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Bolton, Rev. Robert.

History and capture of
Major André...

New York, 1830



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Book A 5 B 6



THE VANWERT MONUMENT AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, GREENBURGH.

HISTORY AND CAPTURE

OF

MAJOR ANDRÉ.

TAKEN FROM THE

REVISED HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY THE LATE

REV. ROBERT BOLTON.



New York:

ROBERT F. ROPER & CO.
1890.

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THE CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

Tarrytown is far famed as the place where Major André, adjutant general of the British army, was captured by Paulding and his associates upon the 23rd of September, 1780. The circumstances which led to the arrest of the spy were as follows :

Major John André had been long negotiating with the American general, Arnold, to put the British general, Clinton, in possession of West Point. "This post," says Major General Greene, (who, it must be remembered, was president of the court that tried André,) "is a beautiful little place lying on the west bank of the Hudson, a little below where it breaks through the chain of mountains called the highlands. Its form is nearly circular, in half of its circumference defended by a precipice of great height, rising abruptly from the river, and on the other by a chain of rugged, inaccessible mountains. It is accessible by one pass only from the river, and that is narrow and easily defended; while on the land side it can be approached only at two points—by roads that wind through the mountains and enter it at the river bank on the north and south. Great importance had always been attached to this post by the Americans, and great labor and expense bestowed upon fortifying it. It has been well called the "Gibraltar of America." The North river had long been the great vein that supplied life to the American army, and had the enemy obtained possession of this post, besides the actual loss in men and stores, the American army would have been cut off from their principal resources in the ensuing winter, or been obliged to fall back above the Highlands, and leave all the country below open to conquest, while the communication between the eastern and western States would have been seriously interrupted if not wholly excluded. Arnold therefore well knew the bearing of this post upon all the operations of the American army; and afterwards avowed his confident expectation, that had the enemy got possession of it, the contest must have ceased, and America been subdued.

The British general, Clinton, also appears to have appreciated the value of this post, and it is probable that the purchase of it had been arranged with Arnold some months prior to the detection of the plot. It was when Washington marched to Kings-bridge, with a view to the attempt on New York, and when he had mustered under him every man who could carry a musket, that he placed Arnold in command of a corps of invalids at West Point.

The commander-in-chief had offered him a command suitable to his rank and reputation in the army; but he made the unhealed state of his

wounds, and some other causes, the pretext for declining it—as the negotiations for the surrender of West Point had already commenced. Soon after the relinquishment of the enterprise against New York, a meeting was concerted to take place between the American commander-in-chief and the French military and naval commanders. Hartford, on the Connecticut river, was the place assigned for their meeting; the object was to consult on their future joint operations. Upon the departure of Washington for this meeting, Greene was placed in command of the main army. This was on the 17th of September, 1780. On the eighteenth, Admiral Rodney arrived in New York with such an overwhelming reinforcement to the British navy as must have set the consultations at Hartford all at nought. From that time Greene's communications to the President of Congress are full of the hurried preparations going on at New York for some important enterprise; little did he, or any other person suspect to what point that enterprise was directed.

It appears that General Greene had established a regular communication for obtaining intelligence from the city by spies; and his correspondents in that place were at loss whether the expedition was intended for Rhode Island or Virginia. To one or other of these places the enemy had been careful to throw out hints, or exhibit appearances, that the expedition was directed.

Yet Green was not deceived; for in a letter on the 21st (just two days before the discovery of the plot) to General Washington, he writes, 'Colonel ——— communicated the last intelligence we have from New York; since that, I have not been able to obtain the least information of what is going on there. Though we have people in from three different quarters, none of them returning, makes me suspect some *secret* expedition is in contemplation, the success of which depends altogether upon its being kept a secret.'

The British commander had now become sensible that no time was to be lost; as, most probably, on the return of Washington from Hartford, he would assume the command in person at West Point, or confide it to Greene. The present, therefore, was the most favorable time that would ever present itself.^a

André was, accordingly, dispatched in the *Vulture*, sloop of war, to hold a personal conference with General Arnold. The *Vulture* ascended the Hudson river on the 20th, as far as Teller's Point, and came to anchor at the mouth of the Haverstraw bay. Here André eagerly awaited some opportunity to acquaint Arnold with his arrival. An occasion for so doing presented itself the next day. A white flag was displayed at

^a See Barnum's *Spy Unmasked*.

Teller's Point by some of the country people, which, being interpreted as they wished, the captain of the *Vulture* sent off a boat with a flag, which was fired upon as soon as it approached the shore. This gave André the opportunity he desired, as it was a proper subject for a remonstrance to the commanding officer; and a flag with a letter was accordingly dispatched. The letter was dated on the 21st Sept.; it was in the handwriting of André, signed by the captain of the vessel, and countersigned "John Anderson." (André's assumed name.) This flag was sent to Verplank's Point. Arnold arrived just as the boat returned to the *Vulture*. The letter was handed to him, and, of course, fully understood; thereupon he hastened to prepare Smith for a visit to the enemy's vessel on the approaching night. Crossing from Verplank's to Stony Point he made all the requisite arrangements respecting the boat that Smith would want, and then proceeded to his quarters to remove the difficulty which had occurred respecting boatmen. The guard boats had received orders not to stop Smith, and he also possessed the countersign for the next night, which was the word "Congress." In the morning Smith brought his tenant—Samuel Colquhoun, to a conference with Arnold, who requested him to accompany his landlord on a visit that night to the *Vulture*." The man at first refused, but at last consented to go with his brother, Joseph Colquhoun, and Smith. They were directed by Arnold to muffle the oars; and, thus prepared, about midnight, the boat arrived at the *Vulture*. The noise made by the officer on watch, and the sailors in their hailing the boat, was heard below, and a boy sent up with orders that the man should be shown into the cabin, supposing him to be Arnold. Smith descended, and found his old acquaintance, Beverly Robinson. A letter from Arnold was presented to the Colonel, in which he said, "This will be delivered to you by Mr. Smith, who will conduct you to a place of safety. Neither Mr. Smith nor any other person shall be made acquainted with your proposals; if they (which I doubt not) are of such a nature that I can officially take notice of them, I shall do it with pleasure. I take it for granted, Colonel Robinson will not propose anything that is not for the interest of the United States, as well as of himself." Smith had likewise two papers signed by Arnold, which he showed to Robinson; one, a permission to pass and repass with a boat to Dobb's Ferry, the other a permission to Joshua Smith, Mr. John Anderson and two servants, to pass and repass the guards near King's Ferry at all times. By these papers Colonel Robinson understood that Arnold expected André to come on shore. Smith was left with the captain of the vessel for about a quarter of an hour, when Robinson returned with a person whom he

introduced as Mr. Anderson. He excused himself from going ashore, but *this person* would go in his stead, and was competent to the transaction of the business. André, although in his uniform, was so completely enveloped in a blue great-coat, that Smith (if we believe his assertions) did not suspect his real name or character.

Smith and André descended into the boat, where the Colquhouns awaited them. They were landed at the foot of a mountain called the Long Clove, on the western margin of the river, about six miles below Stony Point. The *Vulture* lay between the place and Teller's Point. Here Arnold was in attendance on horseback, with another horse brought by a servant of Smith's. It was perfectly dark, and Smith, knowing the spot designated by Arnold, groped his way up the bank, and found the commander of West Point concealed among the trees and bushes.^a

Smith was sent back for his companion; and, having introduced him, was requested to retire to the boat, where he remained ill at ease and watchful, while the Colquhouns, conscience-free, slept soundly through the remainder of the night. The conference appeared unnecessarily long to Mr. Smith, and he retraced his way to give notice of the approach of morning, and the necessity of departing before daylight appeared.

The conspirators had exhausted the night, and their business was not yet completed. It was agreed that the boat should be dismissed and sent up the river. André consented to mount a led horse brought to the Clove with Arnold, and to accompany him to Smith's house, there to remain through the day, and to return to the sloop of war next night. It was still dark, and, as André asserts, the voice of the sentinel demanding the countersign, was the first indication to the adjutant-general that he was within the American lines. About the break of day, the conspirators arrived at Smith's house. He had proceeded with the boat to Crown Island, in Haverstraw creek, and, dismissing the Colquhouns, joined Arnold. To the alarm of the group, a cannonade was very soon heard; and, from the window, André beheld that the *Vulture* was in peril from the guns, and saw her obliged to weigh anchor and stand down the river. In an upper apartment in Smith's house, the spy and the traitor viewed this unexpected incident, and Sir Henry Clinton's adjutant general, no doubt, felt for a time, that the net prepared for others was closing around him. It is to be supposed that the commander of West Point reassured him, and, after breakfast, Smith left

^a Smith's words are, "hid among the firs."

him to finish "the plot of treachery" between them; it was understood that Arnold was to receive a stipulated sum. The day fixed upon, André was to return to New York, and the British troops (already embarked under the pretence of an expedition to Chesapeake) were to be ready to ascend the river. Arnold was to weaken the post of West Point by such a disposition of the garrison as would yield it an easy prey to the troops brought against it.

Every preliminary was settled, and the spy furnished with all the papers explanatory of the condition of the post, and the manner in which its force was to be rendered unavailable, and its garrison betrayed to death or captivity. André required to be put in safety on board the *Vulture*; to this Arnold assented, and, although a different route was proposed, yet André supposed he was to be sent on board the attending sloop of war. Before Arnold left Smith's house, he urged him to go with André on board the *Vulture* as soon as it was dark; but, as if to provide for obstacles, he sent two passes for Smith; the one a permission to go "with a boat, three hands and a flag, to Dobb's Ferry, on public business, and return immediately;" the other, to pass the guards to the White Plains, and return. To this was added a third, as follows:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ROBINSON'S HOUSE,
Sept. 22d, 1780.

"Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the guards to the White Plains, or below, if he chooses: he being on public business by my direction.

"B. ARNOLD, *M. Gen.*"

A miserable day was passed by the spy in solitude, and, when evening came, Smith positively refused to go on board the *Vulture*; neither had he engaged any person to row the boat. The reason he gave was an attack of ague, but this did not prevent him, as will be seen, from accompanying André on horse-back in his nocturnal journey, or from crossing the river with him. Thus André was compelled to take the route Smith chose, which was to cross the river, and proceed in the direction of White Plains. The uniform coat of the adjutant general was left at Smith's house; and with a coat of Smith's, covered by a dark great-coat, with "a wide cape, and buttoned close to the neck," André was equipped for the journey. Accordingly, in the morning, he and Smith proceeded to King's Ferry.

On the way, Smith endeavored to draw his companion into conversation, but without success. He was reserved and thoughtful. On the contrary, Smith accosted several of his acquaintances on the road; and even stopped at a sutler's tent, and joined in discussing a bowl of punch,

while André walked his horse slowly to the ferry alone, and there waited Smith's arrival.

As they passed through the works at Verplanck's Point, Smith rode up to Colonel Livingston's tent, while André, and a servant who attended him, (a negro of Smith's,) rode on. To the Colonel's inquiries, Smith said he was going up the country, and took charge of letters for General Arnold and Governor Clinton. He excused himself from stopping, as a gentleman waited for him whose business was urgent. He then overtook his charge, and they proceeded until between eight and nine at night, when they were hailed by the sentinel of a patrolling party. This was near Crompond, and about eight miles from Verplanck's Point. The sentinel ordered them to stop, and Smith dismounted, gave the bridle of his horse to his servant, walked forward, and inquired who commanded the party. He was answered, 'Captain Boyd,' who, overhearing the conversation, immediately appeared. The captain was unusually inquisitive, and demanded of him who he was, where he belonged, and what was his business. Smith answered these questions promptly, adding that he had a pass from General Arnold, and desired not to be detained. The captain was not yet satisfied, but inquired how far he meant to go that night; to which he replied, as far as Major Strang's or Colonel Drake's; but this only increased the embarrassment, for the captain informed him that Major Strang was not at home, and Colonel Drake had removed to another part of the country.

Captain Boyd then said that he must see the passport; and, it being dark, they went to a house at a small distance to procure a light. André began to be a little alarmed, and advanced with reluctance towards the house, till he was encouraged by Smith, who assured him that Arnold's pass would certainly protect them.

And so it proved; for the pass was expressed in positive terms, and there was no room to doubt its genuineness or its authority.

The captain was afterwards more bland in his manner, but the ardor of his curiosity was not diminished. He took Smith aside, and begged to be informed of this important business which carried him down so near the enemy's lines, and induced him and his companion to travel so dangerous a road in the night. As an apology for this inquiry, he manifested a good deal of concern for their safety; telling him that the cowboys had recently been out, and were believed then to be far up the country—and he advised him by all means not to proceed till morning. Smith prevaricated as well as he could, saying to Captain Boyd, that he and his fellow-traveler, whom he called Mr. Anderson, were employed by General Arnold to procure intelligence; that they expected to

meet a person near White Plains for that purpose, and that it was necessary for them to go forward as expeditiously as possible.

Upon this statement Captain Boyd seemed more anxious than ever; magnified the perils to which they would be exposed by traveling in the night, and recommended anew that they should turn back to one Andreas Miller's, who lived but a little way off, and at whose house they might lodge. Smith's courage was somewhat damped by these representations, and he went and told the tale to André, counselled with him as to the steps they ought to take. It is possible, also, that he had fears of exciting suspicion, if he hesitated in resisting the Captain's zeal expressed so earnestly in their behalf. André, as it may well be imagined, not being very easy in his present situation, was for going on at all events. When Smith found his fears unheeded and his eloquence unavailing, he called in the aid of Captain Boyd, and inquired of him which was the safest road to White Plains. Boyd considered both roads perilous, but believed the one through North Castle the least so; for the lower party, or cow-boys, infested the Tarrytown road, and had lately done mischief in that quarter. He used various arguments to dissuade them from going farther that night, to which Smith listened with open ears; and he resolved, against the will of André, to trespass on the hospitality of Andreas Miller.

They met with a welcome reception; but coming at a late hour to an humble dwelling, their accommodations were narrow and the two travelers were obliged to sleep in the same bed.

According to Smith's account, it was a weary and restless night to his companion. The burden on his thoughts was not of a kind to lull them to repose; and the place of his retreat so near the watchful Captain Boyd and his guard, was hardly such as would impress upon him a conviction of perfect security.

At the first dawn of light he roused himself from his troubled slumber, awakened the servant, and ordered the horses to be prepared for an early departure.

Having solicited their host in vain to receive a compensation for the civilities he had rendered, they mounted and took the road leading to Pine's Bridge,^a which crosses the Croton River on the way to North Castle. The countenance of André brightened, when he was fairly beyond the reach of the patrolling party; and, as he thought, he left behind him the principal difficulties in his route. His cheerfulness revived, and he conversed, in the most animated and agreeable strain, upon a great

^a Spark's Life of Arnold, 214, 215, 216, 217.

variety of topics. Smith professes to have been astonished at the sudden and extraordinary change which appeared in him, from a gloomy taciturnity to an exuberant flow of spirits, pleasantry and gay discourse. He talked upon poetry, the arts, and literature; lamented the war, and hoped for a speedy peace."^a As they passed Major Strang's house, two miles below Yorktown church, they were observed by its inmates, who supposed them to be Continental officers. "In this manner they passed along without being accosted by any person, till they came within two miles and a half of Pine's Bridge. At this place Smith had determined to end his journey in the direction of White Plains. The *Cow-boys*, whom he seemed anxious to avoid, had recently been above the bridge, and the territory below was considered their appropriate domain. The travellers partook of a frugal breakfast together, at the house of a good Dutch woman, who had been plundered by three marauders, but who was yet enabled to set before them a repast of hasty pudding and milk.^b This being dispatched, Smith divided his small stock of paper money with André, took a final leave, and, with his servant, hastened back to Peekskill, and the same evening to Fishkill, where he had left his family four days before, at the house of his brother-in-law. On his way, he took the road leading to Robinson's house, where he called on General Arnold, and dined. He gave an account of André's progress, and mentioned the place where he had left him, with which Arnold appeared well pleased. It is to be understood, however, that Smith had not, at this time, as he always affirmed, any knowledge of André's true character, and that he supposed his name to be John Anderson.

The *Cow-boys* were a set of people, mostly, if not wholly, refugees, belonging to the British side, and engaged in plundering cattle near the lines, and driving them to New York. The name indicates their vocation. There was another description of banditti, called *Skimmers*, who lived, for the most part, within the American lines, and professed attachment to the American cause; but, in reality, they were more unprincipled, perfidious and inhuman than the *Cow-boys* themselves; for these latter exhibited some symptoms of fellow feeling for their friends,—whereas, the *Skimmers* committed their depredations equally upon friends and foes.

By a law of the State of New York, every person refusing to take an oath of fidelity to the State was considered as forfeiting his property. The large territory between the American and British lines, extending

^a *Ibid.*, 217.

^b This was not a Dutch woman, as the historian supposes; but Mrs. Sarah Underhill, wife of Isaac Underhill, of Yorktown, whose grandson, Edward Borough Underhill, still owns the house.—EDITOR.

nearly thirty miles from north to south, and embracing Westchester county, was populous and highly cultivated. A person living within that space, who took the oath of fidelity, was sure to be plundered by the *Cow-boys*; and if he did not take it, the *Skimmers* would come down upon him, call him a tory, and seize his property as confiscated by the State. Thus the execution of the laws was assumed by robbers, and the innocent and guilty were involved in a common ruin.

"It is true the civil authority endeavored to guard against these outrages, so far as it could, by legislative enactments and executive proclamations; but, from the nature of the case, this formidable conspiracy against the rights and claims of humanity could be crushed only by a military arm. The detachments of Continental troops and militia, stationed near the lines, did something to lessen the evil, yet they were not adequate to its suppression, and frequently this force was so feeble as not to afford any barrier to the inroads of the banditti.

"The *Skimmers* and *Cow-boys* often leagued together. The former would sell their plunder to the latter, taking in exchange contraband articles brought from New York. It was not uncommon for the farce of a skirmish to be acted near the American lines, in which the *Skimmers* never failed to come off victorious; and then they would go boldly to the interior with their booty, pretending it had been captured from the enemy while attempting to smuggle it across the lines.

"Such was the social condition of that part of the country through which Andrè was now to pass alone, for nearly thirty miles, before he could be perfectly secure from danger; for, although every step diminished the chances of untoward accidents, yet there was no absolute safety till he was beyond the limits of this ill-fated neutral ground."^a

"But Andrè had the American general's pass to produce to the one, and his true character to protect him from the other. Still he could not but feel that his situation was one of peril. The remarks he had heard from the captain of the patrol on the preceding night, seems to have induced the adjutant-general to take the Tarrytown road, as the one most frequented by the *Cow-boys*; for it was understood by Smith that he would proceed toward White Plains. Upon what apparently chance circumstances the fate of individuals, and armies, and States, appears to depend! Had this bearer of ruin to thousands proceeded on the road at first intended, he probably would have accomplished the treason in safety to himself; but a few words uttered at random by the American officer, to Smith, respecting the danger of the road nearest the Hudson,

^a Sparks' Life of Arnold, 215, 19, 20, 21.

determined the spy to turn that way, as most frequented by his friends,—and by that heaven-directed turn, impending ruin was averted, and the lives of thousands saved.” From Pine’s Bridge, the adjutant-general of the British army followed the Crum Pond road, which passed the house of Mr. Staats Hammond. The son of this gentleman, David Hammond, of North Castle was living in, (1847,) at an advanced age. He related, that on the day Andrè was taken, he was standing at the door of his father’s residence, upon the Crum Pond road, when he observed a person approaching on horseback, leisurely walking his horse. As he rode up, he observed the stranger to be closely enveloped in a light blue swan’s down cloak, with high military boots, and a low-crowned and broad brimmed hat on his head. The animal he bestrode was a beautiful bay, bitted with a handsome double snaffle bridle; the mane particularly about the head, being thickly matted with burs. The stranger immediately asked for a drink of water. It deserves to be noticed, in connection with this incident, that Mr. Hammond’s father—who was lying, at the time, badly wounded on the floor—caught a glimpse of the stranger, whom he pronounced to be a spy, from the fact of his being enveloped in the manner described.

David Hammond, having procured a drinking vessel, accompanied by his sister, led the way to the adjoining well. Here the girl drew the water, which was offered to the stranger, who requested David to hold the bridle whilst he drank. After satisfying his thirst, he turned toward Mrs. Hammond, and asked the distance to Tarrytown; she replied, “Four miles.” “I did not think it was so far,” said he.

At Chappaqua, in the vicinity of Underhill’s tavern, the spy encountered several Quakers. From them he again inquired the road, at the same time asking whether any troops were out below, &c.

At the foot of the Chappaqua roads the adjutant-general selected that which leads to the river. Following this, he came out in the Albany post road, near the village of Sparta. He had now securely passed about eleven miles of the neutral ground, and approached within a few hundred yards of the Hudson without interruption, and probably felt himself beyond the reach of detection.

A little north of Tarrytown, the road crosses a small brook, (now called the Andrè brook.) A few rods from this spot a period was put to the journey of the spy and the progress of the treason.

On this fated morning some of the inhabitants of Westchester had by agreement taken their arms, and proceeded to the neighborhood of this brook and bridge, to prevent cattle from being driven down towards New York, and to seize as a loyal prize any such cows or oxen as might



JOHN PAULDING'S RESIDENCE, CORTLANDT.

be destined for his majesty's troops by their friends. This patriotic band of seven had volunteered of their own account to go upon this expedition the day previous, Sept. 22d, 1780. John Yerks, (who was still living in the town of Mount Pleasant, in 1847, aged eighty-eight,) says that he proposed this excursion to John Paulding, both of them being at that time stationed in North Salem. The latter at first objected; but, upon further consideration, volunteered his services, provided they could induce a sufficient number to accompany them. This, Yerks assured him, could be easily accomplished, and offered to procure the men; while Paulding should obtain the necessary permit from the commanding officer. Yerks had in the meantime enlisted three volunteers, viz.: Isaac See, James Romer and Abraham Williams. Paulding soon after returned with the permit, accompanied by his friend, Isaac Van Wart. The party now consisting of six, took the direct road for Cross river. Here they were joined by David Williams from Bedford. From Cross river they proceeded to Pleasantville, formerly Clark's Corner, where they halted for the night. From a lady by the name of Mrs. Powell, (who had recently arrived at this place from Morrisania,) the volunteers ascertained that the British horse from Long Island, New Jersey and New York had advanced from the Island into the neighborhood of Boar hill, Yonkers.

Whilst André slept at Crum Pond, our volunteers turned into a hay barrack, (then standing a few yards from the present Methodist church,) at Pleasantville.

Up by times the next morning, the party followed the windings of the Saw Mill valley to the house of Capt. Jacob Romer, where they obtained breakfast and a basket well provided for their dinner. From this place they marched to the hill immediately above Tarrytown. Here it was agreed that three of the number, viz.: Paulding, Van Wart and David Williams, should go below, whilst the remaining four should watch the road above, with the full understanding, (according to Yerks,) that whatever might be taken should be equally divided among the whole band.

The upper party were stationed two hundred yards east on the hill above the lower party, the latter being concealed in the bushes near the post-road.

At Smith's trial, (which was by a court martial, and commenced the day after André's examination, Paulding and Williams gave the following testimony. Paulding said, "myself, Isaac Van Wart and David Williams, were lying by the side of the road about half a mile above Tarrytown, and about fifteen miles above King's Bridge, on Saturday morning between nine and ten o'clock, on the 23d of September. We had lain there about one hour and a half, as near as I can recollect, and saw

several persons we were acquainted with, whom we let pass. Presently one of the young men who were with me, said, 'There comes a gentleman-like looking man who appears to be well dressed and has boots on and whom you had better step out and stop, if you don't know him.' (The party must have observed Andrè rising the hill out of Sleepy Hollow; when first observed, he was walking his horse.) On that, I got up and presented my firelock at the breast of the person and told him to stand, and then I asked him which way he was going? 'Gentlemen' said he, 'I hope you belong to our party.' I asked him what party. He said 'the lower party.' Upon that, I told him I did. Then he said, 'I am a British officer out of the country on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute;' and to show that he was a British officer he pulled out his watch, upon which I told him to dismount. He then said, 'My God! I must do anything to get along,' and seemed to make a kind of laugh of it, and pulled out General Arnold's pass which was to John Anderson to pass all the guards to White Plains and below; upon that he dismounted. Said he, 'Gentlemen, you had better let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble; for your stopping me will detain the General's business, and said he was going to Dobb's Ferry to meet a person there, and get intelligence for General Arnold.'

"Upon that I told him I hoped he would not be offended, that we did not mean to take any thing from him. And I told him there were many bad people who were going along the road, and I did not know but perhaps he might be one." Mr. Paulding said further that he asked the unknown gentleman his name, and he answered, "John Anderson. That on seeing General Arnold's pass he should have let him go, if he had not previously said he was a British officer; (there was yet another circumstance which tended greatly to increase their suspicions, viz: that his pass was for White Plains and not the Tarrytown road;) and that when he pulled out his watch, he understood it as a confirmation of the assertion, and not as offering it to him.

Mr. Williams confirmed the above statement with these particulars "We took him into the bushes, and ordered him to pull off his clothes which he did; but, on searching him narrowly, we could not find any sort of writings. We told him to pull off his boots, which he seemed indifferent about; but we got one boot off, and searched in that boot and could find nothing. But we found there were some papers in the bottom of his stocking next to his foot, on which we made him pull his stockings off, and found three papers wrapped up. Mr. Paulding looked at the contents, and said he was a spy. We then made him pull off his



CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ



other boot, and there we found three more papers at the bottom of his foot within his stocking."

The following letters and documents were found in the stockings of Major Andre :—

THE ANDRÉ PAPERS.

[From the originals in the possession of Colonel Beekman, (a) of Flatbush, Long Island.]

a Col. Beekman is the grandson and lineal descendant of Governor George Clinton.

No. 1.—Pass.

[Endorsed,]

Pass from General Arnold, dated Septem^r 20, 1780, to Joshua Smith and Mr John Anderson, to pass the guards at King's Ferry.

*Head Quarters, Robinson's House,
September 20, 1780.*

Permission is given to Joshua Smith, Esquire, a gentleman, Mr. John Anderson, who is with him, and his two servants, to pass and repass the guards near King's Ferry at all times.

(Signed.)

B. ARNOLD, M. Gen'l.

No. 2.

[Endorsed,]

SEPT. 22, 1780.

Pass to Joshua Smith to pass the White Plains.

*Head Quarters, Robinson's House,
September 22, 1780.*

Joshua Smith, Esq., has permission to pass the Guards to the White Plains, and to return, being on public business, by my direction.

(Signed.)

B. ARNOLD, M. Gen'l.

No. 3.

[Letter endorsed to]

"Thomas Smith, Esq., Haverstraw."

Robinson's House, Sept. 25th, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:—I am here a prisoner, and am therefore unable to attend in person. I would be obliged to you if you would deliver to Captain Cairns, of Lee's Dragoons, a British Uniform Coat, which you will find in one of the drawers in the room above stairs. I would be happy to see you. Remember me to your family.

I am, affectionately, yours,

(Signed,)

JOSHUA H. SMITH.

Thomas Smith, Esq.

No. 4.

[Endorsed.]

Memo.

Hennirut, [a word not intelligible.]

Elijah Hunter.

Mr. I. Johnson, B. R—r.

Mr. J. Stewart, to the care of Joshua Smith Esq., to be left at Head Q'rs.

Isaac Adams, 5., 5., 5.

No. 5.

[Endorsed,]

Gen'l Arnold's permission to Joshua Smith.

21 Sep. 1780.
to Dobb's Ferry,
&c. &c.*Head Quarters, Robinson's House,*
Sept. 21, 1780.

Permission is granted to Joshua Smith, Esq., to go to Dobb's Ferry with three Men and a Boy in a Boat with a Flag to carry some Letters of a private Nature for Gentlemen in New York and to Return immediately.

(Signed,)

B. ARNOLD, M. Gen'l.

N. B.—He has permission to go at such hours and times as the tide and his business suits.

No. 6.

[Endorsed,]

Pass to Joshua Smith to pass Dobb's Ferry.

Sept. 22, 1780.

Head Quarters, Robinson House,
Sept. 22, 1780.

Joshua Smith, Esq. has permission to pass with a Boat and three hands and a flag to Dobb's Ferry on Public business and to return immediately.

(Signed,)

B. ARNOLD, M. Gen'l.

No. 7.

[Endorsed,]

Arnold to John Anderson—Pass.

22d Sept. 1780.

Head Quarters, Robinson's House,
Sept. 22, 1780.

Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the Guards to the White Plains, or below, if He Choses. He being on Public Business by my Direction.

B. ARNOLD, M. Gen'l.

[In Arnold's hand-writing.]

"Gustavus to John Anderson."

The following document is one of the highest importance to the British, inasmuch as "*in case of alarm*," it made the British—who would have caused the alarm—fully acquainted with the disposition of all the American forces in that vicinity, and thus enable them to conduct an attack to the best advantage. It is, of course, in the traitor's own hand-writing:—

No. 9.

[Endorsed,]

Artillery Orders, Sept. 5th, 1780.

*West Point, Sept. 5, 1780.**Artillery Orders.*

The following disposition of the corps is to take place in Case of an alarm.

Capt. Dannills with his comp'y at Fort Putnam, and to Detach an Officer with 12 men to Wyllys's Redoubt, a non Commissioned Officer, with 3 men to Webb's Redoubt, and the like number to Redoubt No. 4.

Capt. Thomas and Company to repair to Fort Arnold.

Capt. Simmons and Company to remain at the North and South Redoubts, at the East side of the River, until further orders.

Lieut. Barber, with 20 men of Capt. Jackson's Company will repair to Constitution Island; the remainder of the Company with Lieut. Mason's will repair to Arnold.

Capt. Lieut. George and Lieut. Blake with 20 men of Capt. Treadwell's Company, will repair to Redoubt No. 1 and 2. the remainder of the Company will be sent to Fort Arnold.

Late Jones's Company with Lieut. Fisk to repair to the South Battery.

The Chain Battery Sherburn's Redoubt, and the Brass Field pieces will be manned from Fort Arnold as Occasion may require.

The Commissary and Conductor of Military stores will in turn wait upon the Commanding Officer of Artillery for Orders.

The Artificers in the Garrison, (agreeable to former Orders,) will repair to Fort Arnold, and their receive further Orders from the Command'g Officer of Artillery, J. Bauman Major Comm't Artillery.

No. 10.

[Endorsed,]

[In the Traitor's own hand.]

Estimate of the Forces at West Point, and its dependencies,
Sept. 1780.

Estimate of the Forces at West Point and its dependencies, Sept. 13th, 1780		
A Brigade of Massachusetts Militia and two Regiments of Rank and file New Hampshire Inclusion of 166 Batteaux Men at Verplanks and Stony Points,		992
On command and Extra Service at Fish Kills, New Windsor, &c. &c., who may be called in occasionally,		852
3 Regiments of Connecticut Militia under the Com'd of Colonel Wells on the lines near N. Castle,		488
A Detachment of N. York Levies on the lines,		115
	Militia	2447
Colonel Lamb's Regiment	167	
Colonel Livingston at Verplank and Stony Pts	80	
	Continent	247
Colonel Sheldon's Dragoons on the lines about one-half mounted		142
Batteaux Men and Artificers		250

No. 11.

Total 3086

[In Arnold's hand]

[Endorsed,]

Estimate of Men to Man the Works at West Point, &c.
Sep'r 1780.

Estimate of the Number of men Necessary to Man the Works at West Point and in the Vicinity.

Fort Arnold	620
— Putnam	450
— Wyllys	140
— Webb	140

Redoubt No. 1	150
ditto 2	150
ditto 3	120
ditto 4	100
ditto 5	139
ditto 6	110
ditto 7	78
North Redoubt	120
South Redoubt	130
Total	2438

Villepance, Engineer.

N. B. The Artillery Men are not Included in the above Estimate.

RETURN OF ORDNANCE IN THE DIFFERENT FORTS, BATTERIES, ETC., AT WEST POINT AND ITS DEPENDENCES, SEPTEMBER 5th, 1780.

Caldwells,	Metal.										Total.				
	Garrison Carriages	Garrison Carriages Travelling do.	Garrison Carriages Stocked ditto	Garrison Carriages	Garrison Carriages Stocked ditto	Garrison Carriages Travelling ditto	Garrison Carriages Travelling ditto	Inches.	Mortars, Inches.	Howitz, Inches.					
Fort Arnold,	94	18	12	9	6	4	4	3	0	54	2	42	5	8	120
Fort Putnam,	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Fortification Island,	5	5	2	4	1	5	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	14
South Battery,	4	4	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
South Battery,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Landhorn Battery,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Webbs Redoubt,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Shemans Redoubt,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Meger's Redoubt,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
South Redoubt,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
North Redoubt,	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	42
Wyllys's Redoubt,	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	24
Rocky Hill, No. 4,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Rocky Hill, No. 1,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Rocky Hill, No. 2,	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14
Verplanck's and Stony Points,	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	24
Total	118	314	5	9	14	5	2	1	3	6	5	11	2	1	100

(Signed)

N. PUTNAM, Major Command'g Artillery

N. B. — The following Ordnance not distributed: No. 6 from 12 Pounds.

3 Brass 24 Pounders, do 12 do do 1 do 8 Inch Howitz.

“The virulence and malice of Arnold’s treachery are no where more manifest and detestable than in the following document. See how the arch fiend exposes the weakness of the forts—the ease with which they could be set on fire—the facilities of approach—the commanding heights and rising grounds, &c. The whole, too, an exposè intended expressly for the British; and yet endorsed as if it had been a memorandum for his own private use, and for General Washington:

No. 12.

[In the traitor’s own hand.]

[Endorsed.]

Remarks on works at Wt. Point, a copy to be transmitted to His Excellency General Washington.

S pr. 1780.

Fort Arnold is built of Dry Fascines and Wood, is in a ruinous condition, incomplete, and subject to take Fire from Shells or Canasses.

Fort Putnam, stone, wanting great repairs, the wall on the East side broke down, and rebuilding From the Foundation at the West and South side have been a Chevaux de Frise on the Wst side broke in many places. The East side open, two Bomb Proof and Provision Magazine in the Fort, and slight Wooden Barrack—A commanding piece of ground 500 yards West between the Fort and No. 4 or Rocky Hill—

Fort Webb Built of Fascines and Wood, a slight Work very dry and liable to be set on fire as the approaches are very easy, without defences save a slight abattas.

Fort Wyllys built of stone 5 feet high the work above plank filled with Earth and stone work 15 feet the Earth 9 feet thick.—No Bomb Proofs, the Batteries without the Fort.

Redoubt No. 1. On the south side wood nine feet thick, the Wt. North and East side 4 feet thick, no cannon in the works, a slight and single Abatters, no ditch or picket. Cannon on two batteries. No Bomb Proofs.

Redoubt No. 2. The same as No. 1. No Bomb Proofs.

Redoubt No. 2. A slight Wood Work 3 Feet thick very Dry no Bomb Proofs, a single Abatters, the work easily set on fire—no Cannon.

Redoubt No. 4. A Wooden work about 10 feet high and four or five feet thick, the West side faced with a stone wall 8 feet high and four thick. No Bomb Proof, two six pounders, a slight Abatters, a commanding piece of ground 500 yards Wt.

The North Redoubt on the East side built of stone 4 feet high, above the stone work filled in with Earth, Very Dry, no ditch, a Bomb Proof, three Batteries without the Fort, a poor Abatters, a Rising piece of ground 500 yards. So, the approaches Under Cover to within 20 yards.—The Work easily fired with Faggots dipped in Pitch, &c.

South Redoubt much the same as the North a Commanding piece of ground 500 yards due East—3 Batteries without the Fort.

“The following document explains itself:—

No. 13.

[In Arnold's hand-writing.]

[Endorsed,]

Copy of a Council of War, held Sept. 6th, 1780.

At a Council of War, held in Camp Bergen County Sept. 6th, 1780.

Present—the Commander-in-Chief.

The Commander-in-Chief states to the Council, that since he had the honor of laying before the General Officers, at Morristown, the 6th of June last, a general view of our circumstances, several important events have occurred which have materially changed the prospects of the Campaign.

That the success expected from France, instead of coming out in one body and producing a Naval Superiority in these Seas, has been divided into two Divisions, the first of which only consisting of seven ships of the line, one forty-four and three smaller Frigates, with five thousand land Forces, had arrived at Rhode Island.

That a reinforcement of six ships of the line from England having reinforced the Enemy, had made their Naval Force in these seas amount to Nine Sail of the Line, Two Fifties, two forty-fours, and a number of smaller Frigates, a Force completely superior to that of our Allies, and which has in consequence held them Blocked up in the harbor of Rhode Island till the 29th ult., at which Period the British Fleet disappeared, and no advice of them has since been received.

That accounts received by the Alliance Frigate, which left France in July, announce the Second Division to be Confined in Brest with several other Ships by a British Fleet of thirty-two Sail of the line, and a Fleet of the Allies, of Thirty-six, or thirty-eight Ships of the line ready to put to sea from Cadiz to relieve the Port of Brest.

That most of the States in their answers to the requisitions made of them, give the strongest assurances of doing every thing in their power to furnish the men and supplies required for the expected Co-operation. The effect of which, however, has been far short of our expectations, for not much above one-third of the Levies demanded for the Continental Battalions, nor above the same proportion of Militia have been assembled, and the Supplies have been so inadequate that there was a necessity for dismissing all the Militia, whose immediate services could be dispensed with to lessen our Consumption, notwithstanding which the Troops now in the Field are severely suffering for want of Provision.

That the army at this Post and in the vicinity in operating Force consists of 10,400 Continental Troops and about 400 Militia, besides which is a Regiment of Continental Troops of about 500 at Rhode Island left there for the assistance of our Allies, against any attempt of the Enemy that way, and two Connecticut State Regiments amounting to 800 at North Castle.

That the Times for Service for which the Levies are Engaged will expire the first of January which, if not replaced, allowing for the usual Casualties, will reduce the Continental Army to less than 6000 men.

That since the state of the Council above referred to, the Enemy have brought a detachment of about 3000 men from Charles Town to New York, which makes the present operating Force in this Quarter between Ten and Eleven Thousand men.

That the Enemies Force now in the Southern States has not been lately ascertained by any distinct accounts, but the General supposes it cannot be less than 7,000 (of which about 2,000 are at Savannah) in this estimate the Diminution by the Casualties of the Climate, is supposed to be equal to the increase of Force derived from the Disaffected.

That added to the loss of Charles Town and its Garrison accounts of a recent misfortune are just arrived from Major *General Gates*, giving advice of a general action which happened on the 16th of August near Campden, in which the army under his Command met with a total defeat, and in all probability the whole of the Continental Troops, and a considerable part of the Militia would be cut off.

The State of Virginia has been sometime exerting itself to raise a Body of 3,000 Troops to serve till the end of December, 1781, but how far it has succeeded is not known.

That Maryland had resolved to raise 2,000 Men of which a sufficient number to compose one Battallion was to have come to this army. The remainder to recruit the Maryland line—but in consequence of the late advices, an order has been sent to march the whole Southward.

That the Enemies Force in Canada, Halifax, St. Augustine, and at Penobscot, remains much the same as stated in the preceding Council.

That there is still reason to believe the Court of France will prosecute its Original intention of giving effectual succor to this Country, as soon as circumstances will permit; and it is hoped the second Division will certainly arrive in the course of the fall.

That a Fleet greatly superior to that of the Enemy in the West Indies, and a formidable land Force had sailed sometime since from Martinique to make a Combined attack upon the Island of Jamaica, that there is a possibility of a reinforcement from this quarter also, to the Fleet of our Ally at Rhode Island.

The Commander-in-Chief having thus given the Council a full view of our present situation and future prospects, requests the Opinion of each member, in writing, what plan it will be advisable to pursue, to what objects Our Attention ought to be directed in the course of this fall and winter, taking into consideration the alternative of having a Naval Superiority, whether any offensive operations can be immediately undertaken and against what Point, what ought to be our immediate preparations and dispositions, particularly whether we can afford or ought to send any reinforcements from this army to the Southern States, and to what amount the General requests to be favored with these opinions by the 10th instant at farthest.

“This concludes the famous “*Andrè Papers.*” A more remarkable set of documents no man surely ever set foot on before. The papers themselves look yellow, are much crumpled and worn, and bear evident marks of age.”^a

* * * * *

“Upon this, we made him dress himself and I asked him what he would give us to let him go. He said he would give us any sum of

^a New York Herald, 1842.

money. I asked him whither he would give us his horse, saddle, bridle, watch and one hundred guineas. He said 'Yes,' and told us he would direct them to any place, even if it was that very spot, so that we could get them. I asked him whether he would not give us more. He said he would give us any quantity of Dry Goods, or any sum of money, and bring it to any place that we might pitch upon, so that we might get it. Mr. Paulding answered, 'No, if you would give us two thousand guineas you should not stir one step.' I then asked the person who had called himself John Anderson, if he would not get away if it lay in his power. He answered, 'Yes, I would.' I told him, I did not intend he should. While taking him along, we asked him a few questions; and we stopped under a shade. He begged us not to ask him questions and said when he came to any commander, he would reveal all. He was dressed in a blue over-coat and a tight body coat that was a kind of claret color, though a rather deeper red than claret. The button holes were laced with gold tinsel, and the buttons drawn over with the same kind of lace. He had on a round hat and nankeen waistcoat and breeches, with a flannel waistcoat and drawers, boots and thread stockings. According to John Yerks, the lower party were observed coming up the hill, Paulding^a leading the horse, upon which André was mounted. As they halted, Paulding exclaimed, "we have got a prisoner," and immediately ordered André to dismount. He then asked him for his watch, at the same time warning him not to make any attempt to escape; for if he did he was a dead man. After a short interval, Paulding (who appears to have been the master spirit upon this occasion,) ordered him to remount. They then led him off in the direction of North Castle, the nearest military post, where Lieut. Col. Jameson was stationed with a detachment of Sheldon's dragoons. The roads being carefully avoided, the party went with all speed across the fields, each taking their turns at the bridle, some marching on either side, the remainder bringing up the rear. During their progress to North Castle, the prisoner never spoke unless some question was asked; and then said but little in reply. On their route the party stopped for a short time at Jacob Romers,^b (in the

^a Paulding had effected his escape, only three days previous, from the New York Sugar House, in the dress of a German yager. General Van Cortlandt states that Paulding wore this dress on the day of the capture, which tended to deceive André, and led him to exclaim, in answer to their reply, "Thank God, I am once more among friends."

^b Mr. J. S. Lee, of Beekman Town, relates the following anecdote: "When they captured André, they brought him up the old Bedford road (now changed) till they came to a spring of water near the earth-works that were cast up to defend the river at the foot of Kaackout, a very high hill, having a commanding view; thence they took the fields across to the old White Plains' road (near where the county house now stands) to a small tavern kept by Isaac Reed and his wife Polly, (now known as the Landrine House); here they called for something to eat; but Aunt Polly's curiosity was excited at the sight of the stranger, and she asked, 'Who have you there?' 'None of your business,' they replied, 'Get us something to eat, in a hurry.' She flew around, and soon prepared some eggs and bacon, and then again repeated her question, 'Who have you there?' They replied, 'O, never mind now.' Soon

vicinity of the present poor-house,) where the captors took breakfast. The party again resumed their march, and within a short time arrived at North Castle. Here they delivered up their prisoner to Jameson, with all the papers that had been taken from his stockings.^a The prisoner was confined here in a small cottage, at present attached to the barn of Mr. Sands. Further details concerning the spy will be found in the respective towns.^b

Upon the delivery of their prisoner, the seven patriots returned to their different quarters, little imagining the importance of their prize. A little more than a month afterwards, (General Washington having recommended the captors to Congress,) they received the following vote of thanks from that body:

IN CONGRESS, NOVEMBER, 3, 1780.

WHEREAS, Congress have received information that John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac van Wart, three young volunteer militia men of the State of New York, did, on the 23d day of September last, intercept Major John Andre, adjut. general of the British army, on his return from the American line in the character of a spy; and notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdaining to sacrifice their country for the sake of gold, secured and conveyed him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Benedict Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, and the United States rescued from impending danger:

Resolved, That Congress have a high sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of the said John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac van Wart. In testimony whereof, Ordered, that each of them receive annually out of the public treasury two hundred dollars in specie, or an equivalent in current money of these States, during life, and that the board of war procure for each of them a

after the first left, one returned and said, 'Aunt Polly, can you keep a secret for an hour?' She thought she could. He then replied, 'We have a spy; but don't mention it to any one. For an hour, and then we shall be safe away.' As soon as they were gone, she felt an intense longing to tell Mrs. Gode, Hammond, living about a mile away. So she hurried about, caught a horse, and gave him a load of oats, to consume the time; and then thought that by the time she was dressed, the hour would have expired. But long before it had, she was ready; and, mounting on the old horse, with a large poke behind, went flying to Gode's residence. Mrs. Hammond saw her coming, and ran to inquire the cause. She repeated a volley of her bound and waving it around her head, saying, 'Hurrah! hurrah!' 'What's that?' she asked, 'is the matter?' asked Mrs. Hammond, 'Hurrah! They have taken a spy!' At which she dismounted; and the two old ladies, taking each other's hands, danced a jig, and then the old horse. This all acted the attention of a neighboring tory who was passing, and he asked what it meant? They replied a spy had been captured. This was very much, as the party were not more than 2 or 3 miles away at the time, on their journey to Gode's Jameson's head quarters, at North Castle. But Aunt Polly's curiosity got the better of her discretion.

^a It is a curious fact mentioned by Sparks in his Biography of Arnold, that the last canto of Andre's humorous satire, entitled the "Cow-chase," was printed on the very day of his capture. It will be found in *Baynton's Royal Gazette*, for Sept. 23d, 1780. It ends with the following stanza:

"And now I've closed my epic strain,
I treat ye as I show it,
I st this same warrior-drover, Wayne,
Should ever catch the poet."

—[Sparks' Biog. Arnold, 228.

^b See North Castle, S. Salem.

silver medalon—one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription, “*Fidelity*,” and on the other, the following motto, “*Vincit amor patriæ*,” and forward them to the Commander-in-Chief, who is requested to present the same, with a copy of this resolution, and the thanks of Congress for their fidelity and the eminent service they have rendered their country.

The State also gave each a farm.

The Westchester County Bank, at Peekskill, has commemorated this important event on its bills, by a beautiful vignette picture representing the arrest of the spy. He is in the act of supplicating his captors to let him escape, the discovered papers are in the hands of one of them, and the stern eyes of the others evince the determination to listen to no suggestions but those of patriotism. The form and features of André are admirably depicted, and a miniature hangs in his bosom exquisitely finished. This was a likeness of Miss Honora Sneyd, to whom he was devotedly attached.^a The picture had been painted by himself from the living features of the object of his affections. In 1775, he was taken prisoner by General Montgomery, at St. Johns, Canada; a few months afterwards, in a letter to a friend, he observes, “I have been taken prisoner by the Americans, and striped of every thing except the picture of Honora, which I concealed in my mouth. Preserving that, I think myself fortunate.”^b To this touching incident Anna Seward refers in her poem upon André.

“Shade of my love
'Tis free! These lips shall resolute enclose
The precious soother of my ceaseless woes.”

The above vignette suggested the following stanzas:

“Before their country’s foe they stand,
Each with a stern and searching eye;
Grasped with a firm and honest hand,
The hostile records open lie;
They read, and as each noble brow
Wears the quiet shadow of resolve,
The true and just exhibit now,
The secret which they dared to solve.

Away with gold! It has no power
To turn the true heart from its quest;
The ordeal of this solemn hour
Gives firmness to the patriot’s breast;
And as the tempter’s art is tried,

^a This lady died of consumption only a few months before André suffered at Tappan. She had married another gentleman four years after her engagement to André, which had been dissolved by parental affection.—[See Letters about the Hudson, published by Freeman & Hunt, 1837.

^b See Sparks’ Life of Arnold, p. 171.

He finds each supplication vain ;
 The weary prisoner turns aside,
 To hide his laboring bosom's pain.

Tumultuous thoughts upon his mind,
 In quick succession wildly crowd,
 As urged by the resistless wind,
 Spreads o'er the sky the tempest's cloud.
 Why bends his sad and languid glance
 Where, near his heart, that picture lies,
 Affection's fond inheritance,
 With sunny smile and loving eyes !

Alas ! Upon that face no more
 The eager gaze of hope can turn,
 The dream of early love is o'er,
 And ne'er again its fires will burn ;
 A shade is gathering o'er each tress,
 A gloom is lingering on the brow.
 And all its budding loveliness
 Is stained with tears of anguish now.

Brave, yet devoted ! On thy head
 The bolt, by others forged, shall fall ;
 And history on thy name shall shed
 Of fate, the wormwood and the gall ;
 Yet wert thou noble—and thy soul
 The battle and the storm withstood,
 Till bending to a stern control,
 'Twas by a traitor's lure subdued.

Peace to thy shade, ill-fated one !
 Though in the abbey's lengthened aisle,
 Scarce lit by the day's meridian sun,
 Thy marble bust may sadly smile,
 Yet is there darkness on thy name,
 Though gentle pity mourns for thee,
 While patriots bless the holy flame,
 Which kept thy captor's spirit free.

—[*Westchester and Putnam Republican.*

A remarkable incident is said to have befallen the celebrated white-wood tree near which the spy was captured. It was struck by lightning on the same day that the intelligence of General Arnold's death arrived at Tarrytown. This tree was a fine specimen of the ancient forest, being twenty-six feet in circumference, and its stem forty-one feet in length. At the present day not a vestige remains of "Major André's Tree," as it was familiarly called. It is thus beautifully described by the author of the Sketch Book : "This tree towered like a giant above all the other

trees of the neighborhood, and formed a kind of landmark. Its limbs were knarled and fantastic, large enough to form trunks for ordinary trees, twisting down almost to the earth, and rising again into the air. It was connected with the tragical story of the unfortunate André, who had been made a prisoner hard by, and was universally known by the name of 'Major André's Tree'. The common people regarded it with a mixture of respect and superstition, partly out of sympathy for the fate of its ill-starred namesake, and partly from tales of strange sights, and doleful lamentations told concerning it." It was while passing beneath this whitewood tree that Ichabod Crane, in his midnight career toward Sleepy Hollow, "suddenly heard a groan, his teeth chattered, and his knees smote against the saddle. It was but the rubbing of one huge branch upon another, as they were swayed about by the breeze. He passed the tree in safety, but new perils lay before him. About two hundred yards from the tree, a small brook crossed the road, and ran into a marshy and thickly wooded glen, known by the name of "Wiley's Swamp." A few rough logs laid side by side, served for a bridge over this stream. On that side of the road where the brook entered the wood, a group of oaks and chestnuts, matted thick with wild grape vines, threw a cavernous gloom over it. To pass this bridge was the severest trial. It was at this identical spot that the unfortunate André was captured; and under the covert of these chestnuts and vines were the sturdy yeomen concealed, who surprised him. This has ever since been considered a haunted stream, and fearful are the feelings of the schoolboy who has to pass it alone after dark."^a

"According to Debrett, Burke, and other genealogical authorities, John André was descended from a French refugee family settled in England at Southampton in the County of Hants,"^b "His mother whose name was Mary Louise André Girardot, though of French parentage, was born at London. His father, a native of Geneva, was born in Switzerland; but it would seem that a very considerable portion of his life must have been passed at London, where he carried on an extensive business in the Levant Trade, and where also, in 1780, several of his brothers had their abode. Of these Dr. Andree, of Halton Gardens, was apparently the only one who preserved what is said to have been an earlier method of spelling the family name. Notwithstanding the establishment of a part of the André family in England its connections upon the continent would appear to have been the most numerous and the most permanent."^c

^a See Sketch Book, Beauties of Irving, &c., &c.

^b The Arms of André or Andree, are Ar., two mullets, in chief az. and a galley, her oars in action, in base sa. Crest, a millrind az.

^c Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

Among these was the Swedish Minister, Monsieur André, uncle to Major André; another was the "celebrated Johann André, author of the opera of 'The Potter,' who was born at Offenbach in 1741, and who died in 1799."^a

Though as yet opportunity is wanting to verify the supposition, there is strong reason to believe that a near connection existed between the immediate family of Major André and the once celebrate St. André of Southampton—a character of whose career is scarcely to be paralleled even in the pages of Gil Blas. This person came over to England from his native Switzerland, at a very early age and, probably, towards the close of the seventeenth century. By his own account, his origin was perfectly respectable, and even distinguished; and in his later days he would assert that by right he was possessed of a title."^b Major John André was born either in London or Southampton, A. D. 1751. He was first placed in school at Hackney, under a Mr. Newcombe; whence after a time he was withdrawn and sent for several years to Geneva to complete his education. He was master of many things that in those days very rarely constituted a part of a gentleman's education, and which, indeed, even in these are to be found rather in exceptions than the rule. The modern European languages—French, German, Italian, &c., are said to have been possessed by him in singular perfection; while in music, painting, drawing and dancing, he particularly excelled. When we consider that with these accomplishments was joined a nature always ambitious of distinction, a mind stored with the *belles lettres* of the day, and endowed not only with a taste for poetry, but with considerable readiness in its composition; added to his person which, though slender, was remarkably active and graceful, we need not wonder that his attractions were such as to win the favor of all with whom he came in contact. At the university of Geneva he was remarked for a diligent student, and for an active and inquiring mind; and in special was distinguished by his proficiency in the schools of mathematics and of military drawings. To his skill in this last branch, his subsequent rapid advancement in the army was in great part attributable." In 1767 or 1768, when about sixteen or seventeen years of age, he entered the counting-house of his father. Nor did the death of his father, which occurred at the house in Clapton (called the Manor house) in April, 1769, make at the time any material difference in the nature of his avocations.

What family was left by the elder André can only be gathered from the fact that in 1780, besides his widow, there still remained a second

^a Ditto.

^b Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

^c Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

son, William Lewis, who was eight years behind his brother: and three daughters, Louisa Catherine, Mary Hannah and Anne. The last is said to have been distinguished for a poetical talent.^a Of these sisters, Louisa Catherine was born 1754, and Mary Hannah about 1752, according to the inscriptions in the church yard at Bath-Hampton, where they are buried; the last of these two dates going far to fix that of Major André's birth as of 1751.

In 1780, also, there were yet living at London, two brothers of the elder André: Mr. David André, of New Broad street, and Mr. John Lewis André, of Warnford Court, Throgmorton street, who were known to the community as respectable Turkey merchants, and who doubtless still carried on at the old place, the business in which their brother had prospered well, but which their nephews had declined.^b

In 1769, while at the head of his mother's house at Buxton, Matlock, he first became acquainted with Miss Seward.^c It is almost certain that he formed with another lady a friendship that left its coloring on the whole of his future life.^d This was Miss Honora Sneyd, daughter of Edward, the younger son of Ralph Sneyd, Esq., of Bishton, in Staffordshire. This lady in 1773, married Richard Lovell Edgeworth. Upon finding that his attentions to Miss Sneyd were unavailing, Mr. André quitted his profession and entered the British Army in America. His first commission was dated March 4th, 1771.

The regiment which André joined was the Seventh Foot, or Royal English Fusiliers; one of the oldest corps in the line, and dating its formation in the year 1685. The rank of ensign does not exist in a fusilier regiment, the grade being supplied by a second lieutenant; it was in this latter capacity that he seems to have first served. In April, 1773, the regiment had been embarked for Canada, where it performed garrison duty at Quebec for several months, until it was sent to Montreal, and variously posted in Lower Canada. Before leaving England to join it, however, it is asserted that André paid a final visit of farewell to Miss Seward and to the scenes of his former happiness. During his stay, we are told, Miss Seward had made arrangements to take him to see and be introduced to her friends, Cunningham and Newton—both gentlemen of a poetical turn.^e

Whilst these two gentlemen were awaiting the arrival of their guests,

^a Ditto.

^b Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

^c Ditto. Anna Seward, the enologist of Major André, was born at Lyam, in Derbyshire in 1747. The Bishops Palace at Lichfield, in which her father—who was a Canon of the Cathedral there—was the headquarters of the literary world of that region, and of the better classes of society generally.

^d Life of André, by Sargent.

^e Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

of whose intentions they had been apprised. Mr. Cunningham mentioned to Newton that, on the preceding night, he had a very extraordinary dream, which he could not get out of his head. He had fancied himself in a forest; the place was strange to him; and, whilst looking about, he perceived a horseman approaching at great speed, who had scarcely reached the spot where the dreamer stood, when three men rushed out of the thicket, and, seizing the bridle, hurried him away, after closely searching his person. The countenance of the stranger being very interesting, the sympathy felt by the sleeper for his apparent misfortune awoke him; but he presently fell asleep again, and dreamt that he was standing near a great city, amongst thousands of people, and that he saw the same person he had seen seized in the wood, brought out and suspended to a gallows. When André and Miss Seward arrived, he was horror-struck to perceive that his new acquaintance was the antitype of man in the dream.^a

In the 3d November, 1775, he was taken prisoner with the garrison by the Americans under General Montgomery at St. John's in Canada. Towards the close of the year 1776 most of the prisoners made by either side in Canada were exchanged and André thus obtained his freedom by their means, through whom he had lost it. The skeleton of the Seventh was transferred from that Province to New York; recruits and new clothing were sent out from England; and in the end of December, the regiment, including the men lately discharged from Pennsylvania, marched into town with tolerably full ranks. André did not, however, long remain in it; on the 18th January, 1777, he received a captaincy in the Twenty-sixth, which had been so augmented that each company consisted of sixty-four men, exclusive of commissioned officers. But a staff appointment was his legitimate sphere, and there was for the time none such vacant. He therefore remained on line duty. His regiment was fortunately not one of those that Tryon led in April, 1777, to Danbury; otherwise he might have met Benedict Arnold face to face and shared in the questionable glories of what Clinton honestly confesses to have been "a second Lexington."^b In the beginning of the summer he was named aide-de-camp to Major-General Grey. In Grey's retirement André, with the provincial rank of Major, was appointed aide to Sir Henry Clinton, the son of Admiral George Clinton, once Governor of New York, who was second son of the ninth earl of Lincoln. André's conspicuous merit and aimable character had soon made him the most important person of Clinton's staff, and won the admiration of all who

^a Ainsworth's Magazine.

^b Clinton M. S.

had business with the General. He would promptly inform them whether or not he could engage in their affairs, if he declined, his reasons were always polite and satisfactory; if he consented, the applicant was sure of an answer from Sir Henry within twenty-four hours. Clinton's confidence was evidenced in the spring of 1779 by his appointment of André, with Colonel West Hyde of the Guards, as commissioner to negotiate with the Americans an exchange of prisoners.^a The following extract is from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 1780-1781: "Major André had ye address to insinuate himself so much unto ye favour of his commander-in-chief that he was said to have gained an absolute ascendancy over this officer. The consequence was that he disposed of all his offices and favours and drove out from Sir Henry's family all his former favourites, &c. Letter from a Carolina Exile. When Major Stephen Kemble, the brother-in-law of General Gage resigned the adjutant-major-generaley, it was forthwith bestowed upon André, and thenceforth all the business at headquarters of the Department passed through his hands. It was thus at the beginning of the Fall in 1779, that he commenced the virtual discharge of the Adjutant-generaley in which he continued till his death." It was in March or April, 1779, that General Arnold, commanding at Philadelphia, had, under the feigned name of Gustavus, begun a secret correspondence with Clinton; who committed the matter to the hands of André. The latter wrote over the signature of John Anderson; and was replied to as "Mr. John Anderson, merchant, to the care of James Osborn, to be left at the Rev. Mr. Odell's, New York." Though at the outset the English had no clue to their correspondent's identity, the character and value of his information soon led them to suspect it; and it is supposed by some, that this letter to Mr. Arnold was written with the view of making clear to her husband the character of its author, and to invite a return of confidence. This may possibly have been the case; but all my investigations show that the lady had not any suspicion of the dealings between the parties, or was ever intrusted by either side with the least knowledge of what was going on. Equally false, in my judgment, is the charge that she tempted her husband to treason. Her purity and elevation of character, have not less weight in the contradiction of this aspersion, than the testimony of all chiefly concerned in the discovery and punishment of the crime. "After the fall of Charleston in 1780, we are told that there was an opinion current in the American line that André had been present within its line during the siege, as a spy." It is but just to add, that, if this story of André's having been a spy at Charleston, received credence in respectable quarters, it was afterwards

^a Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

questioned by gentlemen of equal character in our service." "The secret correspondence with Arnold begun in 1779, had, at an early stage, been intrusted by Clinton to André's exclusive management.

The information received was valuable and often highly important, nor was it long questionable from what quarter it came. In an elaborately disguised hand Arnold wrote over the signature of Gustavus,—a pseudonym perhaps suggested by the romantic story of Gustavus Vasa, in whose love of military glory, undaunted boldness, and successful revolt against the unwonted lords of his native land, he might persuade himself, his own character found a counterpart. On the other part, the fictitious name of Anderson was but a transparent play upon André's own. The accuracy and nature of the intelligence soon gave Clinton concern to know with certainty its author; and once satisfied in his mind that this was no other than Arnold, he took his cue from circumstances, and delayed the final consummation until a period when the loss of a correspondent so valuable would be compensated by weightier gains than the individual defection of an officer of rank. Thus he continued to receive the most momentous revelations of our affairs; and it may possibly have been that through these means a knowledge was acquired of the condition of Carolina, that led to the fall of Charleston.* "On August 3d, 1780, Arnold was appointed to the command of West Point and its dependencies; and it was forthwith concerted that his treason should be fully developed with the greatest possible advantage to the British."

The moment was a truly favorable one, the English were weary of the continued strife, and really anxious for peace with America on almost any terms that might not involve Independency. On the other hand, too, America was tired with the war. Various letters now passed between André and Arnold and an interview concerted. On Sept. 19th, Colonel Williams of the 18th, then billeted at Kepp's House on the East River, gave a dinner to Clinton and his staff as a parting compliment to André. How brilliant soever the company, how cheerful the repast, its memory must have ever been fraught with sadness to both host and guests. It was the last occasion of André's meeting his comrades in life. Four short days gone, the hands then clasped by friendship were fettered with hostile bonds; yet nine days more, and the darling of the army, the youthful hero of the hour, had dangled from a gibbet.

It was recollected with peculiar interest that when at this banquet the

* It is curious that so long before as 1776, Col. Gedwitz, of our army, entered into negotiations with the enemy almost identical with those now conducted by Arnold. The delivery of the forts on the North River was the ultimate design of either traitor. Gedwitz was guilty; but he was acquitted because the court did not think his offence merited death.

song came to his turn, André gave the favorite military chanson attributed to Wolfe, who sung it on the eve of the battle where he died :

“ Why, soldiers, why
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why,
Whose business 'tis to die!
For should next campaign
Send us to Him who made us, boys,
We're free from pain:
But should we remain,
A bottle and kind land-lady
Makes all well again.”^a

The circumstances relative to Major André's arrest has already been related.

“ On Friday the 29th September, 1780, just one week since he had started from Smith's house for New York, André was brought before a Board of Enquiry convened by General Washington. It was assembled in an old Dutch church in Tappan, now pulled down, and consisted of the following officers: Major-Generals, Greene, Sterling, St. Claire, La Fayette, Howe and Steuben; Brigadiers, Parsons, Clinton, Knox, Glover, Patterson, Hand, Huntington and Starke. Greene was president, and John Lawrence the judge-advocate-general. Before this court André made the following statement :

ANDRÉ'S STATEMENT.

“ On the 20th of December I left New York to get on board the *Vulture*, in order (as I thought) to meet General Arnold there in the night. No boat, however, came off, and I waited on board until the night of the 21st. During the day, a flag of truce was sent from the *Vulture* to complain of the violation of a military rule in the instance of a boat having been decoyed on shore by a flag, and fired upon. The letter was addressed to General Arnold, signed by Captain Sutherland, but written in my hand, and countersigned ‘J. Anderson, secretary.’ Its intent was to indicate my presence on board the *Vulture*. In the night of the 21st, a boat with Mr. — and two hands came on board, in order to fetch Mr. Anderson on shore; and, if too late to bring me back, to lodge me until the next night in a place of safety. I went into the boat, landed, and spoke with Arnold. I got on horseback with him to proceed to — house; and, on the way, passed a guard I did not expect to see; having Sir Henry Clinton's directions not to go within an enemy's post, or to quit my own dress. In the morning A. quitted me, having himself made me put the papers I bore between my stockings and feet. Whilst he did it, he expressed a wish that, in case of any accident befalling me, they should be destroyed; which, I said, of course would be the case, as when I went into the boat I should have

^a Life of Major André by Winthrop Sargent.

them tied about me with a string and a stone. Before we parted, some mention had been made of my crossing the river, and going by another route; but, I objected much against it, and thought it was settled that in the way I came I was to return.

“Mr. —, to my great mortification, persisted in his determination of carrying me by the other route; and, at the decline of the sun, I set out on horse-back, passed King’s Ferry and came to Crompond, where a party of militia stopped us and advised we should remain. In the morning I came with — as far as within two miles and a half of Pine’s Bridge, where he said he must part with me, as the *Cour-boys* infested the road thenceforth. I was now near thirty miles from Kingsbridge, and left to the chance of passing that space undiscovered. I got to the neighborhood of Tarrytown, which was far beyond the points described as dangerous, when I was taken by three volunteers, who, not satisfied with my pass, rifled me, and, finding papers, made me a prisoner.

“I have omitted mentioning that, when I found myself within an enemy’s post, I changed my dress.”

The proceedings, as published by Congress, being rather a manifesto than a report of a trial, make no mention of this statement. It gives, however, what is doubtless designed for an abstract of its contents and of his oral replies to interrogations. The italics are from the pamphlet:

“That he came ashore from the *Vulture* sloop-of-war in the *night* of the 21st September inst. somewhere under the Haverstraw mountain. That the boat he came on shore in, carried *no flag*; and that he had on a surtout coat over his regimentals, and that he wore his surtout coat when he was taken. That he met Gen. Arnold on the shore, and had an interview with him there. He also said that when he left the *Vulture* sloop-of-war, it was understood that he was to return that night: but it was then doubted; and, if he could not return, he was promised to be *concealed on shore*, in a place of safety, until the next *night*, when he was to return in the same manner he came on shore; and when the next day came, he was solicitous to get back, and made enquiries during the course of the day, how he should return; when he was informed he could not return that way, and must take the route he did afterwards. He also said that the first notice he had of his being within any of *our out posts* was, being challenged by the sentry, which was the first night he was on shore. He also said, that the evening of the 22d September inst., he passed *King’s Ferry, between our posts of Stony and Verplank’s Points, in the dress he is at present in, and which, he said, is not his regimentals*, and which dress he procured after he landed from the *Vulture*, and when he was within *our posts*, and that he was proceeding to New York, but was taken on his way at Tarrytown, as he has mentioned in his letter, on Saturday the 23d September inst. about nine o’clock in the morning.”

The six papers from Arnold being produced, he acknowledged they were found in his boots; the pass to John Anderson was also owned and the fact that he had assumed that name. Anderson’s letter to Sheldon, of September 7th, (*Anti. page 262*) was also read. He avowed himself its author; but though it went to prove his intention not to en-

ter our lines, he observed that it could not affect the present case, as he wrote it in New York under Clinton's orders:

"The Board having interrogated Major André about his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag *he said that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under that sanction*; and added, that if he came on shore under that sanction, he certainly might have returned under it.

"Major André having acknowledged the preceding facts, and being asked whether he had anything to say respecting them, answered, He left them to operate with the Board."

It was probably in connection with this point of a flag that Greene asked the question:—"When you came on shore from the *Vulture*, Major André, and met General Arnold, did you consider yourself acting as a private individual, or as a British officer?" "I wore my uniform," was the reply, and undoubtedly esteemed myself to be what indeed I was, a British officer." It will be recollected that it was not as an officer he was acting and clad when he was arrested.^a

His personal examination being now concluded the prisoner was remanded into custody.

"The Board having considered the letter from His Excellency General Washington, respecting Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, the confession, of Major André and the paper produced to them, REPORT to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the following fact which appear to them concerning Major André.

"*First*, That he came on shore from the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, in the *night* of the 21st September inst. on an interview with General Arnold, *in a private and secret manner*.

"*Secondly*, That he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name, and in a *disguised habit*, passed our works at *Stony and Verplanck's Points* the evening of the 22nd September inst. and was taken the morning of the 23rd September inst. at *Tarrytown* in a *disguised habit*. being then on his way to New York, and, *when taken*, he had in his possession several papers, which contained *intelligence for the enemy*.

"The Board having maturely considered these facts, Do also Report to His Excellency General Washington, that Major André; Adjutant-General to the British army ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to suffer death."

"Intelligence of the finding of the court and of his fate were communicated to André through two officers from Greene, one of whom was his aide, Major Burnet. The sentence was listened to with a composure that his informants vainly strove to emulate. The prisoner had steeled himself to encounter death: "I avow no guilt," he said, "but I am resigned to my fate." Yet he shrunk from the idea of the halter. "Sir, I

^a I have this anecdote from Mr. Spark's, who received it from La Fayette himself.

it was his lot to die," he said, "there was still a choice in the mode which would make a material difference to his feelings, and he would be happy, if possible, to be indulged with a professional death; and he seems to have at once verbally petitioned, probably through Hamilton, that Washington would consent to his being shot probably anticipating no refusal to his request he retained for some time a tranquility of spirit approaching even to cheerfulness.

On the morning of the day originally fixed for his death André made a moving appeal for a change of its mode.

ANDRÉ TO WASHINGTON.

TAPPAN, 1ST OCTOBER, 1780.

Sir:—Buoy'd above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honorable pursuits and stained with no action that can give me remorse. I trust that the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem toward me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of those feelings in your heart by being informed that I am not to die on the gibbet: I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRÉ, *Adj.-Gen. to the British Army.*

"This was probably the second and last letter written by André to Washington; the latter being unable to grant the request was unwilling to wound the writer by a refusal, therefore did not reply.

Letters of farewell to his mother and his nearest friends were written, and the condemned man's calmness was still evinced in the exercise of his pen. On this same evening he sketched from memory, as a memento for a friend in New York, the striking view of the North River that had presented itself to him as he looked from the window of Smith's house, and figured the position of the *Vulture* as she rode at anchor beyond his reach. Tradition also assigns to this occasion the composition of some last verses, that were long cherished on the lips of the common people. The morning of Tuesday, October the 2d, 1780, found him with his mortal duties all performed and not afraid to die.

The prisoner's board was supplied from Washington's own table; on this day his breakfast was sent him as usual, from the General's quarters. He ate with entire composure, and then proceeded to shave and dress with particular care. He was fully arrayed in the habits of his rank and profession, with the exception of sash and spurs, sword and yorget. The toilet completed, he laid his hat on the table and cheerfully said to the

guard officers deputed to lead him forth, "I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait on you." Though his face was of deadly paleness, its features were tranquil and calm; his beauty shone with an unnatural distinctness that awed the hearts of the vulgar, and his manners and air were as easy as though he was going to a ball-room rather than the grave.

The spot fixed for the closing scene was in an open field belonging to the owner of the house where he was detained, and on an eminence that commands an extended view. It was within a mile, and in open sight of Washington's quarters. Here the lofty gibbet was erected, and the shallow grave of three or four feet depth was digged. The office of hangman, always an odious employment, was perhaps on this occasion more than usually so. None of our soldiers undertook it. One Strickland, a tory of Ramapo Valley, was in our hands at the time. His threatened fate may have been hard; his years were not many; and by the price of freedom he procured to take on himself the necessary but revolting character. Under an elaborate disguise, he probably hoped to go through the scene if not unnoticed, at least unknown.

Besides the officers that were always in the chamber, six sentinels kept watch by night and by day, over every aperture of the building; if hope of escape ever rose in André's breast it could not have developed into even the vaguest expectation. To the idea of suicide as a means of avoiding his doom, he never descended. The noon of this day was appointed for the execution, and at half an hour before, the cortege set forth. André walked arm in arm between two subalterns; each, it is said, with a drawn sword in the opposite hand. A captain's command of thirty or forty men, marched immediately about these, while an outer guard of five hundred infantry, environed the whole and formed a hollow square around the gibbet, within which no one save the officers on duty, and the Provost-Marshal's men, were suffered to enter. An immense multitude was, however, assembled on all sides to witness the spectacle; and every house along the way was thronged with eager gazers, that only of Washington's excepted. Here the shutters were drawn and no man was visible but the two sentries who paced to and fro before the door. Neither the chief himself, nor his staff, were present with the troops; a circumstance which was declared by our people, and assented to by André, as evincing a laudable decorum. But almost every field-officer in our army, led by Greene, headed the procession on horseback, and a number followed the prisoner on foot; while the outer guard, stretching in single file on either side, in front and rear, prevented the concourse from crowding in. In addition to all those who came in

on the count's side, it is unlikely that many of the army who could contrive to be present missed the sight. Every eye was fixed on the prisoner; and every face wore such an aspect of melancholy and gloom, that the impression produced on some of our officers was not only affecting but awful.

Keeping pace with the melancholy notes of the dead march the procession marched along; no member of it apparently less troubled than he whose conduct was its cause and whose death was its object.^a In the beautiful Orientalism of Sir William Jones, "he dying only smiled, while all around him grieved." His heart told him that a life honorably spent in the pursuit of glory would not leave his name to be enrolled among those of the ignoble or guilty many: and his face bespoke the serenity of an approving and undismayed conscience. From time to time, as he caught the eye of an acquaintance—and especially to officers of the Court of Enquiry—he tendered the customary civilities of recognition, and received their acknowledgements with composure and grace. It seems that up to this moment he was persuaded that he was not to be hanged, but to be shot to death; and the inner guard in attendance he took to be the firing party detailed for the occasion. Not until the troops turned suddenly, at a right angle with the course they had hitherto followed, and the gallows rose high before him, was he undeceived. In the very moment of wheeling with his escort, his eye rested on the ill-omened tree, and he recoiled and paused. "Why this emotion, sir?" asked Smith, who held one of his arms. "I am reconciled to my fate," said André, clenching his fist and convulsively moving his arms; "but not to the mode of it." "It is unavoidable, sir," was the reply. He beckoned Tallmadge, and inquired anxiously if he was not to be shot: "Must I then die in this manner?" Being told that it was so ordered, "How hard is my fate!" he cried; "but it will soon be over."

Ascending the hill side, the prisoner was brought to the gibbet, while the outer guard secured the ceremony from interruption. During the brief preparations, his manner was nervous and restless—uneasily rolling a pebble to and fro beneath the ball of his foot, and the gland of his throat sinking and swelling as though he choked with emotion. His servant who had followed him to this point now burst forth with loud weeping and lamentations, and André for a little turned aside and privately conversed with him. He shook hands with Tallmadge, who withdrew. A baggage wagon was driven beneath the cross-tree into which

^a Benjamin Abbott, a drum-major, who beat the dead march on this occasion, died at Nashua, N. H., in 1851, aged 92. Peter Besancon who followed La Fayette hither from France, and who died at Warsaw, New York, in 1855, was probably the last surviving spectator.

he leaped lightly, but with visible loathing; and throwing his hat aside, removed his stock, opened his shirt-collar, and snatching the rope from the clumsy hangman, himself adjusted it about his neck. He could not conceal his disgust at these features of his fate; but it was expressed in manner rather than in language. Then he bound his handkerchief over his eyes.

The order of execution was loudly and impressively read by our Adjutant-General Scammel, who at its conclusion, informed André he might now speak, if he had anything to say. Lifting the bandage for a moment from his eyes, he bowed courteously to Greene and the attending officers, and said with firmness and dignity:—

“All I request of you, gentlemen, is that you will bear witness to the world that I die like a brave man.” His last words murmured in an undertone were,—“It will be but a momentary pang.”

Every thing seemed now ready, when the commanding officer on duty suddenly cried out,—“His arms must be tied!”

The hangman, with a piece of cord, laid hold of him to perform this order; but recoiling from his touch, André vehemently struck away the man's hand, and drew another handkerchief from his pocket with which his elbows were loosely pinioned behind his back. The signal was given; the wagon rolled swiftly away, and almost in the same instant he ceased to live. The height of the gibbet, the length of the cord, and the sudden shock as he was jerked from the coffin-lid on which he stood, produced immediate death.

From an eye witness, we have the following account of André's execution.

“During the whole transaction, he appeared as little daunted as Mr. John Rogers is said to have done when he was about to be burnt at the stake; but his countenance was rather pale. He remained hanging, I should think, from twenty to thirty minutes; and during that time, the chambers of death were never stiller than the multitude by which he was surrounded. Orders were given to cut the rope and take him down, without letting him fall. This was done, and his body carefully laid on the ground. Shortly after, the guard was withdrawn, and spectators were permitted to come forward and view the corpse; but the crowd was so great that it was some time before I could get an opportunity. When I was able to do this, his coat, vest and breeches, were taken off, and his body was laid in the coffin, covered by some under-clothes. The top of the coffin was not put on. I viewed the corpse more carefully than I had ever done any human being before. His head was very much on one side, in consequence of the manner in which the halter drew upon his neck. His face appeared to be greatly swollen, and very black, much resembling a high degree of mortification. It was, in-

deed, a shocking sight to behold. There were at this time standing at the foot of the coffin, two young men, of uncommon short stature; I should think not more than four feet high. Their dress was the most gaudy that I ever beheld. One of them had the clothes, just taken from André, langing on his arm. I took particular pains to learn who they were, and was informed that they were his servants sent up from New York to take his clothes; but what other business I did not learn. I now turned to take a view of the executioner, who was still standing by one of the posts of the gallows. I walked nigh enough to him to have laid my hand upon his shoulder, and looked him directly in the face. He appeared to be about twenty-five years of age, his beard of two or three weeks growth, and his whole face covered with what appeared to me to be blacking taken from the outside of a greasy pot. A more frightful looking being I never beheld; his whole countenance bespoke him to be a fit instrument for the business he had been doing. Wishing to see the closing of the whole business, I remained upon the spot until scarce twenty persons were left; but the coffin was still beside the grave, which had previously been dug. I now returned to my tent, with my mind deeply imbued with the shocking scene I had been called to witness."

Every authentic account that we have, shows how much our officers regretted the necessity of André's death, and how amply they fulfilled his parting adjuration. "The tears of thousands," says Thacher, "fell on the spot where he lay, and no one refrained from proclaiming his sympathy. Many wept openly as he died; among whom, it is recorded, (apparently on the testimony of Laune) was La Fayette. Certainly the marquis bore witness to the infinite regret with which the fate of such a noble and magnanimous character inspired him. It was believed in the army that Washington's soul revolted at the task, and that he could scarcely command the pen when he subscribed the fatal warrant. An American officer who was present, and who brought the news to Burgoyne's troops detained at Winchester, asserted that our General shed tears on the execution, and would fain have changed its mode.

The sorrow and indignation of André's friends gave occasion to many unfounded charges. At Southampton, where his family connections extended, it was reported that Clinton solicited "as a singular favor," after his dear friend and companion should be hung, the body might be sent to him. But Washington refused. Clinton then sent again, that since the sentence was to bury the body under the gallows, it might be taken up and brought to New York, there to be interred with the military honors due to so brave and accomplished a young man. This, Washington also refused.

This silly tale is sufficiently exposed by Sir Henry's own statement that he knew not of his Adjutant's being hanged till the arrival of Laune

with his master's baggage, told him all was over. When the burial at the gibbet's foot was about to be made, the man had demanded André's uniform, which was accordingly removed and given him. The corpse was then laid in the earth, and no monument but the usual cairn such as rose over the spot where Gustavus fell at Lutzen "for liberty of conscience," marked the solitary grave. The surrounding field was cultivated, but the plough still shunned the place; for it was customary in this region for the laborers in the tillage to spare the soil that covered a soldier; and as early as 1778, the fields of Long Island were noticed to be checkered over with patches of wild growth that showed where men lay who were slain in the battle there.

With generous sensibility, Colonel William S. Smith of our army, embraced the opportunity, of purchasing the watch that the captors had taken. It was sold for their benefit, thirty guineas. He bought it; and mindful of the tender affection with which André had been heard to speak of his mother and sisters in England, sent it in to Robertson to be transmitted to these ladies. The unfortunate man's will testifies with what regard his whole domestic circle was held. It was sworn to before Carey Ludlow, Surrogate of New York, and admitted to probate October 12th, 1780.

MAJOR ANDRÉ'S WILL.

"The following is my last will and testament, and I appoint as executors there-to Mary Louisa André, my mother; David André, my uncle; Andrew Girardot, my uncle; John Lewis André, my uncle; to each of the above executors I give fifty pounds. I give to Mary Hannah André, my sister, seven hundred pounds. I give to Louisa Catherine André, my sister, seven hundred pounds, I give to William Lewis André, my brother, seven hundred pounds. But the condition on which I give the above mentioned sums, to my afore said brother and sisters, are that each of them shall pay to Mary Louisa André, my mother, the sum of ten pounds yearly, during her life. I give to Walter Ewer, Jr., of Dyer's Court, Aldermanbury, one hundred pounds. I give to John Ewer, Jr., of Lincoln's Inn, one hundred pounds. I desire a ring, value fifty pounds, to be given to my friend, Peter Boissier, of the 11th Dragoons. I desire that Walter Ewer, Jr., of Dyers Court, Aldermanbury, have the inspection of my papers, letters and manuscripts; I mean that he have the first inspection of them, with liberty to destroy or detain whatever he thinks proper, and I desire my watch to be given him. And I lastly give and bequeath to my brother John Lewis André, the residue of all my effects whatsoever. Witness my hand and seal, Staten Island, in the Province of New York, North America, 7th June, 1777.

JOHN ANDRÉ,

CAPTAIN IN THE 26TH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

N. B.—The currency alluded to in my will is sterling money of Great Britain. I desire nothing more than my wearing apparel to be sold at auction."

“It may well be supposed that the news of the execution was received at New York in sorrow and anger. Joshua Smith says:—“No language can describe the mingled sensations of sorrow, grief, sympathy and revenge, that agitated the whole garrison; a silent gloom overspread the general countenance; the whole army, and citizens of the first distinction, went into mourning.” Miss Seward also mentions the signs of grief the troops displayed in their apparel; and in November a London account censures Clinton for not employing the heated animosity of his men to strike an avenging blow. “The troops at New York on hearing of his execution raised such an outcry for vengeance, and to be led to the attack of Washington’s camp, that the Commander-in-Chief could hardly keep them within the bounds of discipline; and many letters mention, that as Sir Henry had an army at least equal to Washington’s, he ought to have indulged them—for the determined spirit with which they were actuated, would have made them invincible against any superiority. On this account the military critics say, “he has given another convincing proof that he is a General who does not know when to act. After this, few rebel prisoners will be taken. The universal cry of the soldiers at New York is, ‘REMEMBER ANDRÉ!’”

But if Clinton would not expose his men to the doubtful enterprise, he was not unmindful either of the fame or the last wishes of his friend. By public orders, his memory was released from any imputation that might arise from the manner of his death :

*Head-Quarters New York,)
8th Oct. 1780.)*

“The Commander-in-Chief does, with infinite regret, inform the army of the death of the Ajudant General, Major André.

“The unfortunate fate of this officer calls upon the Commander-in-Chief to declare his opinion that he ever considered Major André as a gentleman—as well as in the line of his military profession, of the highest integrity and honor, and incapable of any base action or unworthy conduct.

Major André’s death is very severely felt by the Commander-in-Chief, as it assuredly will be by the army; and must prove a real loss to his country, and to his Majesty’s service.”

How far the army felt their loss may be gathered from Simcoe’s orders to his own regiment (the Queen’s Rangers) by the officers and men of which André was personally known. He commanded them to wear, for the future, black and white feathers as mourning for a soldier “whose superior integrity and uncommon ability did honor to his country and human nature, &c.”^a

^a Simcoe’s *Mem.*, Jour., 152.

It is to the pervading interest that attached itself to André's story, and the romantic character of his career, that the origin of the ghost-stories about him may be attributed. There is yet another connected with him:

"Miss H. B., was on a visit to Miss André, and being very intimate with the latter, shared her bed. One night she was awakened by the violent sobs of her companion, and upon entreating to know the cause, she said: 'I have seen my dear brother, and he has been taken prisoner.' It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader that Major André was then with the British army during the heat of the American war. Miss B., soothed her friend, and both fell asleep, when Miss André once more started up, exclaiming, 'They are trying him as a spy;' and she described the nature of the court, the proceedings of the judge and prisoner, with the greatest minuteness. Once more the poor sister's terrors were calmed by her friend's tender representations, but a third time she awoke screaming that they were hanging him as a spy on a tree and his regimentals, with many other circumstances! There was no more sleep for the friend; they got up, and entered each in her own pocket-book the particulars stated by the terror-stricken sister, with the dates; both agreed to keep the source of their own presentiment and fear from the poor mother, fondly hoping they were built on the fabric of a vision. But, alas! as soon as news, in those days, could cross the Atlantic, the fatal tidings came; and to the deep awe, as well as sad grief of the young ladies, every circumstance was exactly imparted to them as had been shadowed forth in the fond sister's sleeping fancy, and had happened on the very day preceding the night of her dream. The writer thinks this anecdote has not been related by Miss Seward, Dr. Darwin, or the Edgeworths, father and daughter, who have all given to the public many interesting events in the brilliant but brief career of Major André."

It is creditable to the British Government that in consideration of the magnitude of André's attempted service, and the disastrous fate with which his efforts were crowned, nothing was wanting to testify either its care for his fame or its respect for his wishes. On the 13th November, Captain St. George, Clinton's aide, delivered that General's despatches of the 12th October, to Lord George Germain:

"The unexpected and melancholy turn which my negotiations with General Arnold took with respect to my Adjutant-General, has filled my mind with the deepest concern. He was an active, intelligent and useful officer, and a young gentleman of the most promising hopes. Therefore, as he has unfortunately fallen a sacrifice to his great zeal for the King's service, I judged it right to consent to his wish, intimated to me in his letter of the 29th Sept., of which I have the honor to enclose your lordship a copy, that his company which he purchased should be sold for the benefit of his mother and sisters. But I trust, my lord, that your lordship will think Major André's misfortune still calls for some further support to his family; and I beg leave to make it my humble request that you will have the goodness to recommend them in the strongest manner to the King, for some beneficial and distinguishing mark of His Majesty's favor."^a

^a MSS. Sir H. Clinton to Lord G. Germain, (Separate,) New York, 12th Oct. 1780, S. P. O.

What was asked, was granted. The King is said to have instantly ordered a thousand guineas from the privy purse, to be sent to Mrs. André, and an annual pension of £300 to be settled on her for life, with reversion to her children or the survivor of them; and after knighthood was proffered on the 24th of March, 1781, in memory of his brother's services, the dignity of a baronetcy of Great Britain, was conferred upon Capt. William Lewis André, of the 26th Foot, and his heirs, male, forever.^a A stately cenotaph in Westminster Abbey also preserved the remembrance of the life and death of Major André. To this Arnold was once observed to lead his wife, and to peruse with her the inscriptions that referred to the most important scenes in his own career.^b

Forty years later, the pomp and ceremony with which the remains of the brave Montgomery were publicly brought from Canada to New York called the attention of the British Consul at that city to the fact, that the dust of another who too had borne the King's commission, and whose first captivity had graced Montgomery's first triumph, still filled an unhonored grave in a foreign land. He communicated with the Duke of York, Commander of the Force, and it was decided to remove André's corpse to England. The Rev. Mr. Demarat, who owned the ground, gave ready assent to the Consul's proposals. "His intention had become known," says an American writer, and "some human brute—some Christian dog—had sought to purchase or rent the field of Mr. Demarat, for the purpose of extorting money for permission to remove these relics. But the good man and true, rejected the base proposal, and offered every facility in his power." On Friday, August 10, 1821, at eleven A. M., the work was commenced—not without fear that it would be in vain; for vague whispers went around that years before, the grave was despoiled. At the depth of three feet, the spade struck the coffin-lid, and the perfect skeleton was soon exposed to view. Nothing tangible remained but the bones and a few locks of the once beautiful hair, together with the leather cord that had bound the queue, and which was sent by Mr. Buchanan, to the sisters of the deceased. An attentive crowd of both sexes, some of whom had probably beheld the execution, was present.

"The farmers who came to witness the interesting ceremony, generally evinced the most respectful tenderness for the memory of the unfortunate dead, and many of the children wept. A few idlers, educated by militia training and Fourth of July declamation, began to murmur

^a A tombstone in Bathampton church-yard, near Bath, has this inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Francis Calhoun Andre, late of the Creeds, Bath; Obiit, Dec. 25, 1835, aged 81. Also, of Mary Parnish Andre, her sister, who died March 3, 1845, aged 93 years." Sir William L. was Andrew's brother, married, and surviving his son of the same name, who was a director of the London Assurance Company, died at Dean's Leaze, Hants, 11th Nov., 1802, when the title became extinct.

^b *Life of André*, by Winthrop Sargent.

that the memory of General Washington was insulted by any respect shown to the remains of André; but the offer of a treat lured them to the tavern, where they soon became too drunk to guard the character of Washington. It was a beautiful day, and these disturbing spirits being removed, the impressive ceremony proceeded in solemn silence."^a

If this anecdote is true, these ruffling swaggerers were all who did not cheerfully encourage the proceedings. Ladies sent garlands to decorate the bier; even the old woman who kept the turnpike-gate, threw it open free to all that went and came on this errand; and six young women of New York, united in a poetical address that accompanied the myrtle tree they sent with the body to England.

The bones were carefully uplifted, and placed in a costly sarcophagus of mahogany, richly decorated with gold, and hung with black and crimson velvet; and so borne to New York, to be placed on board the *Phaeton* frigate which—by a happy significancy, so far as her name was concerned—had been selected for their transportation to England. Two cedars that grew hard by, and a peach tree—bestowed by some kind woman's hand, to mark the grave, (the roots of which had pierced the coffin and twined themselves in a fibrous network about the dead man's skull,) were also taken up. The latter was replanted in the King's gardens, behind Carlton House.

In gratitude for what was done, the Duke of York caused a gold mounted snuff-box of the wood of one of the cedars that grew at the grave, to be sent to Mr. Demarat; to whom the Misses André also presented a silver goblet, and to Mr. Buchanan a silver standish.

A withered tree, a heap of stones, mark the spot where the plough never enters, and whence André's remains were removed. The sarcophagus came safely across the sea; and forty-one years and more, after they had been laid by the Hudson, its contents were re-interred in a very private manner, hard by the monument in Westminster Abbey. The Dean of Westminster superintended the religious offices, while Major-General Sir Herbert Taylor appeared for the Duke of York, and Mr. Locker, Secretary to Greenwich Hospital, for the sisters of the deceased.

In the south aisle of the Abbey, wherein sleeps so much of the greatness and the glory of England, stands André's monument. It is of statuary marble, carved by Van Gelder. It presents a sarcophagus on a moulded panelled base and plinth; the panel of which is thus inscribed:

^a So repeats Mrs. Childs, (letters from New York,) who brought to the scene a solemn conviction that André's death was a "cool, deliberate murder," and whose account of what she saw and heard, is tinged with this feeling.

"Sacred to the memory of Major André, who, raised by his merit, at an early period of life, to the rank of Adjutant-General of the British forces in America, and, employed in an important but hazardous enterprise, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and Country, on the 2d of October, 1780, aged twenty-nine, universally beloved and esteemed by the army in which he served, and lamented even by his foes. His gracious Sovereign, King George III., has caused this monument to be erected."

On the plinth, these words are added:—

"The remains of Major John André were, on the 10th of August, 1821, removed from Tappan by James Buchanan, Esq., His Majesty's counsel at New York, under instructions from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and with the permission of the Dean and Chapter, finally deposited in a grave contiguous to this monument, on the 28th of November, 1821."

The monument stands seven and a half feet high in relief against the wall, beneath the north window of the south aisle. The projecting figures of the sarcophagus represent a group in which Washington and André are conspicuous; the former in the act of receiving from the flag of truce a letter, which is variously said to signify that in which the prisoner petitioned to be shot, and more reasonably the demand of Clinton for his release. Britannia with a very lugubrious lion reposes on the top of the sarcophagus. On the whole, the work is not a triumph of the sculptor's art."

The site of Major John André's capture is marked by a handsome monument; the corner stone of which was laid on the 4th of July, 1853, by Col. James A. Hamilton, son of the Hon. Alexander Hamilton, who at the age of twenty, belonged to the military family of Gen. Washington, as one of his aids; and who remained in the army during the Revolutionary war, always attached to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, and possessed of his affection and confidence.

THE above HISTORY & CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ
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late Gen. Robert Belden. This work—now in Press—being the most
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