I found that, since I was with him in the country, he had drawn many observations together out of his reading in Baker’s Chronicle and other authors, who always lies in his hall-window, which very much redounds to the honor of this prince.

“Having passed away the greatest part of the morning in hearing the Knight’s reflections, which were partly private and partly political, he asked me if I

would smoke a pipe with him over a dish of coffee at Squire's? As I love the old man, I take delight in complying with everything that is agreeable to him, and accordingly waited on him to the coffee house, where his venerable figure drew upon us the eyes of the whole room. He had no sooner seated himself at the end of the high table, but he called for a clean pipe, a paper of tobacco, a dish of coffee, a wax candle, and the Suppliment, with such an air of cheerfulness and good humor, that all the boys in the coffee room (who seemed to take pleasure in serving him) were at once employed on his several errands, inasmuch that nobody else could come at a dish of tea till the Knight had got all his conveniences about him.

ADVERTISEMENT

From the Parish-vestry, January, 9

“All ladies who come to church in the new-fashioned hoods, are desired to be there before divine service begins, lest they divert the attention of the congregation.

“RALPH.”

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15.—BY ADDISON

—*Tribus Anticyris caput infanabile*—

A head no hellebore can cure.

“I was yesterday engaged in an assembly of virtuosos, where one of them produced many curious observations which he had lately made in the anatomy of a human body. Another of the company communicated to us several wonderful discoveries which he had also made on the same subject by the help of very fine glasses. This gave birth to a great variety of uncommon remarks, and furnished discourse for the remaining part of the day.

“The different opinions which were started on this occasion presented to my imagination so many new ideas, that by mixing with those which were already there, they employed my fancy all the last night, and composed a very wild extravagant dream.

“I was invited, methought, to the dissection of a beau's head and of a coquette's heart, which were both of them laid on a table before us. As an imaginary operator opened the first with a great deal of nicety; which upon a cursory and superficial view appeared like the head of another man; but upon applying our glasses to it, we made a very odd discovery, namely, that what we looked upon as brains were not such in reality, but an heap of strange materials wound up in that shape and texture, and packed together with wonderful art in the several cavities of the skull. For, as Homer tells us, that the blood of the

gods is not real blood, but only something like it ; so we found that the brain of a beau is not a real brain, but only something like it.

“The cineal gland, which many of our modern philosophers suppose to be the seat of the soul, smelt very strong of essence and orange flower water, and was encompassed with a kind of horny substance, cut into a thousand little faces or mirrors, which were imperceptible to the naked eye ; insomuch that the soul, if there had been any here, must have been always taken up in contemplating her own beauties.

“We observed a large antrum or cavity in the finciput, that was filled with ribands, lace, and embroidery, wrought together in a most curious piece of network, the parts of which were likewise imperceptible to the naked eye. Another of these antrums or cavities was stuffed with invisible billet-doux, love-letters, pricked-dances, and other trumpery of the same nature. In another we found a kind of powder, which set the whole company a sneezing, and by the scent discovered itself to be right Spanish. The several other cells were stored with commodities of the same kind, of which it would be tedious to give the reader an exact inventory.

“There was a large cavity on each side of the head, which I must not omit. That on the right side was filled with fictions, flatteries and falsehoods, vows, promises and protestations ; that on the left with oaths and imprecations. There issued out a duct from each of these cells, which ran into the root of the tongue, where both joined together, and passed forward in one common duct to the tip of it. We discovered several little roads or canals running from the ear into the brain, and took particular care to trace them through their several passages. One of them extended itself to a bundle of sonnets and little musical instruments ; others ended in several bladders, which were filled either with wind or froth. But the large canal entered into a great cavity of the skull, from whence there went another canal into the tongue ! This great cavity was filled with a kind of spongy substance, which the French anatomists call *Gali-matias*, and the English nonsense.

“The skins of the forehead were extremely tough and thick, and, what very much surprised us, had not in them any single blood vessel that we were able to discover, either with or without our glasses ; from whence we concluded, that the party when alive must have been entirely deprived of the faculty of blushing.

“The *os cribriforme* was exceedingly stuffed, and in some cases damaged with snuff. We could not but take notice in particular of that small muscle which is not often discovered in dissections, and draws the nose upward, when it expresses the contempt which the owner of it has upon seeing anything he does not like, or hearing anything he does not understand. I need not tell my learned reader, this is that muscle which performs the motion so often mentioned by the Latin poets, when they talk of a man’s cocking his nose, or playing the rhinoceros.

“We did not find anything very remarkable in the eye, saving only that the

musculi amatorii, or, as we may translate it into English, the ogling muscles, were very much worn and decayed with use; whereas, on the contrary, the elevator, or the muscle which turns the eye toward heaven, did not appear to have been used at all.

“I have only mentioned in this dissection such new discoveries as we are able to make, and have not taken any notice of those parts which are to be met with in common heads. As for the skull, the face, and indeed the whole outward figure of the head, we could not discover any difference from what we observe in the heads of other men. We were informed that the person to whom this head belonged, had passed for a MAN above five and thirty years; during which time he eat and drank like other people, dressed well, talked loud, laughed frequently, and on particular occasions had acquitted himself tolerably at a ball or an assembly; to which one of the company added, that a certain knot of ladies took him for a wit. He was cut off in the flower of his age by the blow of a paring shovel, having been surprised by an eminent citizen as he was tendering some civilities to his wife.

“When we had thoroughly examined this head, with all its apartments, and its several kinds of furniture, we put up the brain, such as it was, into its proper place, and laid it aside under a broad piece of scarlet cloth, in order to be prepared, and kept in a great repository of dissections; our operator telling us that the preparation would not be so difficult as that of another brain, for that he had observed several of the little pipes and tubes which ran through the brain were already filled with a kind of mercurial substance, which he looked upon to be true quicksilver.

“He applied himself in the next place to the coquette’s heart, which he likewise laid open with great dexterity. There occurred to us many particularities in this dissection; but being unwilling to burden my reader’s memory too much, I shall reserve this subject for the speculations of another day.”

AN ESSAY.—BY ADDISON

—All things are but alter’d, nothing dies,
And here and there th’unbody’d spirit flies,
By time, or force, or sickness disposess’d,
And lodges where it lights, in man or beast.

Dryden.

“Will Honeycomb, who loves to show upon occasion all the little learning he has picked up, told us yesterday at the club, that he thought there might be a great deal said for the transmigration of souls, and that the eastern parts of the world believed in that doctrine to this day. Sir Paul Rycout, says he, gives us an account of several well disposed Mahometans that purchase the freedom of any little bird they see confined to a cage, and think they merit as much by it, as we should do here by ransoming any of our countrymen from their captivity at Algiers. You must know (says Will) the reason is, because they consider

every animal as a brother or sister in disguise, and therefore think themselves obliged to extend their charity to them, though under such mean circumstances. They'll tell you (says Will) that the soul of a man, when he dies, immediately passes into the body of another man, or of some brute, which he resembles in his humor, or his fortune, when he was one of us.

“As I was wondering what this profusion of learning would end in, Will told us that Jack Freelove, who was a fellow of whim, made love to one of those ladies who throw away all their fondness on parrots, monkeys, and lap-dogs. Upon going to pay her a visit one morning, he writ a very fine epistle upon this hint. Jack (says he) was conducted into the parlor, where he diverted himself for some time with her favorite monkey, which was chained in one of the windows; till observing a pen and ink lie by him, he writ the following letter to his mistress, in the person of the monkey; and upon her not coming down so soon as he expected, left it in the window, and went about his business.

“The lady soon after coming into the parlor, and seeing her monkey look upon a paper with great earnestness, took it up, and to this day is in some doubt (says Will), whether it was written by Jack or the monkey.

“MADAM:

“Not having the gift of speech, I have for a long time waited in vain for an opportunity of making myself known to you; and paper, by me, I gladly take the occasion of giving you my history in writing, which I could not do by word of mouth. You must know, Madam, that about a thousand years ago I was an Indian Brachman, and versed in all those mysterious secrets which your European philosopher, called Pythagoras, is said to have learned from our fraternity. I had so ingratiated myself by my great skill in the occult sciences with a dæmon whom I used to converse with, that he promised to grant me whatever I should ask of him. I desired that my soul might never pass into the body of a brute creature; but this he told me was not in his power to grant me. I then begged that into whatever creature I should chance to transmigrate, I should still retain my memory, and be conscious that I was the same person who lived in different animals. This he told me was within his power, and accordingly promised, on the word of a dæmon, that he would grant me what I desired. From that time forth I lived so very unblameably, that I was made president of a college of Brachmans; an office which I discharged with great integrity till the day of my death.

“I was then shuffled into another human body, and acted my part so very well in it that I became first minister to a prince who reigned upon the banks of the Ganges. I here lived in great honor for several years, but by degrees lost all the innocence of the Brachman, being obliged to rifle and oppress the people to enrich my sovereign: till at length I became so odious, that my master, to recover his credit with his subjects, shot me through the heart with an arrow as I was one day addressing myself to him at the head of his army.

“Upon my next remove I found myself in the woods, under the shape of a jackal, and soon listed myself in the service of a lion. I used to yelp near his

den at midnight, which was his time of rousing and seeking after his prey. He always followed me in the rear, and when I had run down a fat buck, a wild goat, or an hare, after he had feasted upon it very plentifully himself, would now and then throw me a bone that was but half picked for my encouragement; but upon my being unsuccessful in two or three chases, he gave me such a confounded gripe in his anger, that I died of it.

“In my next transmigration I was again set upon two legs, and became an Indian tax-gatherer; but having been guilty of great extravagancies, and being married to an expensive jade of a wife, I ran so cursedly in debt, that I durst not show my head. I could no sooner step out of my house, but I was arrested by somebody or other that lay in wait for me. As I ventured abroad one night in the dusk of the evening, I was taken up and hurried into a dungeon, where I died a few months after. My soul then entered into a flying fish, and in that state led a most melancholy life for the space of six years. Several fishes of prey pursued me when I was in the water; and if I betook myself to my wings, it was ten to one but I had a flock of birds aiming at me. As I was one day flying amidst a fleet of English ships, I observed a huge seagull whetting his bill and hovering just over my head: upon my dipping into the water to avoid him, I fell into the mouth of a monstrous shark that swallowed me down in an instant.

“I was some years afterward, to my great surprise, an eminent banker in Lombard street; and remembering how I had formerly suffered for want of money, became so very sordid and avaricious, that the whole town cried shame of me. I was a miserable little old fellow to look upon, for I had, in a manner, starved myself, and was nothing but skin and bones when I died.

“I was afterward very much troubled and amazed to find myself dwindled into an emmet. I was heartily concerned to make so insignificant a figure, and did not know but some time or other I might be reduced to a mite if I did not mend my manners. I therefore applied myself with great diligence to the offices that were allotted me, and was generally looked upon as the notablest ant in the whole molehill. I was at last picked up as I was groaning under a burden, by an unlucky cock-sparrow that lived in the neighborhood, and had before made great depredations upon our commonwealth.

“I then bettered my condition a little and lived a whole summer in the shape of a bee; but being tired with the painful and penurious life I had undergone in my two last transmigrations, I fell into the other extreme and turned drone. As I one day headed a party to plunder an hive, we were received so warmly by the swarm which defended it, that we were most of us left dead upon the spot.

“I might tell you of many other transmigrations which I went through; how I was a town rake and afterward did penance as a bay-gelding for ten years; as also how I was a tailor, a shrimp, and a tom-tit. In the last of these my shapes I was shot in the Christmas holidays by a young jackanapes, who would needs try his new gun upon me.

“But I shall pass over these and several other stages of life, to remind you of

the young beau who made love to you about six years since. You may remember, madam, how he masked and danced and sung, and played a thousand tricks to gain you; and how he was at last carried off by a cold that he got under your window one night in a serenade. I was that unfortunate young fellow to whom you were then so cruel. Not long after my shifting that unlucky body, I found myself upon a hill in Aethiopia, where I lived in my present grotesque shape, till I was caught by a servant of the English factory, and sent over into Great Britain. I need not inform you how I came into your hands. You see, madam, this is not the first time that you have had me in a chain: I am, however, very happy in this my captivity, as you often bestow on me those kisses and caresses which I would have given the world for when I was a man. I hope this discovery of my person will not tend to my disadvantage, but that you will still continue your accustomed favors to

“Your most devoted humble servant,

“PUGG.

“P. S. I would advise your little shock dog to keep out of my way: for, as I look upon him to be the most formidable of my rivals, I may chance, some-time or other to give him such a snap as he won't like.”



SIR RICHARD STEELE.

SIR RICHARD STEELE

Author, born in 1671 in Ireland, of English parentage. He died in Wales, 1729

BY STEELE

“Let us the bonds of lasting peace unite
And celebrate the hymeneal rite.”

“I cannot but think the following letter from the Emperor of China to the Pope of Rome, proposing a coalition of the Chinese and Roman churches, will be acceptable to the curious. I just confess, I myself being of opinion that the Emperor has as much authority to be interpreter to him he pretends to expound, as the pope has to be vicar to the sacred person he takes upon himself to represent, I was not a little pleased with their treaty of alliance. What progress the negotiation between his majesty of Rome and his holiness of China makes (as we daily writers say upon subjects where we are at a loss) time will let us know. In the meantime, since they agree in the fundamentals of power and authority, and differ only in matters of faith, we may expect the matter will go on without difficulty:

“A letter from the Emperor of China to the pope, interpreted by a father Jesuit, secretary of the Indies.

“To you, blessed above the blessed, great Emperor of bishops, and pastor of Christians, dispenser of the oil of the kings of Europe, Clement XI.

“The favorite friend of God, Gionatta the VII., most powerful above the most powerful of the earth, highest above the highest under the sun and moon, who sits on a throne of Emerald of China, above one hundred steps of gold, to interpret the language of God to the faithful, and who gives life and death to one hundred and fifteen kingdoms and one hundred and seventy islands; he writes with the quill of a virgin ostrich, and sends health and increase of old age.

“Being arrived at the time of our age, in which the flower of our royal youth ought to ripen into fruit toward old age, to comfort therewith the desire of our devoted people, and to propagate the seed of that plant which must protect them, we have determined to accompany ourselves with a high amorous virgin, suckled at the breast of a wild lioness and a meek lamb; and imagining with ourselves that your European Roman people is the father of many unconquerable and chaste ladies, we stretch out our powerful arm to embrace one of them, and she shall be one of your nieces, or the niece of some other great Latin priest, the darling of God’s right eye. Let the authority of Sarah be sown in her, the fidelity of Esther, and the wisdom of Abba. We would have her eye like that of a dove, which may look upon heaven and earth, with the mouth of a shell

fish to feed upon the dew of the morning ; her age must not exceed two hundred courses of the moon ; let her stature be equal to that of an ear of green corn, and her girth a handful.

“ We will send our Mandarin ambassadors to clothe her, and to conduct her to us, and we will meet her on the bank of the great river, making her leap up into our chariot. She may with us worship her own God, together with twenty-four virgins of her own choosing ; and she may sing with them as the turtle in the spring. You, O father and friend, complying with this our desire, may be an occasion of uniting in perpetual friendship our high empire with your European kingdoms, and we may embrace your laws as the ivy embraces the tree ; and we ourselves may scatter our royal blood into your provinces, warming the chief of your princes with the amorous fire of our Amazons, the resembling pictures of some of which our said Mandarin ambassadors shall convey to you.

“ We exhort you to keep in peace two good religious families of missionaries, the black sons of Ignatius, and the white and black sons of Dominicus ; that the counsel, both of the one and the other, may serve as a guide to us in our government, and a light to interpret the divine law, as the oil cast into the sea produces light.

“ To conclude, we rising up in our throne to embrace you, we declare you our ally and confederate ; and have ordered this leaf to be sealed with our imperial signet, in our royal city, the head of the world, the eighth day of the third lunation, and the fourth year of our reign.

“ Letters from Rome say, the whole conversation, both among gentlemen and ladies, has turned upon the subject of this epistle ever since it arrived. The Jesuit who translated it says it loses much of the majesty of the original in the Italian. It seems there was an offer of the same nature made by a predecessor of the present Emperor to Louis the XIII. of France, but no lady of that court would take the voyage, that sex not being at that time so much used in public negotiations. The manner of treating the Pope is, according to the Chinese ceremonial, very respectful ; for the Emperor writes to him with the quill of a virgin ostrich, which was never used before but in writing prayers. Instructions are preparing for the lady who shall have so much zeal as to undertake this pilgrimage, and be an empress for the sake of her religion. The principal of the Indian missionaries has given him a list of the reigning sins in China, in order to prepare indulgences necessary to this lady and her retinue, in advancing the interests of the Roman Catholic religion in those kingdoms.”

TO THE SPECTATOR-GENERAL

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

“ I have of late seen French hats of a prodigious magnitude pass by my observatory.

“ JOHN SLY.”



EDMUND BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE

An English Statesman

“Edmund Burke was born in Dublin on the 1st of January, in the year 1730; he died in London on the 8th of July, 1797.

EXTRACT FROM HIS SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT

“In his speech in Parliament in 1774 concerning the American Stamp Act, urging conciliatory measures, by his zealous support of the American Colonies he said :

“Well ! but whatever it is, gentlemen will force the Colonists to take the teas. You will force them ? Has seven years' struggle been yet able to force them ? Oh, but it seems we are in the right—the tax is trifling—in effect it is rather an exoneration than an imposition ; three-fourths of the duties formerly payable on teas exported to America is taken off ; the place of collection is only shifting ; instead of the retention of a shilling from the drawback here, it is three pence custom paid in America. All this, sir, is very true. But this is the very ally and mischief of the act. Incredible as it may seem, you know that you have deliberately thrown away a large duty which you held secure and quiet in your hands, for the vain hope of getting one three-fourths less, through every hazard, through certain litigation, and possibly through war.”

In 1790 he published in pamphlet form his “Reflections on the French Revolution,” strenuously opposing it. It had an immense sale, gave rise to many controversies, and led to the separation of the author from many of his political friends.

“The vanity, restlessness, petulance, and spirit of intrigue of several petty cabals, who attempt to hide their total want of consequence, in bustle and noise, and puffing, and mutual quotation of each other, makes you imagine that our contemptuous neglect of their abilities is a general mark of acquiescence in their opinions. No such thing, I assure you. Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise, are the only inhabitants of the field ; that of course, they are many in number ; or that, after all they are other than the little shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome insects of the hour.

“I almost venture to affirm that not one in a hundred among us participates in the ‘triumph’ of the Revolution society. If the king and queen of France and their children, were to fall into our hands by the chance of war, in the most acrimonious of all hostilities (I deprecate such an event, I deprecate such

hostility) they would be treated with another sort of triumphal entry into London. We formerly have had a king of France in that situation; we have read how he was treated by the victor in the field; and in what manner he was afterward received in England. Four hundred years have gone over us; but I believe we are not materially changed since that period.

* * * * *

“We have not been drawn and trussed, in order that we may be filled, like stuffed birds in a museum, with chaff and rags and paltry blurred shreds of paper about the rights of man.”

JOURNAL OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK

FIRST ATTEMPT TO TAX TEA

Die Martis, 9 bo. A. M. Sept. 11, 1744

“ * * * The House, resolved itself into a Committee, upon the Bill, entitled, An Act, further to continue an Act, entitled, An Act for and toward supporting the Government of this Colony, by granting to his Majesty the Duties therein mentioned, from the first Day of December, 1741; after some Time spent therein, a Motion was made, by Mr. Jones, that a Clause be added to the said Bill, for granting to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, a Duty of One Shilling, per Pound, upon all Tea, imported into this Colony, for and toward the Support of this his Majesty’s Government; and debates arising thereon, Mr. Richards moved that the previous Question be put, whether Mr. Jones’ Motion should now be put, and the said previous Question being accordingly put; it was carried, that Mr. Jones’ Motion should not be put now, by thirteen against nine.

THE STAMP DUTY

Die Mercurij, 9 bo. A. M. Aug. 6, 1755

“GENTLEMEN,

“I have again called you together sooner than I expected. The Defeat of the Troops under General Braddock, and the Retreat of the whole under Colonel Dunbar, make it necessary for all the Colonies to take vigorous Measure upon this Incident. The French will exult in their Victory, their Indians will be more insolent than ever, and ours will be more disheartened. The French will endeavor on this Occasion to improve their Interest, and to make deep Impressions on the Minds of our Indians to our Disadvantage, who from this Instance may be persuaded to think them so far superior to us, as, out of Fear, either not to assist or perhaps abandon us. This View of our Affairs, calls for our At-

tention to remove the Impression the Disaster may cause, and to prevent the bad Consequences that may flow from it. And I am of Opinion that the only effectual Method to abate the Pride of the French, curb the Insolence of their Indians, and confirm and animate ours, is immediately to raise more Troops, to support and reinforce those already on Foot. We have the Means, under God, in our Power, let us then with Unanimity, Spirit and Resolution, exert those Means he has put in our Hands, in the Defence of our Religion from Popery, our Persons from Slavery, and our Property from arbitrary Power. The Safety and Being of the British Colonies are near a Crisis. It behoves us, therefore, to take right Measures, and to pursue them with Steadiness and Fortitude, to avert the Evils, the detestable Evils, which Bondage on our Minds, Persons and Estates, carry with it. The Spirits of our Troops may be somewhat damped, by the Accounts of the unexpected Defeat near the Monongahela, and nothing will probably tend more to reanimate them, than our proceeding immediately to raise an additional Number of Men to join them. Now can anything be more effectual to confirm our Indians, in their Dependence on us, than to shew them we have Strength sufficient to protect them, to defend ourselves, and to chastise our Enemies. Let it be exerted with the utmost Vigour. As the Provincial Troops are already on their March, any Assistance we give them must be sent without the least Delay; and therefore, if a sufficient Number of Volunteers do not offer, it is necessary Draughts should be made, that the Succours be despatched with all Speed.

“GENTLEMEN,

“We are now in such a Conjuncture as makes it necessary to have the Treasury well supplied, to answer any Emergency and sudden Call; I must therefore recommend to you to provide Funds for that Purpose: I have thought of the three following. A Poll Tax of Ten Shillings, or more, on every Slave from fifteen to fifty Years of Age; an Excise upon Tea; and a Stamp Duty. The first cannot be thought heavy, as none but Persons of some Substance possess Slaves, and the Tax will fall equally according to Man’s Abilities; the second is a Tax upon a Superfluity of pernicious Consequence to the Healths and Purses of the People, and therefore a proper Object of a Tax; and the third will be so diffused as to be in a Manner insensible. I would have you take these Things under your Consideration, and if they appear insufficient for the Services we are engaged in, I must earnestly recommend it to you, to make an Addition to the Tax on Estates real and personal. We are all so deeply concerned in the Operations of this Year, that I persuade myself you will do all that is in your Power to give a happy issue to them.

“JAMES DELANCEY.

“CITY OF NEW YORK,

“Aug. 5, 1755.”

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble Address of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York.

“ MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

“ We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, midst the deep and undissembled Sorrow so universally diffused through your Majesty's Dominions, by the Death of your royal Grandfather of glorious Memory, beg Leave to express our particular Affliction, on the affecting and melancholy Event.

“ When we review the inestimable Blessings of his happy and auspicious Reign, which Posterity will recount with Admiration, as well for the matchless Lustre derived to his Kingdoms by his inflexible Steadiness and Magnanimity, as his Paternal Regard for our Religion, Laws and Liberties, we cannot refrain from paying this cordial Tribute of unaffected Grief, to the Memory of so good and so great a Monarch.

“ Nor can we, without the profoundest Gratitude to Almighty God, consider his unspeakable Goodness in continuing to the Nation a Life of such singular Importance, until your Majesty, then Heir apparent to the Crown, from your Princely Education, and the full maturity of your Virtues, was qualified to sway the Sceptre, with equal Renown.

“ We therefore beg Leave, most humbly to assure your Majesty, that affected as we are, with the tenderest Emotions at so interesting and complicated a Loss, we feel at the same Time, the most inexpressible Joy, at your Majesty's happy Accession, to the imperial throne of your Ancestors.

“ Under your Majesty, we are confident of the same uninterrupted Enjoyment of our sacred and civil Liberties, and that the Lustre of your Reign will suffer no Diminution, even when compared with the ever memorable Aera of GEORGE the Second.

“ Your Majesty's affectionate Concern for your People, and your most gracious and solemn Declarations, that you ‘ will make it the Business of your Life, to promote in every Thing, the Glory and Happiness of your Kingdoms, ’ cannot but excite, in every grateful Breast, the most ardent Acknowledgments; and may safely be relied upon from a Prince, who is pleased, so early to distinguish himself, by his royal Regard for Virtue and Piety, the most resplendent and unperishing Ornaments of the royal Diadem.

“ These great and exemplary Instances of your Majesty's Goodness to your people, undoubtedly merit all imaginable Returns of Zeal and Affection to your sacred Person and Government, and have deservedly inspired us, in this remote Part of the British Dominions (already cherished by the benign Influences of your Majesty's Reign) with the most inflexible Resolution, on all Occasions, to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; and with the greatest Alacrity, to assist your Majesty, in your magnanimous Purposes of reducing your Enemies to speedy and honourable Terms.



GEORGE III.

“When we reflect, most gracious Sovereign! On your Majesty’s benevolent Disposition, and those Inherent and Hereditary Virtues, which promise us all the Blessings, naturally flowing from an Administration, conducted by the Maxims of immutable Justice and Rectitude; we rejoice in the glorious Prospect of a Reign, replete with immortal Honour to your Majesty’s Person, and the happiest Consequences to your Kingdoms and Dominions.

“That the same indulgent Providence which remarkably blessed your royal Predecessor, and crowned his Arms with such a Series of Victories, as rendered the Period of his Reign, but the Meridian of his Glory, may equally prosper all your Majesty’s Undertakings; and enable you, with a Dignity becoming the Arbitrer of Europe, the Champion of Liberty, and the Protestant Interest, speedily to sheathe that destructive Sword, which the Enemies of both obliged that royal Friend of Mankind to draw with Reluctance.

“That your Majesty may be ever directed by unerring Wisdom, and confidently exert your native Greatness of Soul, and all your extensive Authority in the Support of Truth, Religion and Liberty, (the genuine Glory of all Princes, and the strongest Bulwark of every Throne) and thence feel the disinterested and godlike Pleasure of rendering Multitudes happy. And that your Majesty’s Government, thus founded in the Hearts and Affections of your People, may finally be transmitted, as it descended from your Ancestors, pure and inviolate, to one of your Majesty’s royal Line, possessed of your exalted Endowments, is the hearty Prayer of,

“May it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s

“Most dutiful, most loyal and most obedient Subjects,

“By Order of the General Assembly,

“ASSEMBLY-CHAMBER, CITY OF

“WILLIAM NICOLL, Speaker.

“NEW-YORK, May 19, 1761.”

Die Mercurij, 9 bo. A. M. Dec. 18. 1765

“The General Assembly of the Colony of New York, taking into their most serious Consideration, several Acts of Parliament lately passed, granting Stamp, and other Duties to his Majesty, and restricting the Trade of this Colony, apprehending an Abolition of that Constitution under which they have so long and happily enjoyed the Rights and Liberties of Englishmen, and being of that Opinion that it is the Interest of Great Britain, a Dependence on which they esteem their felicity, to confirm them in the Enjoyment of those rights, think it their indispensable Duty to make a Declaration of their Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, of their Submission to the Supreme Legislative Power; and at the same Time to shew that the Rights claimed by them are in no Manner inconsistent with either; For which Purpose they are come to the following Resolutions, that is to say:

“Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

“That the People of this Colony owe the same Faith and Allegiance to his

Majesty King George The Third, that are due to him from his Subjects in Great-Britain.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That they owe Obedience to all Acts of Parliament not inconsistent with the essential Rights and Liberties of Englishmen, and are entitled to the same Rights and Liberties which his Majesty’s English Subjects both within and without the Realm have ever enjoyed.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That his Majesty’s subjects in England, are secured in the superior Advantages they enjoy principally, by the Privilege of an Exemption from Taxes not of their own Grant, and their Right to Trials by their Peers. The First secures the People collectively from unreasonable Impositions; and without the Second, Individuals are at the arbitrary Disposition of the executive Powers.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That the Colonists did not forfeit these essential Rights by their Emigration; because this was by the Permission and Encouragement of the Crown; and that they rather merit Favour, than a Deprivation of those Rights, by giving an almost boundless Extent to the British Empire, expanding its Trade, increasing its wealth, and augmenting that Power which renders it so formidable to all Europe.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That the Acts of Trade giving a Right of Jurisdiction to the Admiralty Courts, in Prosecutions for Penalties and Forfeitures, manifestly infringes the Right of Trials by Jury; and that the late Act for granting Stamp Duties, not only exposes the American Subjects to an intolerable Inconvenience and Expense, by compelling them to a Defence at a great Distance from Home; but, by imposing a Tax, utterly deprives them of the essential Right of being the sole Disposers of their own Property.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That all Aids to the Crown, in Great-Britain, are Gifts of the People by their Representatives in Parliament, as appears from the Preamble of every Money Bill, in which the Commons are said to give and grant to his Majesty.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That it involves the greatest Inconsistency with the known Principles of the English Constitution, to suppose that the honourable House of Commons of Great-Britain, can without divesting the Inhabitants of this Colony of their most essential Rights, grant to the Crown their, or any Part of their Estates for any Purpose whatsoever.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That from the first Settlement of the Colonies, it has been the Sense of the Government at Home, that such Grants could not be constitutionally made; and therefore Applications for the Support of Government, and other Public Exigencies, have always been made to the Representatives of the People of this Colony; and frequently during the late War by immediate Orders from the

Crown, upon which they exerted themselves with so much liberality, that the Parliament thought proper to contribute to their Reimbursement.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That if the People of this Colony should be deprived of the sole Right of Taxing themselves, or presenting such Sums as the public Exigencies require, they would be laid under the greatest Disadvantages, as the united Interest of the Electors, or Elected, which constitute the Security of his Majesty's Subjects in Great-Britain, will operate strongly against them.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That the Impracticability of inducing the Colonies to grant Aids in an equal Manner, proportioned to their several Abilities, does by no Means induce a Necessity of divesting the Colonies of their essential Rights.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That it is the Duty of every Friend to Great-Britain, and this Colony to cultivate a hearty Union between them.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That if the honourable House of Commons insist on their Power of Taxing this Colony, and by that Means deprive its Inhabitants of what they have always looked upon as an undoubted Right, though this Power should be exerted in the mildest Manner, it will teach them to consider the People of Great-Britain, as vested with absolute Power to dispose of all their Property, and tend to weaken that Affection for the Mother Country, which this Colony ever had, and is extremely desirous of retaining.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That in order to keep the Colonies in due Subjection to, and Dependence on Great-Britain, it is not necessary to deprive them of the Right they have long enjoyed, of Taxing themselves; since the same Right has been enjoyed by the Clergy within the Realm, and by all the Subjects of Great-Britain without the Realm, until the late Innovation.

“ Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

“ That the Duties lately imposed by Act of Parliament on the Trade of this Colony, are very grievous and burthensome; and in the Apprehension of this House, impossible to be paid: Have already greatly diminished the advantageous Traffic heretofore carried on with the foreign Islands in the West-Indies; and in consequence, must render us unable to purchase the Manufactures of Great-Britain.”

* * * * *

SECRET MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PETERSBURG

Description of the Taurique Palace, and of the Fête which Prince Potemkin gave there to Catharine II.

“The Taurique palace was the place chosen by Prince Potemkin for the splendid entertainment which he gave his sovereign, and which was considered as a testimony of gratitude for the greatness to which she had raised him. After the death of this favorite, Catharine chose it for her autumnal residence.

“The façade of this building is composed of an immense colonnade, supporting a cupola. The entrance is into a grand vestibule, communicating with the apartments on the right and left; and at the farther end is a portico, leading to a second vestibule of prodigious size, receiving light from the top, and surrounded at a great height by a gallery, intended for an orchestra, and containing an organ. From this a double row of pillars leads to the principal salon, designed for grand entertainments. It is impossible to describe the impression made by this gigantic temple: it is more than a hundred paces long, wide in proportion, and is surrounded by a double row of colossal pillars, between which, at mid-height, are boxes ornamented with festoons elegantly sculptured, and lined with silk. From the vaulted roof are suspended globes of glass, which serve as chandeliers, and from which the light is infinitely reflected by looking glasses, placed at all the extremities of this vast hall. It has neither furniture, nor ornaments, except some vases of carrara marble, astonishing for their size and the beauty of their workmanship, placed at both ends of the salon, which are rounded into semicircles. Near this salon is the winter garden, separated from it only by the colonnade. The vault of this vast edifice is supported by pilasters in the form of palm trees; within the walls are tubes to conduct heat round the building; and canals of metal, filled with hot water, keep up an uniform temperature under this delightful parterre.

“The eye wanders with rapture over plants and shrubs of every clime, rests with admiration on an antique bust, or views with astonishment the various fishes of all hues in crystal vases. A transparent obelisk reproduces to the eye, under a thousand different tints, these wonders of art and nature; and a grotto, hung with looking glasses, endlessly reflects them. The delicious temperature, the intoxicating odor of the flowers, and the voluptuous silence of this enchanting place, plunge the mind into a pleasing reverie, and transform the imagination to the woods of Italy. The illusion continues, till destroyed by the aspect of all the rudeness and severity of winter, when the enchanted eye wanders out of the windows, and beholds the frost and snow surrounding this magnificent garden. In the midst of this elysium rises the majestic statue of Catharine II. in Persian marble.

“On this theatre of his grandeur Potemkin arranged the preparations for the

entertainment he gave his sovereign, before he departed for the southern provinces, where death awaited him. This favorite seemed to have a secret presage of his approaching end, and was desirous yet once more to enjoy all the plenitude of her favor.

“The preparations for this entertainment were immense, by everything to which his imagination gave birth. He employed artists of all kinds for several months; more than a hundred persons assembled daily, to prepare themselves for the parts he had destined them to act, and every rehearsal of the kind of feast.

“At length the appointed day arrived to gratify the impatience of a whole capital. Besides the Empress and Imperial family, Prince Potemkin had invited all the Court, the foreign ministers, the Russian nobility, and many individuals of the first ranks in society.

“At six in the evening the entertainment was opened with a masked ball. When the carriage of the Empress approached, meat, drink, and clothes, of all kinds were distributed in profusion among the assembled populace. The Empress entered the vestibule to the sound of lively music, executed by upwards of three hundred performers. Thence she repaired to the principal salon, whither she was followed by the crowd; and ascended a platform, raised for her in the centre of the salon, and surrounded by transparent decorations, with appropriate inscriptions. The company arranged themselves under the colonnade, and in the boxes; and then commenced the second act of this extraordinary spectacle.

“The Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine, at the head of the flower of all the young persons about the Court, performed a ballet. The dancers, male and female, were forty-eight in number, all dressed in white, with magnificent scarfs, covered with jewels, estimated to be worth above ten millions of roubles (a million sterling). The ballet was performed to select airs, suitable to the occasion, and interspersed with songs. The celebrated Lepic concluded it with a pas of his own composing.

“The company then removed to another salon, adorned with the richest tapestry the Gobelins could produce. In the centre was an artificial elephant, covered with rubies and emeralds; and his cornac was a Persian richly clad. On his giving the signal, by striking on a bell, the curtain rose, and a magnificent stage appeared at the end of the apartment. On it were performed two ballets of a new kind, and a lively comedy, by which the company were much amused, concluded the spectacle. This was followed by chorus singing, various dances, and an Asiatic procession, remarkable for its diversity of dresses, all the people subject to the sceptre of the Empress being represented in it.

“Presently, after all the apartments, illuminated with the greatest care, were thrown open to the eager curiosity of the crowd. The whole palace seemed on fire: the garden was covered with sparkling stones; mirrors innumerable, pyramids and globes of glass, reflected the magic spectacle in all directions. A table was spread with six hundred covers; and the rest of the guests were served standing. The table service was of gold and silver; the most exquisite dainties

were served in vessels of the greatest richness ; antique cups overflowed with the most costly liquors ; and the most expensive chandeliers gave light to the table. Officers and domestics in great number, richly clothed, were eager to anticipate the wishes of the guests. The Empress, contrary to custom, remained till midnight. She seemed to fear her departure would check the happiness of her favorite. When she withdrew, numerous bands of singers and harmonious music, made the vaulted roofs of the palace resound with a hymn to her honor. At this she was so moved, that she turned toward Prince Potemkin to express her satisfaction : he, overpowered by the sentiment of what he owed his sovereign, fell at her feet, took her hand, and watered it with tears. This was the last time it was in his power to testify his gratitude to the august author of his grandeur in this place."

(The ancient Tauris (The Crimea) bordering on the Sea of Azov, and the Black Sea was conquered by the combined armies and fleet of Catharine II. of Russia in 1774. In 1787 a journey that she made to the newly conquered Taurida was turned by her favorite Prince Potemkin into a magnificent triumphal march. "Catharine was dazzled by enchantments ; palaces rose on desert steppes, to shine for a day ; villages and cities, of which only the walls were real, covered the plains of the Tartar Nomads ; masts and flags rising above the sands showed fictitious canals ; festivities were got up by official order, to show the happiness of a hundred nationalities." The most magnificent of these entertainments was given in the old palace in the capital, Bakhtchiserai.)

KOSCIUSZKO

"Kosciuszko, who has been called the last of the Poles, as Philopoemen was the last of the Greeks, was made prisoner of war, as all the world knows, when defending his country against the attacks of foreigners. He was, however, detained as a state criminal, though he was always better treated than Ignatius Pototki, and his other companions in misfortune, who were more rigorously confined, and at Schlusselfurg.

"Paul I. (after the death of his mother, Catharine of Russia), gave liberty to them all, and was generous enough to go himself to deliver Kosciuszko from confinement. It was interesting to see this brave man, still sick of his wounds and grief, carried to the palace, where he was introduced to the Emperor and Empress, to testify his gratitude to them. He was a little, thin person, pale and emaciated ; his head was still surrounded with bandages, and his forehead could not be seen : but his mien, his eyes, still brought to remembrance what he dared to attempt with such feeble means. He refused the peasants that Paul would have given him in Russia, but accepted a sum of money to go and live independent in another country.

"This circumstance made a great and favorable impression on the public. Unquestionably it did honor to Paul ; but, to appreciate his conduct on this occa-

sion, it must be remembered, that Kosciuszko had not personally offended him, though he had the Empress Catharine. Perhaps, therefore, Kosciuszko is indebted for his liberty to Paul's affectation of acting contrary to his mother in every respect.

"Kosciuszko was confined in the house of the late Count Anhalt. For a guard he had a major, who sat at table with him. People were permitted to see him; he had several rooms at his command, and he employed himself in reading, drawing, and turning. The colonel, to whom he was conducted as prisoner by the chasseurs, who found him wounded in a marsh, is a young man, a friend of mine, equally brave and humane. He kept a pocketbook of Kosciuszko's which we looked over together. We found in it several notes, in French and Italian, taken during a tour in Italy, philosophical observations, extracts from authors, effusions in French verse, and rough drafts of various small compositions. Everything showed that the pocketbook had belonged to a man of merit, knowledge, taste, and feeling. There were in it likewise several letters sealed, and addressed to ladies at Warsaw, in French and Polish, with sketches of some of the manifestos he published, all in his own handwriting. My friend kept this pocketbook as a relic of a celebrated man whom he had admired, while forced to fight against him. When he was set at liberty, I suggested to my friend the idea of returning these papers to their owner, and I believe he did so." Kosciuszko chose America for his future residence.

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THE BOSTON GAZETTE AND COUNTY JOURNAL

Boston, March 12th, 1770

"The Town of Boston affords a recent and melancholy Demonstration of the destructive Consequences of quartering Troops among Citizens in a Time of Peace, under a Pretence of supporting the Laws and aiding Civil Authority.
* * *

"A few minutes after nine o'clock, four youths, named Edward Archibald, William Merchant, Francis Archibald, and John Leech, jun. came down Cornhill together, and separating at Doctor Loring's corner, the two former were passing the narrow alley leading to Murray's barrack, in which was a soldier brandishing a broad sword of an uncommon size against the walls, out of which he struck fire plentifully. A person of a mean countenance armed with a large cudgel bore him company. Edward Archibald admonished Mr. Merchant to take care of the sword, on which the soldier turned round and struck Archibald on the arm, then pushed at Merchant and pierced thro' his cloaths inside the arm close to the arm-pit and grazed the skin. Merchant then struck the soldier with a short stick he had, & the other Person ran to the barrack & brought with him two soldiers, one armed with a pair of tongs the other with a shovel: he

with the tongs pursued Archibald back thro' the alley, collar'd and laid him over the head with the tongs. The noise bro't people together, and John Hicks, a young lad, coming up, knock'd the soldier down, but let him get up again; and more lads gathering, drove them back to the barrack, where the boys stood some time as it were to keep them in. In less than a minute 10 or 12 of them came out with drawn cutlasses, clubs and bayonets, and set upon the unarmed boys and young folks, who stood them a little while, but finding the inequality of their equipment dispersed,—On hearing the noise, one Samuel Atwood, came up to see what was the matter, and entering the alley from dock square, heard the latter part of the combat, and when the boys had dispersed he met the 10 or 12 soldiers aforesaid rushing down the alley toward the square, and asked them if they intended to murder people? They answered Yes, by G—d, root and branch! With that one of them struck Mr. Atwood with a club, which was repeated by another, and being unarmed he turned to go off, and received a wound on the left shoulder which reached the bone and gave him much pain. Retreating a few steps, Mr. Atwood met two officers and said, Gentlemen, what is the matter? They answered, you'll see by and by. Immediately after, those heroes appeared in the square, asking where were the beggars? where were the cowards? But notwithstanding their fierceness to naked men, one of them advanced toward a youth who had a split of a raw stave in his hand, and said damn them here is one of them; but the young man seeing a person near him with a drawn sword and good cane ready to support him, held up his stave in defiance, and they quietly passed by him up the little alley by Mr. Silbey's to King street, where they attacked single and unarmed persons till they raised much clamor, and then turned down Cornhill street, insulting all they met in like manner, and pursuing some to their very doors. Thirty or forty persons, mostly lads, being by this means gathered in King street, Capt. Preston, with a party of men charged with bayonets, came from the main guard to the Commissioners' house, the soldiers pushing their bayonets, crying, Make Way! They took place by the custom-house, and continuing to push to keep the people off, pricked some in several places; on which they were clamorous, and, it is said, threw snow-balls. On this, the Captain commanded them to fire, and more snow-balls coming, he again said, Damn you, Fire, be the consequence what it will! One soldier then fired, and a townsman with a cudgel struck him over the hands with such force that he dropped his firelock; and rushing forward aimed a blow at the Captain's head, which graz'd his hat and fell pretty well upon his arm: However, the soldiers continued the fire, successively, till 7 or 8, or as some say 11 guns were discharged.

“By this fatal manœuvre, three men were laid dead on the spot, and two more struggling for life; but what showed a degree of cruelty unknown to British troops, at least since the house of Hanover has directed their operations, was an attempt to fire upon or push with their bayonets the persons who undertook to remove the slain and wounded!

“The People were immediately alarmed with the Report of this horrid Mas-

sacre, the Bells were set a Ringing, and great Numbers soon assembled at the Place where this tragical Scene had been acted ; their Feelings may be better conceived than expressed ; and while some were taking Care of the Dead and Wounded, the Rest were in Consultation what to do in those dreadful Circumstances. But so little intimidated were they, notwithstanding their being within a few Yards of the Main-Guard, and seeing the 29th Regiment under Arms, and drawn up in King-street ; that they kept their Station and appeared as an Officer of Rank express'd it, ready to run upon the very Muzzles of their Muskets."

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THE ORIGIN OF YANKEE DOODLE

G. P. Morris

- "Once on a time old Johnny Bull flew in a raging fury,
And swore that Johnathan should have no trials, sir, by jury;
That no elections should be held across the briny waters;
And now said he, 'I'll tax the Tea of all his sons and daughters.'
Then down he sate in burly state, and bluster'd like a grandee,
And in derision made a tune call'd 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
'Yankee Doodle'—these are facts—'Yankee Doodle Dandy:
My son of wax, your tea I'll tax; you—Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
- "John sent the tea from o'er the sea, with heavy duties rated;
But whether hyson or bohea I never heard it stated.
Then Johnathan to pout began—he laid a strong embargo—
'I'll drink no Tea, by Jove!' so he threw overboard the cargo.
Then Johnny sent a regiment, with words and looks so bandy,
Whose martial band, when near the land, play'd 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
'Yankee Doodle—keep it up—Yankee Doodle Dandy—
I'll poison with a tax your cup; you—Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
- "A long war then they had, in which John was at last defeated,
And 'Yankee Doodle' was the march to which his troops retreated.
Cute Johnathan, to see them fly, could not restrain his laughter;
'That tune,' said he, 'suits to a T. I'll sing it ever after.'
Old Johnny's face, to his disgrace, was flush's with beer and brandy,
E'en while he swore to sing no more this 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
'Yankee Doodle—ho, ha, he—Yankee Doodle Dandy,
We kept the tune, but not the tea—Yankee Doodle Dandy.'
- "I've told you now the origin of this most lively ditty,
Which Johnny Bull dislikes as 'dull and stupid'—what a pity I
With 'Hail Columbia' it is sung, in chorus full and hearty—
On land and main we breathe the strain John made for his tea party.
No matter how we rhyme the words, the music speaks them handy,
And where's the fair can't sing the air of 'Yankee Doodle Dandy t'
'Yankee Doodle, firm and true—Yankee Doodle Dandy—
Yankee Doodle, Doodle Doo, Yankee Doodle Dandy.'"

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NEW YORK MORNING POST

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1783

Advertisement

Just arrived in the IRIS from
LONDON

And to be sold very low

BY ROBERT LOOSELY,

In Water-Street, between the Coffee-
House and Old-Slip

A VARIETY of GOODS,

Amongst which are a few books, viz:
WARD's Algebra,

Lyttleton's England, 2 vols.,

Sterne's Letters to Eliza,

Salmon's Gazeteer, Simpson's Euclid,

Johnson's Dictionary, Bartlett's Farrier,

Bailey's Dictionary, Cole's ditto,

Jackin and Boaz, Convivial Songster,

Vocal Enchantress, &c. &c.

Likewise, a great variety of small Books
for children,

A large assortment of gold fancy Rings,

Locketts and Pins, Do. in fine hair work,

Very fine and fresh French and English

hard and soft Pomatums,

Fresh Essence of Pearl,

Tooth Powders, a great variety,

Gold Watch Keys and Hooks,

Silver Pencil Cases, ditto Tooth Pick Ca-
ses, ditto Scissors with Silver cases,

Silver Thimbles,

A very fine assortment of Silver Gilt,
and Silver Corals,

Fine plated, and highly finished steel Spurs,

A parcel of very neat Wedgwood Ink-
Stands &c.

Very fine Pocket Compasses in Silver,

Neat do. in hand Needles to throw off,

Fine sets of Teeth Instruments,

Elegant Shoe and Knee Buckles,

Marbles and Alleys for young Gentlemen,

With a great variety of articles too nu-
merous for an advertisement.

N. B. The above Goods with the re-
mains of his former assortment consisting
of Books and Stationary, Jewellery, Cut-
lery, Hardware, and Perfumery, will be
exposed for sale a few days, when those
not sold will be shipped for Halifax.

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NEW YORK MORNING POST

Advertisement

Nails, Anchors, Graplines,
 Just arrived in the Abigail and Mary,

Captain Taylor,
 and to be sold by

EDWARD GOOLD,

No. 34, Hanover Square,

The finest (Hyson,)

Bohea,)

Soushong,) TEAS

and)

Singio)

Rum, high proof Brandy, Window Glass
 7 by 9, Gin in cases, a few trunks of
 Women's best Callimanco Pumps, fash-
 ionable heels. A few boxes of Citron,
 and a very large assortment of DRY
 GOODS suitable to the season.

* * * * *

A BELLMAN OF A CENTURY SINCE

"The old rattlewatch lived long and merrily and its members, bellmen, as they were called, must have had a good deal of fun on their rounds. They were armed with bells, hour glasses, lanterns and staffs. They have made a good deal of noise in their own way, as they were supposed to ring their bell every hour and to howl out in their loudest, if not their sweetest, voice the hours of the night and the condition of affairs generally. It may have been all right in the old times, but it is doubtful if New Yorkers of to-day would care to have policemen stopping under their window at all hours of the night, ringing huge bells and howling forth more or less unintelligible trifles in a voice made hoarse by bad weather.

"When they had nothing else to do they used to sing. One of the songs of these old time guardians of the peace may be interesting reading now :

"Hark, ye neighbors; Hear me tell;
 Ten now strikes on the belfry bell.
 Ten were the holy commandments given
 To man below by God in heaven.

"Human watch from harm can't ward us,
 Yet God will watch and guide and guard us.
 May he, through His heavenly might,
 Give us all a blessed night."

* * * * *

ELEGANT EXTRACTS

The Brewer's Coachman

"HONEST William, an easy and good-natured fellow,
 Would a little too oft get a little too mellow,
 Body coachman was he to an eminent brewer—
 No better e'er sat on a box to be sure.
 His coach was kept clean, and no mothers or nurses
 Took that care of their babes that he took of his horses.
 He had these—ay, and fifty good qualities more ;
 But the business of tipping could ne'er be got o'er ;
 So his master effectually mended the matter
 By hiring a man who drank nothing but water.
 Now, William, says he, you see the plain case ;
 Had you drank as he does, you had kept a good place.
 Drink water ! quoth William—had all men done so,
 You'd never have wanted a coachman I trow.
 They're soakers, like me, whom you load with reproaches,
 That enable you brewers to ride in your coaches."

UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE

An Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog

—GOLDSMITH .

"GOOD people all, of every sort,
 Give ear unto my song,
 And if you find it wondrous short,
 It cannot hold you long.

"In Islington there was a man,
 Of whom the world might say,
 That still a godly race he ran
 When e'er he went to pray.

"A kind and gentle heart he had,
 To comfort friends and foes ;
 The naked every day he clad,
 When he put on his clothes.

"And in that town a dog was found,
 As many dogs there be,
 Both mongrel, puppy, whelp and hound,
 And curs of *low* degree.

"This man and dog at first were friends;
 But, when a pique began,
 The dog to gain his private ends
 Went mad and bit the man.

"Around from all the neighboring streets
 The wondering neighbors ran,
 And swore the dog had lost his wits,
 To bite so good a man.

"The wound it seems both sore and sad
 To every Christian eye;
 And while they swore the dog was mad,
 They swore the man would die.

"But soon a wonder came to light,
 That showed the rogues they lied;
 The man recovered of the bite,
 The dog it was that died."

REPARTEE.—(An old joke versified)

• SAID a lawyer one day to a sturdy Divine;
 'Why don't you hold up your old head, sir, like mine?
 Not go moping along with your eyes on the ground,
 As though seeking for that, that can never be found.'
 The Divine quickly answered, upraising his head,
 'I observed, sir, this morning, when I left my bed,
 In a beautiful garden just under my eye,
 Was a flourishing plant that the farmers call rye:
 The heads that were empty were standing up straight,
 While those that were filled, were bowed down with their weight!'"

ALEXIS, P.

* * * * *



HUGH BLAIR.

HUGH BLAIR

Hugh Blair, a Scottish Divine and Professor of Rhetoric was born in Edinburgh in 1718. He died in 1810

FEMALE EDUCATION

“That bold, independent, enterprising spirit, which is so much admired in boys, should not, when it happens to discover itself in the other sex, be encouraged, but suppressed. Girls should be taught to give up their opinions betimes, and not pertinaciously carry on a dispute, even if they know themselves to be in the right. Yet they should not be robbed of the liberty of private judgment, but by no means encouraged to contract a contentious or contradictory turn. It is of the greatest importance to their future happiness, that they should acquire a submissive temper, and a forbearing spirit: for it is a lesson the world will not fail to make them frequently practice, when they come abroad into it and they will not practice it the worse for having learnt it the sooner.

HEALTH

“Though health be one of the greatest blessings of life, it is thought necessary prudently to caution women against making a boast of it, and exhort them to

enjoy it in grateful silence. For men so naturally associate the idea of female softness and delicacy with a corresponding delicacy of constitution, that when a woman speaks of her great strength, her extraordinary appetite, her ability to bear excessive fatigue, we recoil at the description in a way that she is little aware of.

HUMILITY IN COMPANY

“Of all the qualifications for conversation, humility, if not the most brilliant, is the safest, the most amiable, and the most feminine, the affectation of introducing subjects with which others are unacquainted, and of displaying talents superior to the rest of the company, is as dangerous as it is foolish. There are many who never can forgive another for being more agreeable and more accomplished than themselves, and who can pardon any offence rather than an eclipsing merit. The fable of the nightingale should be ever had in remembrance, as it conveys a most useful lesson replete with valuable instructions. Had the silly warbler conquered his vanity and resisted the temptation of showing a fine voice, he might have escaped the talons of the hawk. The melody of his singing was the cause of his destruction; his merit brought him into danger and his vanity cost him his life.

HUMOUR

“Humour, though often mistaken for wit, is a very different quality. It makes our company much solicited; but we should be cautious in indulging it. It is often a great enemy to delicacy, and a still greater one to dignity of character. It may sometimes gain applause, but will never procure respect.

MEN AND WOMEN

How differing in point of understanding

“Women generally have quicker perceptions; men have juster sentiments.—Women consider how things may be prettily said; men how they may be properly said.—In women (young ones at least) speaking accompanies, and sometimes precedes reflection; in men reflection is the antecedent.

“Women speak to shine or please; men to convince or refute.—Women admire what is brilliant; men what is solid.—Women prefer an extemporaneous sally of wit or a sparkling effusion of fancy, before the most accurate reasoning, or the most laborious investigation of facts.

“In literary composition women are pleased with point, turn, and antithesis; men with observation, and a just deduction on or effects from their causes.—Women are fond of incidents; men of argument.—Women admire passionately; men cautiously.—One sex will think it betrays a want of feeling to be moderate in their applause, the other will be afraid of exposing a want of judg-

ment by being in raptures with anything.—Men refuse to give way to the emotions which they actually feel; while women sometimes affect to be transported beyond what the occasion will justify.

“The women of this country were not sent into the world to shun society but embellish it;—they were not designed for wilds and solitudes, but for the amiable and endearing offices of social life.—They have useful stations to fill, and important characters to sustain,—they are of a religion that does not impose penance, but enjoins duties; a religion of perfect purity, but of perfect benevolence also,—a religion which does not condemn its followers to indolent seclusion from the world, but assigns them the more dangerous, though more honorable province, of living uncorrupted in it. In fine, a religion, which does not direct them to fly from the multitude, that they may do nothing but which positively forbids them to follow a multitude to do evil.

OLD MAID

“It is to be lamented that so universal a stigma should fall upon that state, called antiquated virginity; and that those whose unhappy lot it is should experience such general derision. It is a mistaken notion, though, to conclude that it always arises in consequence of the situation of such individuals; it often originates in their own peculiar conduct.

“Being unable to bear with becoming fortitude their forlorn and unprotected allotment in life, chagrin and peevishness are apt to infect their tempers; and they too severely feel the great difficulty of making a transition with dignity and cheerfulness from the period of youth, beauty, admiration and respect, into the calm, silent, unnoticed retreat of declining years.

“For we see some unmarried women of active, vigorous minds and great vivacity of spirits degrading themselves; sometimes by entering into a dissipated course of life unsuitable to their years, and exposing themselves to the ridicule of girls, who might have been their grandchildren. Sometimes by oppressing their acquaintances by impertinent intrusions into their private affairs;—and sometimes by being the propagators of scandal and defamation. All this is owing to an exuberant activity of spirits; which, if it found employment at home, would have rendered them respectable and useful members of society.

“We see other women, in the same situation, gentle, modest, blessed with sense, taste, delicacy, and every milder feminine virtue of the heart, but of weak spirits, bashful and timid. Them we see sinking into obscurity and insignificance, and gradually losing every elegant accomplishment; for this evident reason, that they are not united to a partner who has some sense and worth and taste to know their value;—one who is able to draw forth their concealed qualities and show them to advantage;—who can give that support to their feeble spirits which they stand so much in need of,—and who, by his affection and tenderness, might make such a woman happy in exerting every talent, and accomplishing herself in every elegant art, that could contribute to *his* amusement.

REFORMATION

“The rage for reformation commonly shows itself in a violent zeal for suppressing what is wrong, rather than in a prudent attention to establish what is right; but we shall never obtain a fair garden merely by rooting up weeds; we must also plant flowers: for the natural richness of the soil we have been clearing will not suffer it to lie barren, but whether it shall be vainly or beneficially prolific depends on the culture.

SILENCE

“Silence is one of the great arts of conversation, as allowed by Cicero himself, who says, ‘there is not only an art but an eloquence in it,’ and this opinion is confirmed by a great modern, Lord Bacon. For a well bred woman may easily and effectually promote the most useful and elegant conversation, without speaking a word. The modes of speech are scarcely more variable than the modes of silence.

“The silence of listless ignorance, and the silence of sparkling intelligence, are perhaps as separately marked, and as distinctly expressed, as the same feelings could have been by the most unequivocal language. A woman, in a company where she has the least influence, may promote any subject by a profound and invariable attention; which shows that she is pleased with it; and by an illuminated countenance, which proves she understands it.

“Attention is the most flattering encouragement in the world to men of sense and letters, to continue any topic of instruction, or entertainment, they happen to be engaged in. It owes its introduction perhaps to accident, the best introduction for a subject of ingenuity, which, though it could not have been formally proposed without pedantry, may be continued with ease and good humor; but which will be frequently and effectually stopped by the listlessness, inattention, or whispering of silly girls; whose weakness betrays their ignorance, and whose impatience exposes their ill-breeding.

RIDICULE

“The fatal fondness for indulging the spirit of ridicule, and the injurious and irreparable consequences which sometimes attend the too severe reply, can never be condemned with more asperity than it deserves. Not to offend is the first step toward pleasing. To give pain is as much an offence against humanity as against good breeding; and surely it is as well to abstain from an action because it is sinful, as because it is impolite.

“A man of sense and breeding will sometimes join in the laugh, which has been raised at his expense by an ill-natured rapartee; but if it was very cutting, and one of those shocking sorts of truths, which as they scarcely can be pardoned

even in private, ought never to be uttered in public. He does not laugh because he is pleased, but because he wishes to conceal how much he is hurt; and will remember it, as a treat of malice, when the whole company should have forgotten it as a stroke of ridicule. Even women are so far from being privileged by their sex to say unhandsome and cruel things, that it is this very circumstance which renders them intolerable. When the arrow is lodged in the heart, it is no relief to him who is wounded to reflect, that the hand which shot it was a fair one.

MORAL MAXIMS

“Our constant care should be to behave ourselves in all the affairs of human life, with the same decency as at a public entertainment. If anything be offered us, we should receive it with modesty; if it pass by us, and be sent to another, let us not withhold it from him, or keep what was not intended us; if it be not come down to us, let us not show ourselves eager nor snatch at it greedily, but wait patiently till it comes to our turn. In case of riches, honor, power or preferment, we should manage ourselves in the same manner; it will render us pleasing to man, and acceptable to God.

“If we happen to be told at any time, that another person hath spoken ill of us, we should never trouble ourselves to confute the report or excuse the thing without being publicly called forth, and the preservation of character makes it necessary;—but rather put all up with this reply,—that we have several faults besides that, and if he had known us more, he would have spoken worse.—

* * * * *

ALEXANDER POPE.

Alexander Pope, an English poet, was born in London, May 22d, 1688. He died May 30th, 1744. Pope published with Swift three volumes of “Miscellanies,” in which appeared his “Treatise of Martinus Scriblerus on the Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry,” which gave rise to the “Dunciad.” The author’s attacked in the “Treatise” retaliated in several publications, and even threatened Pope with personal violence. He determined to crush the whole host of scribblers, and produced in 1728 “The Dunciad,” which caused an immense sensation.

CHAPTER VI

“Of the several Kinds of Genius’s in the Profound, and the Marks and Characters of each.

“I doubt not but the reader, by this Cloud of examples, begins to be convinced of the truth of our assertion, that the Bathos is an Art; and that the Genius of



ALEXANDER POPE.

no mortal whatever, following the mere ideas of Nature, and unassisted with an habitual, nay laborious peculiarity of thinking, could arrive at images so wonderfully low and unaccountable. The great author, from whose treasury we have drawn all these instances, (the Father of the Bathos, and indeed the Homer of it) has, like that immortal Greek, confined his labors to the greater Poetry, and thereby left room for others to acquire a due share of praise of inferior kinds. Many painters who could never hit a nose or an eye, have with felicity copied a small-pox, or been admirable at a toad or a red herring. And seldom are we without genius for Still life, which they can work up and stiffen with incredible accuracy.

“An universal Genius rises not in an age; but when he rises armies rise in him! he pours forth five or six Epic Poems with greater facility, than five or six pages can be produced by an elaborate and servile copier after Nature or the Ancients. It is affirmed by Quintilian, that the same genius which made Germanicus so great a General, would with equal application have made him an excellent Heroic Poet. In like manner, reasoning from the affinity there appears between Arts and Sciences, I doubt not but an active catcher of butterflies, a careful and fanciful pattern-drawer, an industrious collector of shells, a laborious and tuneful bag-piper, or a diligent breeder of tame rabbits, might severally excel in their respective parts of the Bathos.

“I shall range these confined and less copious Genius's under proper classes, and (the better to give their pictures to the reader) under the names of animals of some sort or other; whereby he will be enabled, at the first sight of such as shall daily come forth, to know to what kind to refer, and with what authors to compare them.

“1. The Flying Fishes: These are writers who now and then rise upon their fins, and fly out of the Profund; but their wings are soon dry, and they drop down to the bottom. G. S. A. H. C. G.

“2. The Swallows are authors that are eternally skimming and fluttering up and down, but all their agility is employed to catch flies. L. T. W. P. Lord H.

“3. The Ostridges are such, whose heaviness rarely permits them to raise themselves from the ground; their wings are of no use to lift them up, and their motion is between flying and walking; but then they run very fast. D. F. L. E. The Hon. E. H.

“4. The Parrots are they that repeat another's words, in such a hoarse, odd voice, as makes them seem their *own*. W. B. W. H. C. C. The Reverend D. D.

“5. The Didappers are authors that keep themselves long out of sight, under water, and come up now and then where you least expected them. L. W. G. D. Esq. The Hon. Sir W. Y.

“6. The Porpoises are unweildy and big; they put all their numbers into a great turmoil and tempest, but whenever they appear in plain light (which is seldom) they are only shapeless and ugly monsters. I. D. C. G. I. O.

“7. The Frogs are such as can neither walk nor fly, but can leap and bound to admiration: They live generally in the bottom of a ditch, and make a great noise whenever they thrust their heads above water. E. W. I. M. Esq; T. D. Gent.

“8. The Eels are obscure authors, that warp themselves up in their own mud, but are mighty nimble and pert. L. W. L. T. P. M. General C.

“9. The Tortoises are slow and chill, and, like pastoral writers, delight much in gardens: they have for the most part a fine embroidered Shell, and underneath it, a heavy lump. A. P. W. B. L. E. The Right Hon. E. of S.

“These are the chief Characteristicks of the Bathos; and in each of these kinds we have the comfort to be blessed with sundry and manifold choice Spirits in this our Island.

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CAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

Sallust, a Roman Historian born at Amiternum, in 86 B. C.

He died in 34.

The oration of Licinius the Tribune: Addressed to the people

“This speech abundantly explains itself. It was an Effort of a Tribune, to depress the Patrician Power, by raising the Tribunitial Power: For this end, it was expedient to flatter and animate the People, and to revile the Grandees.

“Were you insensible, O my Countrymen, of the Privileges transmitted down to you by your Fore-fathers, and the Servitude imposed upon you by Sylla, it would then be necessary for me, to enter into a particular Dissertation on the Nature of our Republic; and point out to you the Grievances which provoked the Plebians to take up Arms, and withdraw from the Senate; and by what Methods they were enabled, at last, to settle a Tribunal Jurisdiction. But I have now nothing to do, but exhort and animate you, and lead the Way, for the Re-establishment of your Liberty.

“I am very sensible, how unequal the Contest is, in which I have engaged; a single Person, unassisted as I am, vested with the Name, but not the Authority of Magistracy, attempting to crush an Usurpation, supported by all the Wealth and Power of the Nobility: Nor do I forget, how much greater Security criminal Men find in Combination and Confederacy, than the Innocent, in their separate Endeavours. But, notwithstanding this, I am not only animated by the Assurance I have of your best Endeavours, an Assurance sufficient to lift me above the Dread of such Apprehensions, but also by a settled Persuasion, that the Brave will ever find greater Satisfaction, even in an unsuccessful Struggle for Liberty, than in a passive Submission to the servile Yoke. And, yet, so far have most of your Tribunes been drawn from their Duty, by alluring Prospects of Advantage, and the Hopes of ingratiating themselves with the Fathers, that

the very Authority established for your Security, they have employed to weaken and destroy it; esteeming the Wages of Treachery above the Glory of unrewarded Integrity. Hence arises that exorbitant Growth of Power possessed by the Faction, who, under Pretence of taking upon themselves the Conduct of a War, have usurped the Disposition of the Revenue, all our Armies, all our Governments, and Provinces. And thus, with the Spoils of their Country, they have erected the Fortress of their Tyranny over it: Whilst you all the while, like a tame Herd, notwithstanding the Immensity of your Numbers, suffer yourselves to become the absolute, the wretched Property of a small Faction, who have robbed you of all the Acquisitions derived to you from the Virtue of your Ancestors, except the mighty Privilege of electing Magistrates, once your Guardians and Protectors, but now your Masters and Tyrants. Hence it is, that such Numbers are attached to them: And yet, if you resolutely assert your Liberties, and recover your Jurisdiction, so few are there that have Resolution to adhere with Perseverance to the Cause they are engaged in, that the Generality of them will return to you. And then of course, all other Advantages will attend the Fortune of your superior Strength. If you are but steady and unanimous in your Proceedings, can there be the least room to apprehend any Opposition from those, who stood in Awe of your Power, even when you had not the Spirit to exert it, when it was languid and disjointed? For what was it but the Dread of your Authority, that enabled the Consul C. Cotta, even when the Faction was at the Height, to restore to the Tribunes, some of their ancient Privileges? And although they had the confidence to fall upon L. Sicinius, the first who ventured to speak in Favour of the Tribunitial Power, whilst you scarce ventured to utter your Complaints in private; yet were they terrified and alarmed with the Apprehensions of your Vengeance, even when you discovered the least Resentment against such enormous Injustice. I am filled with the utmost Astonishment, when I consider this Conduct of yours toward Men, from whom, you must be sensible, you have not the least Grounds to expect Redress. When Death had removed Sylla out of your Way, that pestilent Parricide, that Enslaver of his Country, and you imagined there was an end of all your Calamities, then Catalus arose a more Implacable Tyrant than the former. After that, in the Consulship of Brutus, and Aemilius Mamercus, the public Tranquillity was disturbed by Tumults and Insurrections. Then C. Curio, usurping lawless Dominion, pursued your innocent Tribune even to Destruction. And with what Warmth and Fury Lucullus made Head against L. Quinctius the last Year, I need not inform you; yourselves were Witnesses to it; as you now are to the wild Uproar, and seditious Riots, raised against me. Vain and fruitless Proceedings, if they have any Intention of resigning their Power, before you attempt to compel them to it! Besides, it is manifest, whatever their Pretence be for taking up Arms, and engaging us in intestine Broils, the real Motive is to exercise Dominion over you. Hence it is, that although in other Gratifications, whether Licentiousness, Avarice, or Resentment, their Desires may have been flagrant and impetuous, yet these were but temporary Passions: One only

has been permanent and lasting in them all; and that is the ardent Desire of abolishing the Tribunal Authority, that Weapon put into your Hands by your brave Forefathers, for the Guard and Support of your Liberty.

“I beseech you, therefore, I earnestly conjure you, to call up your Attention, and let not the Misapplication of Names any longer cherish an indolent Inactivity; nor give to base Servitude the softening Appellations of Peace and Tranquillity, the Reality of which, whilst you thus criminally pervert the Nature of Things, you will not be in so good a Condition to obtain, as you might have been, had you remained entirely passive and silent.

“Awake then, my Countrymen, from this Lethargy; and remember that unless you break the servile Chains about your Necks, they will draw you into closer Bondage; For it is ever the Nature of Tyranny to strengthen its Security by adding to its Oppressions.

“It is my Opinion then, that the first Step you should Take, is to reform the Present Bent and Disposition of your Minds: Courage and Alacrity are in your Tongues, Indolence and Pusillanimity in your Hearts: For the Moment you quit these Assemblies, you quit all Thought of vindicating your Liberty. Your next Step is, to resolve, that, as you are Superior in Strength, you will exert that Superiority, and assert the Privilege of rejecting, or accepting, as it best suits your Interest, those laborious Offices you now undertake, at the Command and for the Service of others. This is all I would exhort you to: I call you not to those exalted Degrees of heroic Bravery, by which your Ancestors procured the Institution of Tribunes, and a law for their Admission to the first offices in the State, unencumbered by the Necessity of having the Elections confirmed by the Fathers.

“You expect, I suppose, Assistance from Almighty Jove, and leave the Redress of your Grievances to the immortal Deities; insensible all the while, that by every Compliance with the lordly Injunctions of the Consuls, and the Decrees of the Senate, you strengthen their Hands, and confirm their Authority. Thus you coöperate to your own Undoing, and become the willing Instruments of adding Weight to your Chains.

“But do you imagine, O Quirites, that by all this I mean to fire your Resentment, or to rouse you to vindictive Measures. No: The Expedient I propose, requires not Action; neither do I exhort you to Tumults and Discord, as is injuriously given out: So far from this, that my only View is to put an End to all our Broils. And even though they should refuse to comply, still I would not excite you to Arms, nor encourage a Secssion. All I advise, is that you would not be so liberal of Roman Blood, and no longer shed it in their Cause. Leave these great Rulers to themselves: Let them conduct their usurped Authority, and exercise it their own Way: Let them hunt after Victory and Triumphs, and, assisted by a Train of Images, and a Band of Statues, let them pursue Mithridates, pursue Sertorius, and the Remnant of the Exiles; but never, my Fellow-Citizens, never let the Peril, the Toil, and Burthen fall upon You, who reap no Share in the Advantages: Unless perhaps, you allow your Services to

be amply rewarded, by the late unexpected Law for the Distribution of Corn. Amply rewarded indeed, by a Law which has put to Sale the Liberty of each Individual, and valued it at the mighty Price of five Bushels of Grain! A Quantity not exceeding the proportion allowed to the miserable Prisoners confined in our Gaols. For, as that poor Allowance serves just to keep those Wretches alive, but prevents not the Decay of their Strength and Vigour, so neither is so small a Pittance sufficient to maintain your Families, and relieve you from domestic Cares. And those among you, who are so indolent as to depend upon this pitiful Support only, must find themselves miserably disappointed. But was this Distribution ever so ample and magnificent, yet when you consider it offered as the Price of Liberty, how stupidly insensible must you be, to swallow the Bait, and, to your own manifest Prejudice, voluntarily acknowledge an Obligation to them, for bestowing on you what was your own before. This is the only Expedient they have to acquire sovereign Dominion. By no other is it possible for them to succeed; no other will they ever attempt. You must resolve, therefore, to be on your Guard; you see the Artifice, you see with that View they would allay the heat of your Resentment, and, by soothing and caressing, would persuade you, that nothing can be done till the return of Pompey; the man, whom, when awed by his Presence, they receive with Applauses, and even stoop to exalt in Triumph on their Shoulders; but the Moment his Absence removes their Dread, they boldly fall upon his Name, and mangle his Reputation. Nor do these Assertors of Liberty (for so they style themselves) feel the least Confusion or Shame, though they are sensible, it is notoriously manifest, that, notwithstanding the Association of their Numbers, they depend upon the Concurrence of a single Person; and that, without Pompey, they neither dare redress your Grievances nor are able to support their own Power.

“As for Pompey, I know him well; and am fully convinced, that a Youth of such Honour and Renown will think it more eligible to rise to Greatness with your free Consent, and willing Suffrages, than to partake with them in the usurpation of lawless Sway. Nay, I doubt not, he will be found the most forward to cherish and restore the Tribunitial Power.

“There was a Time, O Quirites, when every Individual among you depended upon the conjunctive Strength of the whole Community, and not the Whole upon one Individual: There was a Time, when no single Person had it in his Power, to rob us of any Rights and Privileges, or to confer any upon us. But I have said enough: It is not want of Information that obstructs your Progress: It is, I know not what, a Stupefaction, a lethargy, which so benumbs your Senses, that neither the Prospects of Glory, nor the Dread of Infamy, can rouse your Spirits. For the sake of gratifying a slothful Indolence, you invert the Nature of Things, and flatter yourselves, that you range in the ample Space of Liberty, because you feel not the lashes of servile Stripes, and have still leave to walk where you please, without Restraint. Singular Favours, indeed, of your potent and wealthy Masters. But even this scanty Portion of Liberty, is not granted to your Fellow-Citizens in the Country: They feel the Lash;

they fall the Victims of contending Powers; and are yielded up to the Governors of Provinces, as their absolute Property: If they take up Arms, it is to aggrandize others; if they conquer, other Men reap the Glory and Advantage; and which Side soever triumphs, still the unhappy People become the Spoil of Victory. Nor is it possible to prevent the Increase of this Misery, so long as these Oppressors are more attentive and vigourous for the Support of their Tyranny, than you are for the Recovery of your Liberty."

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CAPTAIN STERRETT

From "The Naval Temple," Boston

"In the month of August, 1801, Captain Sterrett, commander of the United States schooner *Enterprise*, of twelve guns, and ninety men, fell in, off Malta, with a Tripolitan cruiser of fourteen guns and eighty-five men. A desperate conflict ensued, and had continued for nearly two hours, when the Tripolitan hauled down her colors. The crew of the *Enterprise* left their guns, and gave three cheers for the victory. Upon this, the cruiser poured a broadside into the *Enterprise*, hoisted her colors, and renewed the action with redoubled vigor. Her crew, brandishing their sabres, continually attempted to board. They were again overcome by the skillful crew of the *Enterprise* and struck a second time. Captain Sterrett then ordered the cruiser under his quarter, and kept his men at the guns. But the Tripolitan had no sooner come to the position she was ordered, than she renewed the action the third time, by pouring a broadside into the *Enterprise*. The Tripolitans hoisted their bloody flag, and attempted to board. The indignant cry of 'Fight on, and sink the perfidious villains to the bottom,' was now heard from every part of the American schooner. Every effort was made by Captain Sterrett to insure a complete victory. His superior skill in the management of his vessel enabled him to rake the corsair fore and aft. A number of shots between wind and water, opened her sides for the sea to pour in. Fifty of her men were killed and wounded. Her treacherous commander, perceiving the destruction of his vessel and crew inevitable, implored for quarters. Bending in a supplicating posture over the waste of his vessel, he threw his colors into the sea, to convince the American captain that he would no more attempt to resist. Captain Sterrett, actuated by the sentiments of true bravery, stopped the effusion of blood, though the treacherous conduct of the Tripolitans merited no mercy. His instructions not permitting him to make a prize of the cruiser, he ordered her crew to throw overboard all their guns, swords, pistols, ammunition, etc., and then to go and tell their countrymen the treatment they might expect from a nation determined to pay tribute only in powder and ball. The *Enterprise*, in this engagement of three hours, did not lose a man. Captain Sterrett after paying every attention to the wounded Tri-

politans, ordered the cruiser to be dismantled. Her masts were cut down. A spar was raised, to which was hung a tattered sail as a flag. In this condition she was sent to Tripoli. On her arrival there, the indignation excited by her defeat, was so great, that the bashaw ordered the wounded captain to be mounted on a jackass, and paraded through the streets as an object of public scorn; and then to receive five hundred bastinadoes. The Tripolitans were so terrified at this event, that the sailors abandoned the cruisers then fitting out.

“Not a man could be procured to navigate them.



Painted by John M. W. P.

Engraved by J. B. P.

BATTLE OF ERIE

EVENTS ON LAKE ERIE

From "The Naval Temple," Boston

“On the morning of the 8th of October, 1812, two British vessels, the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*, came down Lake Erie, and anchored under the guns of the British fort Erie. Lieutenant Elliot, of the United States Navy, who, at that time superintended the naval affairs on Lake Erie, determined to attack, and if possible, to possess himself of them.

“About this time, a number of seamen were marching from the seashore to the lake. Early the day before the intended attack, he despatched a messenger to hasten them forward. They arrived about twelve o'clock; but he discovered that they had only twenty pistols, and neither cutlasses nor battle-axes. On application to General Smyth, he was supplied with a few arms: and about fifty men were detached from the regulars, armed with muskets.

“By four o'clock in the afternoon, Lieutenant Elliot had his men selected and stationed in two boats, fifty in each. At one o'clock on the following morning,

he put off from the mouth of Buffalo creek, under very disadvantageous circumstances, his men having scarcely had time to refresh themselves after a fatiguing march of five hundred miles. At three o'clock he came along side the British vessels. In the space of ten minutes he got possession of them, had secured the crews as prisoners, and had them under way. The wind, unfortunately, was not sufficiently strong to carry them against a rapid current into the lake, where, he was informed, another vessel lay at anchor. He was obliged in running down the river, to pass the British forts, under a heavy fire of round, grape and canister shot, from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance, and several pieces of flying artillery. Lieutenant Elliot was compelled to anchor at a distance of about four hundred yards from two of their batteries. After the discharge of the first gun he hailed the British officer, and observed to him, that if another gun were fired he would bring the prisoners on deck and expose them to the same fate with the Americans. But, notwithstanding they continued to keep up a constant and destructive fire, a moment's reflection determined him not to commit an act of such barbarity. The *Caledonia* had been beached in as safe a position as circumstances would admit of, under one of the American batteries at Black Rock.

“Lieutenant Elliot now brought all the guns of his vessel on her side next the enemy, and a fire was kept up until all his ammunition was expended. During the contest he endeavored to get the *Detroit* on the American side, but did not succeed. He then determined to drift down the river, out of reach of the British batteries, and make a stand against their flying artillery. He accordingly ordered the cable to be cut, and made sail with a very light breeze. At this moment he discovered that his pilot had abandoned him. He dropped astern for about ten minutes, when he was brought up on Squaw Island, near the American shore. A boat with prisoners was sent on shore; but, owing to the difficulty it met with, did not return. He, however, with the remainder of his prisoners and crew, succeeded in getting on shore.

“About eleven o'clock next morning a company of British regulars, from Fort Erie, boarded the *Detroit*, to destroy the military stores with which she was principally laden. But they were dislodged by a detachment of volunteers under the command of Major Cyrenus Chapin. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the British a second time attempted to board the *Detroit*; but were again repulsed.

“The *Detroit* mounted six long six pounders, and had a crew of fifty-six men. About thirty American prisoners were on board her. She was burnt by the Americans after they had taken a greater part of the stores out of her. The *Caledonia* mounted two small guns, and had a crew of twelve men. She had on board a cargoe of furs, estimated at about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

“In March, 1813, Captain Perry arrived at the port of Erie, to take command of the fleet there fitting out.

“ During the summer the following American vessels were equipped on Lake Erie :

	GUNS	COMMANDERS
Brig Lawrence.....	20.....	O. H. Perry
Niagara.....	20.....	J. D. Elliot
Caledonia.....	3.....	Turner
Schr. Ariel.....	4.....	Packet
Scorpion.....	2.....	Champlin
Somers.....	2 & 2 swivels.....	Alney
Tigress.....	1.....	Conklin
Porcupine.....	1.....	Lendt
Trippe.....	1.....	Smith
Ohio.....	1.....	Dobbin

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“ The British fleet under the command of Commodore Barclay, consisting of the following vessels :

	GUNS	HOWITZERS
Ship Detroit.....	19.....	2
Queen Charlotte.....	17.....	1
Schr. Lady Prevost.....	13.....	1
Brig Hunter.....	10.....	
Sloop Little Belt.....	3.....	
Schr. Chippeway.....	1.....	

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“ On the morning of the 10th of September the British fleet was discovered by Commodore Perry from Put-in-Bay, where he then lay at anchor. Commodore Perry immediately got under way with his squadron, and stood for the British fleet. The wind at that time was light from southwest. At fifteen minutes before twelve, the British commenced firing; and at five minutes before twelve, the action commenced on the part of the Americans. As the fire of the British, owing to their long guns, was very severe upon the Americans, and was principally directed at the Lawrence, Commodore Perry resolved to close with them; he accordingly made sail, and ordered the other vessels to follow. Every brace and bowline of the Lawrence being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing master. In this situation she sustained the action, within canister distance, upward of two hours, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded.

“ After a display of skill and gallantry which, alone, would have been sufficient

to have immortalized Commodore Perry—after defending his vessel against a far superior force, to the very last extremity, this illustrious hero, at a critical moment, when, to almost any other mind, the contest would have appeared hopeless, resolved to save his country's honor or perish in the attempt. He therefore quitted the *Lawrence* in an open boat, and rowed off for the *Niagara*, to make one more display of his heroism and talents. In his passage, there were no less than three broadsides fired at him by the British vessels, which he passed. Heaven interposed its protecting arm. He escaped the apparently inevitable destruction. He reached the *Niagara* in safety, and a breeze springing up, enabled Captain Elliot, who commanded that vessel, to bring her into close action in a very gallant manner. Captain Elliot anticipated the commodore's design by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had, by the lightness of the wind, been kept astern, into close action. Sometime after Commodore Perry had left the *Lawrence* her flag was lowered; for having been so long exposed to nearly the whole fire of the British fleet, she was almost cut to pieces; and the chief part of her crew disabled, only eight men remained capable of doing duty. The British, however, were not in a state to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag to be again hoisted. At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for close action. As the *Niagara* was very little injured, Commodore Perry determined to pass through the enemy's lines with her. He accordingly bore up, and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from his larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels were by this time within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliot. The severe and well-directed fire from them and the *Niagara*, forced the two ships, the brig and a schooner, to surrender. A sloop and schooner attempted to escape, but were overtaken and captured. The *Lawrence* was so completely cut up, that after the action, she was sent to Erie to be dismantled. Lieutenant Yarnell, upon whom the command of the *Lawrence* devolved after the commodore left her, refused to quit the deck though several times wounded. Lieutenant Brooke of the marines and Midshipman Saul, were both killed on board the *Lawrence*. As the surgeon of this vessel was stooping in the act of dressing or examining a wound, a ball passed through the ship a few inches from his head, which, had it been erect must have been taken off. Mr. Hambleton, purser, distinguished himself, and toward the close of the action was severely wounded. On board the *Niagara*, Lieutenants Smith and Edwards and Midshipman Webster behaved in a very handsome manner. Captain Brevoort of the army, who, with the men under his command, had volunteered to act as marines, did great execution with his musketry. Lieutenant Turner, who commanded the *Caledonia*, brought his vessel into action in the most gallant style. The *Ariel*, Lieutenant Packet, and *Scorpion*, Sailing Master Champlin, got early into the action, and were of great service. The purser, Magrath, performed essential service. Captain Elliot particularly distinguished himself by his exertion and skill.

“The following is an estimate of the killed and wounded on board the American fleet.

	KILLED	WOUNDED	TOTAL
Lawrence.....	22.....	61.....	83
Niagara... ..	2	25.....	27
Caledonia.....	.....	3.....	3
Somers.....	.....	2	2
Ariel.....	1.....	3.....	4
Trippe.....	.....	2.....	2
Scorpion.....	2.....	.....	2
	—	—	—
	27	96	123

“Of the British fleet the captain and first lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte, were killed. Commodore Barclay of the Lady Prevost was severely wounded, and lost his hand. The loss of the British in killed and wounded has been estimated at one hundred and sixty. The rejoicing at this victory in the United States was extremely great. All the principal towns were illuminated.

* * * * *

Copy of a letter from R. Cromwell, Protector, etc., to the Governor and Magistrates of Massachusetts Colony in New England

““LOVEING FRIENDS:

““ We being given to understand, that Henry Sewall of Rowley in Messey-Tusick Bay in New England, dyed about foure years since possessed of an estate of lands and goods in the colony aforesaid, and that the said estate did and ought to descend and come to his only sonn Henry Sewall, minister of North Baddefly in our county of Southampton in England, who now purposing to make a voyage in New England there personally to make his clayme to his said estate, hath desired our lycence for his absence, as also our letters recommendatory unto you, that when (by the helpe of God) he shall be arrived in New England, he may have speedy justice and right done him concerning the said estate, that soe he may the sooner returne to his ministerial charge at North Baddefly. And he being personally knowne to us to be laborious and industrious in the work of the ministry, and very exemplary for his holy life and good conversation, we doe earnestly desire, that when he shall make his addresses to you he may receive all lawful favor and furtherance from you for the speedy despatch of his business according to justice and equity that so he may the more expeditiously returne to his said charge, where (through the blessing of God) his labors in the gospell may be further usefull and profitable; which we shall esteeme as a particular respect done to us, and shall be ready to acknowledge and returne the same upon any occasion wherein we may procure of further your good and welfare, which we heartily wish and pray for and rest,

““ Your very luing friend,

““ RICHARD P.

““ WHITEHALL, the 23d. of March, 1658.”

From the “History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.” Boston, 1764.

* * * * *

THE SLAVE TRAFFIC

“ While America contributed in this manner to facilitate and extend the intercourse of Europe with Asia, it gave rise to a traffic with Africa, which, from slender beginnings, has become so considerable, as to form the chief bond of commercial connection with that continent. Soon after the Portuguese had extended their discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the river Senegal, they endeavored to derive some benefit from their new settlements there, by the sale of slaves. Various circumstances combined in favoring the revival of this odious traffic. In every part of America, of which the Spaniards took possession, they found that the natives, from the febleness of their frame, from their indolence, or from the injudicious manner of treating them, were incapable of the exertions requisite either for working mines, or for cultivating the earth. Eager to find hands more industrious and efficient, the Spaniards had recourse to their neighbours the Portuguese, and purchased from them negro slaves. Experience soon discovered that they were men of a more hardy race, and so much better fitted for enduring fatigue, that the labour of one negro was computed to be equal to that of four Americans; and from that time the number employed in the New World has gone on increasing with rapid progress. In this practice, no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion, the Spaniards have unhappily been imitated by all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territories in the warmer climates of the New World. At present the number of negro slaves in the settlements of Great Britain and France in the West Indies, exceeds a million; and as the establishment of servitude has been found, both in ancient and modern times, extremely unfavorable to population, it requires an annual importation from Africa, of at least fifty-eight thousand to keep up the stock. If it were possible to ascertain, with equal exactness, the number of slaves in the Spanish dominions, and in North America, the total number of negro slaves might be well reckoned at as many more.

“ Thus the commercial genius of Europe, which has given it a visible ascendant over the three other divisions of the earth, by discerning their respective wants and resources, and by rendering them reciprocally subservient to one another, has established an union among them, from which it has derived an immense increase of opulence, of power, and of enjoyments.”

* * * * *

VOLTAIRE

“ The Sovereign Writer of his Century ”

Francois Marie Arouet de Voltaire, a French author, was born in Paris, November 21st, 1694. He died in the same city on May 30th, 1778. His famous epic, “ L'Henriade,” was sketched in the Bastile.



VOLTAIRE

HISTOIRE ABREGÉE

*Des événemens sur lesquels est fondée la
fable du poëme de la Henriade*

“ Le feu des guerres civiles, dont François II., vit les premières étincelles, avait embrasé la France sous la minorité de Charles IX. La religion en était le sujet parmi les peuples, & le prétexte parmi les grands. La reine mère, Catherine de Médicis, avait plus d’une fois hasardé le salut du royaume pour conserver son autorité, armant le parti catholique contre le protestant, & les Guises contre les Bourbons, pour les accabler les uns par les autres.

“ La France, avait alors, pour son malheur, beaucoup de seigneurs trop puissans, & par conséquent factieux ; des peuples devenus fanatiques & barbares, par cette fureur de parti qu’inspire le faux zèle ; des rois enfans, aux noms desquels on ravagait l’état. Les batailles de Dreux, de Saint-Denis, de Jarnac, de Montcontour, avaient signalé le malheureux règne de Charles IX. Les plus grandes villes étaient prises, réprissées, saccagées tour à tour par les partis opposés. On faisait mourir les prisonniers de guerre par des supplices recherchés. Les églises étaient mises en cendres par les réformes, les temples par les catholiques ; les empoisonnemens & les assassinats n’étaient regardés que comme des vengeances d’ennemies habités.

“ On mit le comble à tant d’horreurs par la journée de Saint-Barthelemi. Henri le Grand, alors roi de Navarre, & dans une extrême jeunesse, chef du parti réformé, dans le sein duquel il était né, fut attiré à la cour, avec les plus puissans seigneurs du parti. On le maria à la princesse Marguerite, soeur de Charles IX. Ce fut au milieu des réjouissances de ces noces, au milieu de la paix la plus profonde, & après les sermens les plus solennels, que Catherine de Médicis ordonna ces massacres, dont il faut perpétuer la mémoire, (toute affreuse & toute flétrissante qu’elle pour le nom Français,) afin que les hommes, toujours prêts à entrer dans de malheureuses querelles de religion, voyent à quel excès l’esprit de parti peut enfin conduire.

“ On vit donc une cour, qui se piquait de politesse, une femme célèbre par les agrémens de l’esprit, & un jeune roi de vingt-trois ans, ordonner de sang froid la mort de plus d’un million de leurs sujets. Cette même nation, qui ne aujourd’hui à ce crime qu’en frissonnant le commit avec transport & avec zèle. Plus de cent mille hommes furent assassinés par leurs compatriotes ; & sans les sages précautions de quelques personnages vertueux, comme le président Jeanin, le marquis de Saint Herem, &c., la moitié des Français égorgeait l’autre. Charles IX., ne vécut pas longtems après la Saint Barthelemi. Son frère Henri III., quitta le trône de la Pologne, pour venir replonger la France dans de nouveaux malheurs, dont elle ne fut tirée que par Henri IV., si justement surnommé le grand par la posterité, qui seule peut donner ce titre.

“ Henri III., en revenant en France, y trouva deux partis dominans. L’un était celui des réformés, renaissant de sa cendre, plus violent que jamais, & ayant à sa tête le même Henri le grand, alors roi de Navarre. L’autre était

celui de la ligue, faction puissante, formée peu à peu par les princes de Guise, encouragée par les papes, formentée par l'Espagne, s'accroissant tous les jours par l'artifice des moins, consacrée en apparence par le zèle de la religion catholique, mais ne tendant qu'à la rébellion. Son chef était le duc de Guise, surnommé le Balafré, prince d'une réputation éclatante, & qui ayant plus de grandes qualités que de bonnes, semblait né pour changer la face de l'état dans de tems de troubles.

“ Henri III., au lieu d'accabler ces deux partis sous le poids de l'autorité royale, les fortifia par sa faiblesse. Il cru faire un grand coup de politique en se déclarant le chef de la ligue ; mais il n'en sut que l'esclave. Il fut forcé de faire la guerre pour les intérêts du duc de Guise, qui le voulait détrôner, contre le roi de Navarre son beau-frère, son héritier presomptif, qui ne pensait qu'à rétablir l'autorité royale, d'autant plus qu'en agissant pour Henri III., à qui il devait succéder, il agissait pour lui-même.

“ L'armée que Henri III., envoya contre le roi son beau-frère, fut battue à Coutras ; son favori Joyeuse y fut tué. Le Navarrois ne voulut d'autre fruit de sa victoire, que de se réconcilier avec le roi. Tout vainqueur qu'il était, il demanda la paix, & le roi vaincu n'osa l'accepter, tant il craignait le duc de Guise & la ligue. Guise dans ce tems-là même venait de dissiper une armée d'Allemands. Ces succès du Balafré humilièrent encor davantage le roi de France, qui se crut à la fois vaincu par les ligueurs & par les réformés.

“ Le duc de Guise enflé de sa gloire, & fort de la faiblesse de son souverain, vint à Paris malgré ses ordres. Alors arriva la fameuse journée des barricades, où le peuple chassa les gardes du roi, & où ce monarque fut obligé de fuir de la capitale. Guise fit plus ; il obligea le roi de tenir les états généraux du royaume à Blois, & il prit si bien ses mesures, qu'il était prêt de partager l'autorité royale, du consentement de ceux qui représentaient la nation, & sous l'apparence des formalités les plus respectables. Henri III. réveillé par ce pressant danger fit assassiner au château de Blois cet ennemi si dangereux, aussibien que son frère le cardinal, plus violent & plus ambitieux encor que le duc de Guise.

“ Ce que était arrivé au parti protestant, après la Saint Barthelemi, arriva alors à la ligue. La mort des chefs ramina le parti. Les ligueurs leverent le masque. Paris ferma ses portes. On ne songea qu'à la vengeance. On regarda Henri III. comme l'assassin des défenseurs de la religion, & non comme un roi qui avait puni ses sujets coupables. Il salut que Henri III. pressé de tous cotes, se réconciliait enfin avec le Navarrois. Ces deux princes vinrent camper devant Paris ; & c'est là que commence la HENRIADE.

“ Le duc de Guise laissait encor un frère ; c'était le duc de Mayenne, homme intrépide, mais plus habile qu'agissant, qui se vit tout d'un coup à la tête d'une faction instruite de ses forces, & animée par la vengeance & par le fanatisme.

“ Presque toute l'Europe entra dans cette guerre. La célèbre Elizabeth, reine d'Angleterre, qui était pleine d'estime pour le roi de Navarre, & qui eut toujours une extrême passion de le voir, le secourut plusieurs fois d'hommes, d'argent, de vaisseaux ; & ce fut Duplessis-Mornay, qui alla toujours en Angleterre solliciter ces secours. D'un autre côté la branche d'Autriche, qui régnait

en Espagne, favorisait la ligue, dans l'espérance d'arracher quelques dépouilles d'un royaume déchiré par la guerre civile. Les Papes combattaient le roi de Navarre, non seulement par des excommunications, mais par tous les artifices de la politique, & par les petits secours d'hommes & d'argent, que la cour de Rome peut fournir. Cependant Henri III. allait se rendre maître de Paris, lorsqu'il fut assassiné à Saint Cloud par un moine Dominicain, qui commit ce parricide dans la seule idée qu'il obéissait à DIEU, & qu'il courait au martyre ; & ce meurtre ne fut pas seulement le crime de ce moine fanatique, ce fut le crime de tout le parti. L'opinion publique, la créance de tous les ligueurs, était qu'il fallait tuer son roi, s'il était mal avec la cour de Rome. Les prédicateurs le criaient dans leurs mauvais sermons ; on l'imprimait dans ces livres pitoyables, qui inondaient la France, & qu'on trouve à peine aujourd'hui dans quelques bibliothèques, comme des monumens curieux d'un siècle également barbare, & pour les lettres, & pour les moeurs.

“Après la mort de Henri III. le roi de Navarre, (Henri Le Grand) reconnu roi de France par l'armée, eut à soutenir toutes les forces de la ligue, celles de Rome, de l'Espagne, & son royaume à conquérir. Il bloqua, il assiégea Paris à plusieurs reprises. Parmi les plus grands hommes qui lui furent utiles dans cette guerre, & dont on a fait quelque usage dans ce poëme, on compte les maréchaux d'Aumont & de Biron, le duc de Bouillon, &c. Duplessis-Mornay fut dans sa plus intime confiance jusqu'au changement de religion de ce prince ; il le servait de sa personne dans les armées, de sa plume contre les excommunications des papes, & de son grand art de négociier, en lui cherchant des secours chez tous les princes protestans.

“Le principal chef de la ligue était le duc de Mayenne : celui qui avait le plus de réputation après lui, était le chevalier d'Aumale, jeune prince, connu par cette fierté, & ce courage brillant, qui distinguaient particulièrement la maison de Guise. Ils obtinrent plusieurs secours de l'Espagne ; mais il n'est question ici que du fameux comte d'Egmont, fils de l'admiral, qui amena treize ou quatorze-cent lances au duc de Mayenne. On donna beaucoup de combats, dont le plus fameux, le plus décisif, & plus glorieux pour Henri IV. fut la bataille d'Ivry, où le duc de Mayenne fut vaincu & le comte d'Egmont fut tué.

“Pendant le cours de cette guerre, le roi était devenu amoureux de la belle Gabrielle d'Estrées ; mais son courage ne s'amollit point auprès d'elle, témoin la lettre qu'on voit encor dans la bibliothèque du roi, dans laquelle il dit à sa maîtresse : Si je suis vaincu, vous me connaissez assez pour croire que je ne fuirai pas ; mais ma dernière pensée, sera à DIEU, & l'avant-dernière à vous.

“Au reste, on omet plusieurs faits considérables, qui n'ayant pas de place dans le poëme n'en doivent point avoir ici. On ne parle ni de l'expédition du duc de Parme en France, qui ne servit qu'à retarder la chute de la ligue ; ni de ce cardinal de Bourbon, qui fut quelque tems un fantôme de roi sous le nom de Charles X. Il suffit de dire, qu'après tant de malheurs & de désolation, Henri IV. se fit catholique, & que les Parisiens, qui haïssaient sa religion, & révéraient sa personne, le reconnurent alors pour leur roi.”

Paris, 1761.

* * * * *

ANECDOTE OF VOLTAIRE

From the Universal Magazine, New York, 1797

“ Superstition ridiculed ; tyranny exposed ; innocence protected ; a nation, if not prepared for liberty, yet unfitted for bondage. Such were the labors and the triumphs of Voltaire.

“ The Parisiens were always fond of him. Their vanity was, indeed, gratified by his glory, in which they supposed themselves to participate. On his return from banishment, in the time of the monarchy (from what free country would the author of the *Henriade* have been banished ?) he was presented with a wreath of laurel, in the public theatre, and crowned, like the heroes of the ancient republics, in the presence of the whole people.

“ On the recovery of liberty, his ashes were claimed by the nation, and on the 10th of July, 1791, conducted into Paris, amidst the shouts of the national guards, and the tears of the citizens. The carriage, containing the corpse, was shaded with green branches, and adorned with appropriate devices. On one side was the following inscription :

“ ‘ Si l’homme a des tirans, il doit les detroner.’

“ On another :

“ ‘ Si l’homme est cree libre, il doit se gouverner.’

“ The above mottoes were selected from his own immortal works.

UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE

Poetical Effusions

Spoken after dinner at a Miser’s

“ THANKS for this miracle ! it is no less.
 Than finding a manna in the wilderness ;
 In midst of famine we have found relief,
 And seen the wonder of a rump of beef,
 Chimneys have smoked, that never smoked before,
 And we have dined where we shall dine no more.

ANECDOTE OF DR. FRANKLIN AND THE LATE KING OF SWEDEN

“ While this monarch was in France he was frequently solicited to visit Dr. Franklin, and as often declined. One of the French nobles, who could use a little freedom with the king, begged to know why he denied himself an honor

which every other crowned head in Europe would be proud to accept.—‘No man,’ said he, ‘regards the doctor’s scientific accomplishments more than I do; but the king who affects to like an enthusiast for liberty is a hypocrite. I love the doctor as a philosopher, but I hate him as a politician; and nothing shall ever induce me to be in the presence of a man whom my habits and situation oblige me to detest, while it is in my power to avoid it.’”

HUMOROUS PETITION,

Of a French Gentleman to the King, who had given him a title to which his income was not equal, by reason of the weight of the taxes levied from his estate. PENS. ING. ANC. MOD. P. 428.

(After acknowledging the honour done him by the King’s conferring on him a title, he goes on as follows:)

“Your Majesty has only made me more unhappy, by giving me a title. For there is nothing more pitiable than a gentleman loaded with a knapsack. This empty sound, which I was such a fool as to be ambitious of, does not keep away hunger. I know well enough, that glory makes us live after we are dead; but in this world a man has but a poor time on ’t, if he had not a bit of bread to put in his mouth. I have but a little bit of land on the banks of the Rhone, on which I made a shift to live. But as it is now taxed, anybody may have it for me; for I suppose I shall soon, with my title and estate, be glad of an almshouse for my seat. I have no resource if there be a prosecution commenced against me, as they threaten, but in your majesty’s goodness. If, indeed, my fate is to be decided by that, I am in no danger, but shall laugh at them all. If your majesty were to seize my poor patrimony whole, what would a few acres of marsh land be, to the mighty monarch of France and Navarre? It bears nothing but willows, and your majesty values no trees but the laurel. I, therefore, beseech your majesty to give me leave to enjoy what my little spot brings in, without deduction. All that a poor subject asks of your majesty is,—that your majesty would ask nothing of him.

AN ACCOMPLISHED PRINCE

“CHARLES I. has been called an accomplished Prince—as in Bonnel Thornton’s Exhibition of Sings, there was a woman with her head cut off, who was called

“‘*The Good Woman.*’

“How accomplished that Charles was, will appear from the following letter, the original of which is in the British Museum:

“STEENIE,

“I send you herewith letters to my sister and brother, (I place them so, because I think the gray meare is the better horse.)

“As for news, I can say but littel yet: Ireland being the onlie egg WEE have yet setten upon! and, having a thicke shell, WEE have not yet hatched it!

“This is all I have to say at this time.—But that I shall ever say and thinke, that I am, and ever will be

“Your faithful, loving, constant friende,

“CHARLES R.”

Superscribed for yourself.

“The cruelty of executing Charles has been often agitated; but, how much more cruel had it been, if they had driven him to his ‘accomplishments,’ and forced him to live upon his wits.”

ANECDOTE OF DR. OLIVER, OF BATH

“This professor of the healing art, had a very ingenious method of weaning his drinking patients from their favourite strong drink. He gave them emetics, and made them work it off with their favourite liquor, diluted in water: this gave them for a long time afterward an extreme disgust to it, and in the end frequently produced very beneficial effects.

MARIVEAUX THE FRENCH NOVELIST,

Though wonderfully alembicated in his manner of writing, was not so in his character. When he was once accosted by a very stout beggar to give him alms, said, ‘My good friend, I wonder you beg; why don’t you work, as you appear to be able?’ ‘Alas! sir,’ replied the beggar, ‘if you did but know how idle I am.’ ‘Well,’ said Mariveaux, giving him half a crown, ‘go your way; go your way, you are an honest fellow.’

AN EPITAPH

“Under this crust,
There lieth the dust,
of Eleanor Batchellor Shoven;
Well versed in the arts
of pies, custards and larts
and the lucrative trade of the oven.

“When she’d made enough,
She made her last puff;
A puff by her husband much praised;
And here doth she lie
to make a dirt pie
in hopes that her crust may be raised.

NOTICE

“A gentleman qualified to make a lady happy, is willing to become a female protector, in the capacity of husband.

“The irksomeness of introduction, acquaintance and courtship, will justify me in making this public address—I would make love and marry as a philosopher.

“In every connection, EQUALITY is necessary to friendship; but in conjugal union it is particularly so. Presuming that I am not deceived in calculating my own merit, I shall attempt to make it appear that I am intitled to a fortune of fifty thousand pounds.

“The money expended on my education, if not nominally equal to that sum, yet is virtually so, reckoning the interest, simple and compound, and the specific value of my possessions. My stock is mental and soul is preferable to body; spirit to matter: landed or bank stock is rude matter; but education is intellectual wealth. I have enhanced, not my possessions, but myself, because you marry myself; because you cannot become one flesh with my money. I have converted cash into soul, because nothing but soul can attract and fix your esteem. I have bartered money for mind, for it is by the quantity of mind I shall be valued by you. I have exchanged worldly property for divine, because you are divine creatures.—But if you are not pleased with spirit, I can produce matter—three thousand pounds a year my education procures me, which is the interest of fifty thousand pounds. If, therefore, I did not possess fifty thousand, which I laid out in stock, still equal in value to that sum, and which now produces me annually the interest of fifty thousand, I have reason to expect a lady with an equal fortune.

“Should any lady inclining to do me the honour, bring with her more than the aforesaid sum, I will maintain the equilibrium by equalling the surplus in cash.

“I will dispense with twenty or thirty thousand, in consideration of accomplishments, and ten or fifteen more if beauty offers.

“A line directed to J. S. and left at Mr. Lee’s letter box, will be attended to.”

“To quote again from the same writer, what modern matrimonial agency has ever given currency to a more brazen advertisement than the following, which, we are told, appeared in the ‘Post’ in 1775?

“A gentleman of honor and property, having at his disposal a young lady of good family, with a fortune of sixty thousand pounds on her marriage with his approbation, would be very happy to treat with a man of fashion and family, who may think it worth while to give advertiser a gratuity of five thousand pounds on the day of marriage.”

LA FAYETTE

A FRAGMENT

From Carey and Markland's Daily Advertiser

(Though we doubt not but the elegant production before us, will appear in the Journals in every part of the Union, we believe all our readers will think with us, that its uncommon and interesting merits entitle it to a place in our miscellany.)

“By a feeble glimmering of light, which entered at a small window, guarded by massy iron bars, that bid defiance to all attempts at escape, I had a dim view of this illustrious sufferer.

“He sat on a coarse misshapen bench—and was buried in contemplation.

“His hands were clasped together—and he now and again cast his eyes upwards to heaven, with the most calm resignation to his fate.

“Ponderous chains loaded his legs.—Their weight operated as a bar to the little exercise which a room seven feet by five might have afforded.

“The apartment reminded me of those caverns into which the ancient tyrants plunged their hapless victims. The window I have mentioned, was the only aperture for the admission of light or air. How small a portion of either was he doomed to enjoy!

“The furniture of his room consisted of a wretched bed, extended on the cold ground—a sorry chair—the bench on which he sat—a plate, a spoon, and a knife and fork.

“His dress was coarse and scant. Those limbs which a fond mother once decked with the costliest silks that wealth could purchase, were now barely covered with the homeliest garb.

“The door creaked on its rust-eaten hinges. A lady entered. Her face was of the most interesting kind. It might once have been a model for the painter or sculptor to have fashioned a Medicean Venus. This was unerringly perceptible, although much of its fire and animation had sunk beneath the corrosion of care and distress, of whose bitter cup she had been long drinking. The anguish of her rending heart was visible, notwithstanding her utmost and unconcealed efforts to conceal it from her husband.

“This lady, the reader need not be told, was Madame la Fayette. Inflamed with the purest and most ardent love, she had cheerfully abandoned all the pleasures, all the joys of the social circles of her native land, in which she was most admirably calculated to shine with the most distinguished eclat, and had plunged herself in those frightful recesses, to soothe the beloved partner of her bed.

“She was accompanied by her two daughters.

“Lovely as the houris, whom the sensual Mussulman pictures to his inflamed imagination as the solace of his time in the ætherial regions, it was impossible to behold them without the tenderest emotions, even in that abyss of misery, in which their filial tenderness had placed them.

“They were at that period of life in which the female sex most highly excites the tenderness of feeling minds. The eldest was eighteen—the other wanted two years of that age.

“The one was tall and slender—her auburn hair, in flowing ringlets hung down her elegant waist—piercing eyes, a large forehead, alabaster teeth, and cheeks that combined in nature’s best manner, the vermilion of the rose, with the milk-white purity of the lily, gave to the tout ensemble of her countenance an expression that can hardly be conceived, unless seen.

“The other was more set. Her hair was dark—her face more round and full than her sister’s. If the former excited the idea of Venus, this recalled that of Pallas.

“Their appearance lighted up a smile on the countenance of the prisoner. He kissed the three with all the fondness, all the tenderness of husband and father.

“His gladness was momentary. He cast an eye on the wife of his bosom—on his children, dearer to him than existence. His heart throbbed at the forlorn situation he was likely to leave them in—the big tear filled his eye, and, trickling down his manly cheek, seemed, to my partial and admiring view, to add new dignity to the object of my contemplation.

“He wiped away the pearly drop—again he kissed his three visitors—and assumed the tranquillity of a Seneca.

“O Francis! Francis! surrounded by all the pomp of the imperial court, when her sun was at its meridian blaze of brightness, and soothed by the insinuations of her sycophantic flatterers, could any hour of your existence be compared with the self-approving moments of your victim at this period?

“I was lost in admiration of the hero—the philosopher—almost did I envy him the chains from which he drew such honour.

“My reverie was not calculated to last long. I was drawn from it abruptly, by casting a glance at the bars of the window and at the ignominious fetters.

“‘Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery! thou art a bitter draught.’

“Busy imagination interposed at this moment, and transported me to the interview I had had with him previous to his departure from this continent.

“What a deplorable contrast! How irretrievably disgraceful to the agents of it!

“At the former period of his life, loaded with the esteem, the reverence, the gratitude of a nation, which he had essentially served, he was on the point of revisiting his native land, to receive the unbought homage of his admiring countrymen, and to aid in the erection of another fane to liberty.

“I retrospected still further—I saw him when the fortunes of America were at a low ebb—in ‘the times that tried men’s souls’—embarking his fortunes in

our tempest-tossed bark, nearly 'burnt to the water's edge'—I saw him welcomed to these shores, as the harbinger of other still more important succours from his gallant nation—I saw him paying his troops out of his private fortunes—I saw him, with a handful of half-clothed, barefooted soldiers, eluding the vigilance and baffling the schemes of the enterprising Cornwallis.—After tracing him through all his hair-breadth 'scapes in the course of the contest, I beheld him at its close crowned with laurels at Yorktown, assisting in the capture of that haughty general, who had vauntingly promised that 'the boy should not escape him.'

"From these scenes, whose vivid colourings bid defiance to devouring time, I turned my attention to the lugubrious scenes before me :—sad reverse !

"Victim of the most insatiable and satanic malice, he is more keenly persecuted and oppressed than in most countries the vilest outcasts of society.

"If any man doubts this assertion, and deems it rather the effusion of zeal than the dictate of veracity, let him visit the jail at Philadelphia—let him examine the state of the convicts there, even those of the darkest shades of character—and he will not find one with whom, so far as comfort or convenience is concerned, La Fayette might not wish a change. Even a parricide, that worst of villains, would not, from the time of conviction to that of execution, experience half the vindictive malice exercised against La Fayette.

"But he possesses a mind that can brave the storms of despotic vengeance—and, were he alone concerned, he would laugh to scorn their impotent efforts to punish him for his transcendent merit.

"But his implacable enemies know where he is vulnerable—thither they direct their barbed darts—which, with unerring aim, pierce him to the inmost soul—

"He has a wife—yes, reader, he has a wife—loving and beloved—a wife the partner of his joys, when the sun rose to him free from 'clouds and darkness'—and the solace of his sorrows, now that the horizon is enveloped in pitchy darkness—

"The dagger which his own bosom would provoke, carries, when pointed at hers, tortures inexpressible to his feeling mind. On her, therefore they wreak their unmanly vengeance—and thus they offer up two victims at once to satiate their rage.

"At one period of her residence within the dreary walls of her husband's prison, she was seized with a violent illness, the consequence of the unwholesome food she ate, of the want of air, and of her extreme anxiety. Death seemed hovering over her bed, ready to transport her from the scene of distress around her—she implored the assistance of a clergyman to perform the last ceremonies of her religion—but even this favour was, Nero like, refused her.

"What language can paint the situation of La Fayette, when stretched on the cold, damp ground beside her, he watched her last breath, and his soul seemed ready to take flight with hers ! Who that has not been in somewhat of a similar

situation, can even conceive the heart-rending pangs he endured, till a favourable crisis arrived, and her convalescence restored him once more to himself——

* * * * *

“ Besides his wife, they have still further power over their hapless victim.—My heart bleeds at the thought—my pen almost refuses its office—but it must be told—though the heart strings burst at the narration.

“ His daughters—there, there the keenest anguish rends his heart.—When he casts an anxious eye forward to explore their future fate, as every parent involuntarily does.—When he reflects on what they might have been, under his fatherly protection, the ornaments and delight of society—when from this he turns to what they actually are, tenants of a jail—exposed to the ‘insolence of office’ of hard, unfeeling jailors—devoid of those kind attentions and comforts which the lowest of his servants once enjoyed, his heart sinks at the view.—But when from the present he takes a prospective of futurity—and his boding mind figures them to him exposed, unprotected, a prey to brutal violence—or sinking under the wiles, the artifices, the deceptions of a world with whose snares they must be acquainted—he sits petrified with the magnitude of his woes——

* * * * *

“ Sometimes, however, hope, all cheering hope, enlivens the scene.—He looks forward to happier hours—when

“ ‘Fors an et haec olim meminisse juvabit.’

“ He casts his longing eyes toward America, that country to which the best, the choicest days of his existence were so zealously and so usefully devoted.—She cannot, he thinks, be unmindful of his mighty, his flagrant wrongs—he trusts she will not cease to reiterate her applications for his relief, when they are crowned with success. He even hopes his countrymen, overlooking his errors, if errors they can really be termed—and doing justice to the unvarying rectitude of his intentions, will interpose their awe-inspiring voice, to drag him from those regions of despair, and restore him to that grade of honour and dignity to which his super-eminent services in defence of the rights of man, entitle him.

“ In constant alternation of these fond hopes, and the most irksome apprehensions, he passes his sunless days, his tedious nights.”

* * * * *

CATHARINE V. R. SCHUYLER

Her Interests in Life and Closing Days

How well I remember my grandmother and delight to commemorate. Although approaching the close of life, she was distinguished by a tall, erect figure, of uncommon grace; a noble and impressive countenance; a dignity of manner—not to be acquired by art or by study—that everywhere commanded respect; a warm, generous heart; a never-failing courtesy; and a charm in conversation that attracted all ages. Her voice, still youthful in tone, had lost none of the sweetness of earlier days.

Her gowns were always of lustreless black silk; the dainty lace cap adorning her head gave softness to her face; and a white lace kerchief caught together by a small diamond pin—the gift of her father—completed the picture.

None of the land was sold or alienated, but was rented to tenants for building purposes. This brought together a mixed population of English, Swiss, Germans, French, and a large proportion of Irish who had come from their wretched mud cabins with thatched roofs that stand amid the bogs,—there being among the last mentioned one of those queer mortals who cure simple people of diseases without the aid of drugs.

There was a good deal of drinking, but she succeeded in reclaiming several unfortunates who “wasna fou but just had enough.” Her mission was among the poor at home—not among the heathen in foreign parts—there were enough and to spare even in her own favored spot. The provident would consult her as to putting out their earnings to the best advantage; in sickness and in trouble she was tireless in their service—furnishing food and clothing to those in need,

dispensing flannels and comforting drinks to the old people afflicted with “rheumatiz,” and from her medicine chest dealing out prescriptions with a liberal hand. One eventful morning, a tenant called to see her. “You will excuse me for a-spaking to you ma’am, and I hopes I have a dacint tongue in me head. Me name’s Mr. O’Shaughnes-sy, ma’am; it was me wife you gave me the dose for and she is dead . . . May the Lord bless ye.”

“Should you enter the Bonwery on New Year’s Eve, you would see the



THE MEDICINE CHEST.

children gathered around the immense fireplace singing in muffled voices their evening hymns to the good saint as follows :

“Santa Klaus, goodt heilig man!
Knobybest van Amsterdam,
Van Amsterdam aan Spanje,
Van Spanje aan Oranje,
En brang deze kinjes eenige graps.’

“New Year’s Day was devoted to the universal interchange of visits. Every door was thrown wide open, and a warm welcome extended to friend and stranger. It was a breach of etiquette to omit any acquaintancé in these annual calls, when old friendships were renewed, and family differences amicably settled. And here came the famous New Year Cake.

Washington said: “The highly favored situation of New York will in process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but let whatever changes take place, never forget the cordial, cheerful observance of the New Year Day.”

This annual festival of her Dutch ancestors, my grandmother never failed to celebrate, and many and delightful were her guests.

She was a devout communicant of the Episcopal Church, and in earlier years had taken an active interest in the construction of the old stone edifice, the first of its denomination in that part of the state. Each Sunday found her in the high-backed pew, where she sat patiently through the service, and the good Rector’s long sermon bristling with quotations from the Bible.

To the last she remained “honored, beloved, and respected by all around her,” a lady of the old school, a type now fast disappearing from earth.

I cherish her memory as a precious possession.

“The life of man
Is an arrow’s flight,
Out of darkness
Into light,
And out of light
Into darkness again;
Perhaps to pleasure,
Perhaps to pain!

“There must be Something,
Above, or below;
Something unseen
A mighty Bow,
A Hand that tires not,
A sleepless Eye
That sees the arrows
Fly, and fly;
One who knows
Why we live—and die.”



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