Thomas Balch

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The French in America

DURING THE

War of Independence of the United States

1777-1783.

A TRANSLATION BY

THOMAS WILLING BALCH,

OF

LES FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE

PENDANT LA

Guerre de L'Indépendance des États-Unis.

PAR

THOMAS BALCH.

PHILADELPHIA:
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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Before going to Europe in 1859, my father edited, at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania" (1855), and for the Seventy-Six Society "The Examination of Joseph Galloway" (1855), and "Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line During the Revolution" (1857). In sifting the manuscripts from which the materials for these volumes were drawn, his attention was called to the fact that the share which France had taken in the establishment of the independence of the United States had not been thoroughly studied or fairly narrated. His interest in the subject was awakened; and, accordingly, upon his arrival in the French capital, he at once began collecting books, engravings or other materials, with the view of preparing a work which should be a careful history of the part that France took in the war of independence of the United States.

In addition to the materials upon the subject that my father collected in the United States, and several original manuscripts—as that of Dupetit Thouars, for instance—that he obtained in France, he had access, through his many French friends—many of whom were descendants of those gallant gentlemen who crossed the ocean to aid us win our independence—to a large and valuable, in many cases till then unused, collection of documents. A description of the more important of these manuscripts will be found in the second chapter of this volume.

The first part of the book was ready for publication in Paris in 1870; but owing to the breaking out of the Franco-

German War, it did not appear until 1872. The second volume, of which my father speaks in his preface, has not as yet been published; fortunately he left his manuscript in a finished state, and I hope at no distant date to offer a translation of it to the students of United States History.

Of the many friends—many of whom are now dead—who aided him in his work, I may mention the following:—Michel Chevalier, Prévost Paradol, M. Guizot, M. Cornelis de Witt and M. Pierre Margry in France; and Charles Sumner, William Duane and George Bancroft in the United States.

It was my father's purpose, at the time of his death, to rewrite this book in English, and he intended that it should not be a mere translation, but a recast of the work. Knowing this, I have, therefore, omitted one or two notes, and, so far as I could, made use (pages 30 to 45, *passim*) of the phraseology of a pamphlet—*Calvinism and American Independence*—that he contributed to the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review* for July, 1876.

In addition to the map showing the march of the forces under Rochambeau to and from Yorktown, which was in the French edition, I have added a plan of the siege of Yorktown that my father prepared but did not insert in the French version. With the exceptions of the titles and a part of the explanations, I have had both maps reproduced without translating the nomenclature.

In note 48, the date after the *Historical Magazine of America* should be 1857, and not 1757; and in the same note the date of the *Act of Gratitude* to Colonel Ninian Beall and his wife Elizabeth should be 1699 instead of 1659.

T. W. BALCH.

Philadelphia, May the 1*st*, 1891.

PREFACE.

This work is divided into two parts: the first treats of the causes and origin of the War of Independence, sums up the events of that war to 1781, and gives a complete account of the expedition of the French forces, commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, up to 1783.

The second part is particularly devoted—

1st. To historical notices of the French regiments which crossed to America and served there.

2d. To biographical notices of the French volunteers who took service under Congress, and of the principal officers who were present at the sieges of Savannah and Yorktown, or who fought on land or sea for the independence of the United States.

3d. To many episodes and interesting details, among which will be found a sketch of American society at that period, as it appeared to the French officers, who speak in their manuscripts, and letters of the private life of a great number of notable American families.

I now present to the public only the first part of this work. While it was passing through the press, I received for the second part so large a number of interesting communications that I have found myself obliged to add to my finished manuscript. I hope that those persons who may find some interest in this work, or who have aided and en-

couraged me in its preparation, will have no cause to regret this delay. In addition to its allowing me to bestow more care and exactness on the enumeration of the French officers and on the preparation of the notices which are devoted to them, I take pleasure in believing that I shall be permitted to avail myself of the information that I may still collect during the next few months upon this subject. I shall always receive it with gratitude, and I reserve the right of mentioning in the second part the numerous friends who have aided me either with information or advice.

Paris, August the 18*th*, 1870.

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THE FRENCH IN AMERICA

DURING

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARIES.—Character of the war—Rights of the people and of the citizen—Influence of the American Revolution upon Europe—The part which France takes in the War of Independence—The author's object in publishing this book.

THE war which the English colonies in America carried on, towards the close of the last century, against their mother country, was, from a military point of view, of very secondary importance. We find in it neither those numbers of troops whose bloody encounters mark an era in the history of humanity; nor those resounding names of conquerors and warriors which generations transmit to one another with a feeling of admiration mingled with terror; nor those impassioned, impetuous and destructive outbursts which founded on ruins the Empires of Antiquity or of the Middle Ages; nor those grand, rapid and learned manœuvres which are characteristic of military genius in modern times. There, we have no great battles, no long sieges, no feats of arms that are extraordinary or immediately decisive. Yet, from a political point of view, the struggle, whose origin and events I am attempting to investigate and relate here, had most important and unex-

pected consequences. This is not alone because all the nations of Old Europe took part, more or less directly, in the War of Independence of the United States. If, indeed, on the one hand, the German princes allowed themselves to be dragged along by England into the struggle, to which their peoples seemed very indifferent to in principle,[1] on the other hand, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and even Russia helped the rebels and interested themselves in their triumph, though in different degrees. The feeble sounds of the musketry at Lexington had echoes on every sea on the globe, and were heard even in the most distant colonies of England. But, I repeat, the impartial historian will find nothing but episodes to relate during the period of eight years that elapsed between the first complaints of the American colonists and the final acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain.

It was because such a result, secured by a newborn nation, represented the triumph of philosophical and political ideas, which, up to that time, had nowhere obtained the right of existence. It was because the proclamation of the *rights of the people and of the citizen* came to sap the old social and monarchical system to its base, to substitute the reign of justice for that of force in the organization of empires, and to remind the nations what were the true foundations of their prosperity and greatness.

The Reformation had followed closely the discovery of the new world. It seemed as if this virgin soil was to be not only a refuge against persecution, but also a kind of Promised Land, wherein the new doctrines might expand in all their splendor while founding a power, at once continental and maritime, whose rapid and unprecedented development was to place it, in less than a century, in a position sufficiently high for it to counterbalance the preponderance of the old world.

There is no doubt that the events which occurred in

[1] See the pamphlet of Mirabeau, *Avis aux Hessois.* Amsterdam, 1777.

America hastened the advent of the French Revolution. I am far from asserting that they were the sole cause of it, and it would be sufficient to convince ourselves of this to remark that the Frenchmen, who fought for the cause of the Americans either as volunteers or as part of the forces sent under the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, were, in the majority of cases, in their own country, the most devoted defenders of royalty and the bitterest opponents of liberal ideas and reforms. Nevertheless, these events produced a profound sensation on the mass of the nation, who, on the day of its triumph, desired to inscribe at the head of its codes the principles proclaimed at Philadelphia in 1776.

France took a most active and glorious part in this war of American independence. Her government, impelled by the hereditary animosity of the nation towards England, dominated by the philosophical spirit then in favor at court, and finally urged by its own interest, at first excited and encouraged, by means of its agents, the discontent of the Anglo-Americans; then, at the time of the struggle, it aided them with its diplomacy, its money, its fleets, and its soldiers.

"France alone wages war for an idea," said her sovereign in these latter years. Never, perhaps, was such a course of conduct carried out with so much disinterestedness and perseverance as at the period of the French intervention in the war of American independence. The policy inaugurated by Choiseul was maintained by his successor, de Vergennes, by means of the armies and fleets of France, without regard for her greatly deranged finances, and was carried so far that it started in the public mind a movement which contributed not a little to hasten the Revolution of 1789. Thus this portion of history, which belongs alike to the United States and to France, is equally interesting to both nations.

The memoirs of Washington, those of Rochambeau, and

the numerous works published about the United States, tell us, in a general way, what were the military movements of the French expedition. We find, also, in a great number of other authors, whose works and names I shall mention hereafter, the exploits of a few officers whose convictions or whose duty brought to America during these events. But these two general accounts or these isolated episodes do not suffice to give a very exact or precise idea of the part which should be attributed to every one.

It is far from my purpose to reproduce here an insipid historical sketch of that great struggle in which are found some most serious political problems, and whose details have the charm of an epic poem. Such numerous and learned books have already been published on this subject, so great is the talent of their authors, so deep is the interest which they have excited in Europe and in America, that we may assert that no similar period in history has been more carefully related as a whole, or more minutely explored in its chief details. What more elaborate history could be named than that which Mr. Bancroft has written of his country? What finer portrait could be painted of a great man than that which M. Guizot has delineated of Washington?

These works, however, seem to me to leave one gap.

The care that the Americans had to take of their internal organization, prevented them from occupying themselves with certain details of the conflict from which they had so happily emerged; especially as to what related to the foreigners who had come to their aid, and were afterwards recalled to their friends by their own affairs. Yet the Americans did not forget their allies, for whom, on the contrary, they kept a profound and sympathetic remembrance.[2]

[2] On this point I appeal to the assertions of the French themselves; of those whom political storms or their desire for information carried into the new world; La Rochefoucault (*Voyage dans les États-Unis*

The French were not less completely diverted from a careful examination of the doings of their fellow-citizens in America by the pressing excitement of their internal discords. The result is that not only do we not possess an exact and circumstantial history of the French intervention in America during the War of Independence, but also that the materials for such a history are wanting or were lost almost at once. Thus, to this day, there have not been published, either the names of the French regiments, with the list of their officers, nor the composition of the fleets, nor the exact march of the troops, nor the precise order of the engagements, nor the losses sustained. So that a monograph on this interesting part of the history of the War of Independence, although several times attempted, still remains to be written.

The gap that I point out has been recognized by many others before me. But they had not the good fortune which has befallen me of having in their possession unpublished manuscripts, or rare and original documents such as those that I have obtained, and whose titles I here furnish. Although I do not pretend that I have done all that there was to be done in this connection, and am the first to recognize the imperfection of my work, still I hope that my efforts will not have been unfruitful and that I shall have thrown some light upon a subject which, while it exacted long researches, has been for me a source of real pleasure.

Before reaching the events which are the more especial

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d'Amérique, 1795–97, by the Duke de La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Paris, iv, 285) and La Fayette, especially, take pleasure in acknowledging the friendly, if not enthusiastic, reception which they received in the United States.

See, *La Fayette en Amérique*, by M. Regnault-Varin. Paris, 1832.—*Souvenir sur la vie privée du général La Fayette*, by Jules Cloquet. Paris, 1836.—*La Fayette en Amérique*, by A. Levasseur. 2 vols. Paris, 1829.—*Voyage du général La Fayette aux États-Unis.* Paris, 1826.—*Histoire du général La Fayette* (translation). Paris, 1825.

See also, *Mémoires du comte de M * * ** (Pontgibaud). Paris, 1828.

object of this work, and to better understand the policy of France before and during the conflict, I have thought that it would be well to recall briefly to the reader what was the origin of the English colonies in America, what relations France maintained with them, and what circumstances aroused their dissatisfaction and caused them to take up arms.

Afterwards I have considered it my duty to recall to mind the names of those men and render them the justice that is their due, who, with no other motive than their sympathy for a noble cause and a disinterested feeling of honor, shared the dangers, privations and sufferings of our fathers, and helped them in the defence of our rights and in the conquest of our liberty.

Finally, I hope that this book, however imperfect it may be, will be favorably received by the French, and will be considered by them as an homage paid to them by a descendant of those alongside of whom they so generously fought.

CHAPTER II.

Authorities and Documents. — Archives of the War Department—Archives of the Navy Department—Journal of Claude Blanchard—Journal of the Count de Menonville—Memoirs of Dupetit-Thouras—Journal of Cromot-Dubourg—Narrative of the Prince de Broglie—Journal of a Soldier—Memoir addressed by Choiseul to Louis XV—*Memoirs of the Count de M. * * ** (Pontgibaud) — *Mes campagnes en Amérique*, by Guillaume de Deux-Ponts — Memoirs of Lauzun—Loyalist letters—*Papers relating to the Maryland Line*—Map of the war operations.

The task that I have taken upon myself has been less laborious in verifying or searching for historical facts in general than in the composition of the list and biographical notices of the French officers who took part in the War of Independence, either in the regular army, or as volunteers in the service of Congress, or lastly in the fleets which were seen on the coasts of the United States. The number and importance of the unpublished or very rare documents which have been the first sources for my work will show at once how great has been the benefit that I have derived from them. But it is impossible for me to name all the sources from which I have drawn on account of their multiplicity, any more than that I can name the numerous persons of every class who have supplied me with useful information. I have minutely and profitably examined the *Revues*, the funeral eulogies, the collections of the *Mercure de France*, the *Annuaires militaires*. How many pamphlets and books have I been obliged to turn over, often with the sole object of discovering a new name, of verifying a date, or establishing a fact! How many letters have I received, what revelations have I not brought about during the time when, entirely occupied with my subject, I was seeking for

information wherever I had hope of discovering it.[3] Often a casual chance caused me to lay my hand upon an unknown book relating to my subject on some unexpected point; at other times, it was a person whom family ties connected with some old officer of Rochambeau, who kindly communicated to me his private archives or his personal recollections.

If, in the course of my recital, I had been obliged to quote all these sources of information, the size of this book, without advantage to the reader, would have been enormously increased. I have, therefore, been compelled to confine the mention of the sources from which I have derived my information to those points that are most important, least known, or most likely to excite criticism.

Archives de la Guerre (France).

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a manuscript drawn up from the archives of the French Ministry of War, which contains a list of the officers of the corps that was sent out under the command of Rochambeau. This manuscript, of which I possess a copy, was obtained by the influence of Mr. Richard Rush, then minister of the United States at Paris. But access to these archives is very difficult. The kind intervention of General Favé, commander of the Polytechnic School, with Marshal Niel, secured me the permission of making new researches myself. I have succeeded in obtaining another list, drawn up according to

[3] Among others I shall cite here two examples: M. Michel Chevalier, the learned economist, in putting me in communication with M. Henri Fournel, who, like himself, had been one of the most distinguished disciples of Saint-Simon, gave me the opportunity of obtaining respecting that celebrated reformer, who commanded a French corps before Yorktown, the interesting letter which will be found among the *Biographical Notices.*

The Marquis de Bouillé, has also had the kindness to submit to me the original letters which Washington wrote to his grandfather on the occasion of his nomination to the Society of the Cincinnati.

the records of the officers, which differs in some respects from the first. Moreover, these two lists are both incomplete, not only as to the names of the officers, but also as to their biographical notices.

For instance, they make no mention of the Duke de Lauzun, nor of his legion, which rendered such important services to the expeditionary corps. The *Annuaires militaires* of that time are equally silent on this subject.

Archives de la Marine (France).

The Minister of the Navy authorized me to examine these archives; and M. Avalle, the librarian of that ministry, placed at my disposal, with a kindness that I take pleasure in acknowledging here, the documents under his control, and especially the *Memoires du comte de Grasse*, registered under Nos. 15,186 and 6,397.

But the history of the maritime campaigns has been written with care and completeness by Le Bouchet, de Kerguélen and several others more or less known.[4] It appeared to me, therefore, superfluous to expatiate upon this same subject.

Journal of Claude Blanchard,

Chief War Commissioner of the expedition of Rochambeau, comprising the campaigns of 1780, '81, '82, '83.[5]

This manuscript came into my hands through the kindness of its possessor, M. Maurice La Chesnais, the great-

[4] *Histoire de la dernière guerre entre la Grande-Bretagne at les États-Unis d' Amérique, de 1775 à 1783*, by Julien Odet Le Bouchet. Paris, 1787.

Relation des combats et des événements de la guerre maritime, by Y. J. Kerguélen, retired Rear Admiral. Paris, 1796.

[5] See the *Biographical Notice* that I have devoted to the author of this journal.

[A translation of this journal was published in 1876: "The Journal of Claude Blanchard, commissary of the French auxiliary army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780–1783. Translated from a French Manuscript by William Duane and edited by Thomas Balch." Albany, J. Munsell, 1876, Trans.]

grandson of Blanchard. While benefiting by the information that I found in these pages, written with great exactitude and, so to speak, under the influence of the events, I have been obliged to content myself with making short extracts from them, since they will soon be given to the public by their present owner, who has recently given a notice of the journal.[6]

Journal of the Count of Menonville.[7]

No part of this journal has been published, and I have nowhere found any printed account of the author; but his grandson, the present head of the family, has kindly communicated to me some documents and important details. He was adjutant-general of the army of Rochambeau (Blanchard), but was promoted in November, 1781, to the rank of major-general.

This unpublished manuscript is also of great interest owing to the exactness of detail, a very rare occurrence in the writings of that time which I have seen.

Memoirs of Georges-Aristide-Aubert-Dupetit-Thouars, Post Captain. Manuscript.

These memoirs are about the American war from 1779 to 1783, and their author intended to have them printed. They have only a few omissions.

The *Biographie maritime*,[8] a work which I have consulted with advantage, says: "Dupetit-Thouars left several manuscripts, which his sister, Mlle. Félicité Dupetit-Thouars, has collected in three octavo volumes, entitled *Lettres, mémoires et opuscules d'Aristide Dupetit-Thouars*, post Captain, buried

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[6] See the *Revue militaire française*, 1869.

[7] See the *Biographical Notices*.

[8] It has an additional title: *Notices historiques sur la vie et les campagnes des marins célèbres, by Hennequin*, Head of the Bureau at the Ministry of the Navy, 3 vols. Paris, Regnault, 1837.

under the ruins of the *Tonnant*, at the battle of Aboukir, a work of which we have largely availed ourselves in drawing up this notice."

But Quérard[9] says that only a single volume was published by Dupetit-Thouars' brother and sister.[10] "It contains," he says, "a long letter about the war of 1778–83 addressed in 1785 to Commander Du Lomieu, wherein we recognize the captain to be well educated and eager to enrich science with new facts."

The manuscript that I possess answers in no respect to this description, and contains letters and information which give me every reason to believe that it has never been published, and that it is not by the hand of Captain Dupetit-Thouars himself, notwithstanding the assertion of the expert, M. Chavaray, stated in his catalogue and repeated in the note that asserts the authenticity of this manuscript. I think that it has been drawn up from the captain's notes by his brother, the botanist.

Although the history of the naval campaigns has been very precisely and very fully written, as I have mentioned above, the Memoirs of Dupetit-Thouars have furnished me with useful information respecting the movements of the fleets and also of the land forces, especially at the siege of Savannah.

I procured this manuscript at M. Chavaray's, in Paris, on the 7th of December, 1869. M. Margry, the learned keeper of the records of the Ministry of the Navy, who kindly called my attention to this document before the public sale for which it was announced, expressed the opinion that it contained facts and information of great value for the archives of the navy.

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[9] *La France Littéraire ou la littérature contemporaine.* Paris, 1842.

[10] Published by the firm of Dentu and Arthur Béchard—Paris, 1822, in octavo—a book which I have nowhere been able to find.

JOURNAL OF MY RESIDENCE IN AMERICA,

From my departure from France in March, 1780, to October the 19th, 1781. Unpublished anonymous manuscript.

A copy of this manuscript was sold at Paris in 1868, and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Norton, the purchaser, for the opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. The copy that I possess is corrected in some particulars, and is enlarged by new documents. Both appear, however, to be nothing but copies of notes left by an aid-de-camp of Rochambeau; for not only are the names of the cities and the rivers traversed by the French troops corrupted to such an extent that they are unrecognizable, but also the names of the officers of that army. Yet these should have been well known to the author of the manuscript.

However this may be, it supplies interesting information respecting the march of the army, the siege of Yorktown, and American society at that period.

As to the author's name, I believe that I can affirm that it is Cromot-Dubourg, and these are the reasons on which I base my opinion.

The aids-de-camp of Rochambeau, according to the accounts of Blanchard,[11] Dumas,[12] and Rochambeau[13] himself, were: De Fersen, de Damas, Charles de Lameth, de Closen, Collot, Matthieu Dumas, de Lauberdières, de Vauban, de Charlus, the brothers Berthier, Cromot-Dubourg.

The reading of the journal in question informs us that its author crossed to America on board the frigate the *Concorde.*[14] That frigate carried over the new chief of the French squadron, de Barras, the Viscount de Rochambeau,[15] and d'Alphéran, lieutenant in the navy[16]. I have not been

[11] Manuscript Journal.

[12] *Souvenirs*, published by his son. Paris, 1839, I, 25, 70.

[13] *Mémoires de Rochambeau.* 2 vols. Paris, 1809.

[14] Left Brest on the 26th of March, 1780, *Mercure de France.*

[15] All the memoirs agree respecting these two names.

[16] Journal of Blanchard.

able to find any traces of the list of the passengers of the *Concorde*, either in the archives of the Ministry of War, or in those of the Navy, or in any of the numerous works that I have consulted. I observed, moreover, in reading this manuscript that its author was young, from twenty-five to thirty years of age, *and that he had not yet been present at a single engagement, nor heard the sound of firearms.*

These indications permit me at once to strike from my list, de Fersen, de Damas, de Lameth, de Closen, Matthieu Dumas, de Lauberdières, de Vauban, Collot and de Charlus.

These officers came indeed to America with Rochambeau in the squadron commanded by de Ternay. Their names are enumerated among those of the passengers by Blanchard, in his journal, and by Matthieu Dumas.

Moreover, they had all served and *smelt gunpowder* during the Seven Years' War or in Corsica.[17]

Lastly, if a few of them are not in one or the other of these categories, they are mentioned by the author of the manuscript whenever they are found intrusted with any functions connected with their service; and, as this author always speaks in the first person, it is impossible to confuse him with any of them.

One might suppose that my anonymous author was the Viscount de Rochambeau himself, who was a passenger on the *Concorde*, and who, in some works, is called his father's aid-de-camp. But this hypothesis must be rejected at once, for the Viscount de Rochambeau had served in Germany and in Corsica; and besides, the general tone of the journal harmonizes in no respect with the parentage of its author and the commander-in-chief. Finally, the Viscount de Rochambeau conducted himself before Yorktown, according to Dumas's account, in a manner that is not related in this manuscript.

There remain to examine the names of Berthier and Cromot-Dubourg.

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[17] See the *Biographical Notices.*

For some time I inclined towards the first name. The future marshal of France, the friend of Napoleon, indeed, first bore arms in America. He did not go there in the fleet commanded by de Ternay; and as the name of Cromot-Dubourg is not mentioned, either in the Memoirs of Rochambeau or in those of Dumas,[18] and, on the contrary, I find in these works that the brothers Berthier came later and were placed on the staff, I almost thought that it was by mistake that Rochambeau added, "the 30th of September, 1780, with M. de Choiseul." Indeed, there was really a mistake, for on the 30th of September, 1780, it was de Choisy, and not de Choiseul, who arrived at Newport from St. Domingo on board of the *Gentille*, with nine other officers. But the perusal of Blanchard's journal convinced me of the correctness of the facts related in the Memoirs of Rochambeau. G. de Deux-Ponts[19] reports, also, on September the 30th, the arrival of the *Gentille* with nine officers, among whom he mentions de Choisy and de Thuillières, captain in the regiment of Deux-Ponts.

In the face of the agreement of the statement of Rochambeau and of Blanchard, respecting the arrivals of the brothers Berthier on board the *Gentille*, on the 30th of September, I could hesitate no longer. The older of the brothers could not be the author of the manuscript, and the younger was hardly seventeen years of age. Besides, nowhere in this journal does the aid-de-camp, of whose name we are in search, mention a brother who accompanied him.

As for Cromot-Dubourg, he is the only one whose position answers all the conditions in which my personage ought to be put. On referring to the notes that the archives of the War Department have supplied me with, I find that he was making his first campaign, and that he rejoined the army in America. His name is not mentioned in the manuscript,

[18] See *Souvenirs du lieut.-gén. comte Matthieu-Dumas*, published by his son. 3 vols. Paris, 1839.

[19] *Mes Campagnes en Amérique*, p. 19.

which is easily understood, if the original notes were drawn up by himself.

Lastly, Blanchard—after having given a list of the aids-de-camp of Rochambeau, except Collot, of whom he does not speak at all, but who was no longer young, and who, according to Dumas, went away at the outset—says: "M. Cromot-Dubourg, who arrived a short time after us, was also an aid-de-camp of M. de Rochambeau."[20]

Relation of the Prince de Broglie.

Copy of an unpublished manuscript.[21]

This was furnished to me by Mr. Bancroft, the well-known historian of his country and the ambassador of the United States at Berlin. Owing to the kindness of M. Guizot, I have discovered that some portions of this narrative had been published.[22] Nevertheless, by an attentive comparison, I have been able to satisfy myself that the two accounts had only a few passages in common. Certain important portions of Mr. Bancroft's manuscript do not exist in the printed account, while the latter contains long paragraphs, which I do not possess. By restoring these omissions in my copy, I have made it as complete as possible.

Although the Prince de Broglie did not cross to America until 1782, with the Count de Ségur, and after the most useful and most important part of the expedition, the information that he gives respecting the state of American society at that period deserves to be quoted. I ought to add that these notes greatly resemble and sometimes are almost

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[20] This manuscript is styled, in the course of this work, "An. M. (anonymous manuscript)."

[21] See *Biographical Notices:* Broglie.

[22] See *Revue Française*. Paris, July, 1828. In my copy the article is ascribed, in a lead-pencil note, to the Duke de Broglie.

[The "Narrative by the Prince de Broglie of a Visit to America" was translated by Elise Willing Balch, and printed in the *Magazine of American History*, 1877, Trans.]

identical with those of the Count de Ségur.[23] I have extracted from them the most interesting part.

Journal of a Soldier.

Anonymous and unpublished manuscript.

The author, probably a German soldier, gives, in bad French, a considerably abridged account of the siege of Yorktown and of the march of the troops during their return towards Boston. I have not found any other information on the same subject, except in Blanchard's journal.

These unpublished pages are in the collection of General George B. McClellan, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, who kindly communicated them to me.

Memoir Addressed by Choiseul to Louis XV,

Representing his administration of affairs and his policy after the cession of Canada to England.

A casual circumstance has enabled me to become acquainted with some extracts of this curious document, the original of which has not been printed. The most important passages of this memoir have been quoted in an article in the *Revue Française*.[24] My copy of this publication contains the names of the authors added in lead-pencil by a former owner, and this learned unknown mentions de Barante as the author of the article in question. This seems to me very probable, because Mr. Bancroft, in speaking of this manuscript in his history, says that he is indebted to de Barante for the verbal communication of it.[25]

Memoirs of the Count de M * * *.[26] Paris, 1828.

This very rare and little-known book has exercised my perspicacity to discover the real name of its author, who

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[23] *Memoires du comte de Ségur.* 3 vols. Paris, 1842.

[24] July, 1828.

[25] See History of the United States, iv, 240, note.

[26] This work is quoted in my book as being by Pontgibaud.

describes himself as a volunteer in the ranks of the Americans, and an aid-de-camp of La Fayette. Some considerations, which it would be superfluous to detail, had left me no longer in doubt respecting the name of Pontgibaud, later Count of Moré-Chaulnes, when the Count of Pontgibaud, the great-grand-nephew of the author, and to-day the sole representative of this family, confirmed me in the opinion that I had formed, by a letter, which is itself a useful document.[27]

These memoirs, written with the *humor* and almost the style of one of Sterne's stories, are not only curious on account of what relates to the war from 1777 to 1782, but also because the author, an emigrant from France to Hamburg in 1793, learning that the American Congress was paying the arrears due to the officers who had been in their service, returned to the United States about that time, and presents a picture, as caustic as it is interesting, of the situation and character of those of his countrymen whom he found on the American continent, where political events had forced them to seek a refuge.

The copy that I have used was loaned to me by M. Edouard Laboulaye, of the Institute, to whom I owe much gratitude for the useful information that he has furnished me with the most courteous alacrity.

My Campaigns in America (1780-81).

By the Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts.

These interesting memoirs were published in 1868 at Boston, by Mr. Samuel A. Green, and three hundred copies issued.

Memoirs of Lauzun.

(Manuscript.)

Three editions of these memoirs have been published up to this time, and I rank them amongst the known books

[27] See the *Biographical Notices.*

that it was my duty to reperuse and consult. The manuscript that I have obtained was probably written during the lifetime of the author. It has been very useful, though I have made use of the edition so carefully annotated by M. Louis Lacour.[28]

Loyalist Letters.

Or a collection of letters written by Americans who remained faithful to the cause of the king (1774–1779).

Some years ago, I intended to have a small edition of these letters printed; but the facts of which they treat are too near to us for the relatives of the writers to remain indifferent to their publication. It seemed to me proper first to obtain the consent of the persons whose names would have been recalled to mind, and I shall wait until a more expedient time. Mr. Bancroft, to whom I have shown these letters, has increased my collection by copies of some others which were in his possession.

Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line During the Revolution.

These papers were published, under my supervision, at Philadelphia in 1857. A hundred and fifty copies were printed for *The Seventy-Six Society.* Several of the documents in this collection relate to the military operations in Virginia.

The map that I have added to this work I have prepared principally from that which is at the end of the first volume of Soulès' work.[29] I have seen also another copy of the

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[28] Paris, 1859.

[29] *Histoire des troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise,* written according to the most authentic memoirs by Francois Soulès'. 4 vols. Paris, 1787. The passages that relate to the expedition of Rochambeau seem to have been written by dictation of the general himself, for the identity of the expressions in the two books is very striking.

map of Soulès in the archives of the War Department, annotated by a keeper of the records. But this map contains certain errors which I have corrected from the maps in the manuscript that I ascribed to Cromot-Dubourg, and from American maps.

CHAPTER III.

The Founding of the Colonies of North America.—Attempts at colonization made by the French: Coligny, Gourgues, etc., in 1567—Rapid increase of population—The enormous taxes imposed by England on her colonies impel them to resistance.

The first attempts at colonization within the territory occupied by the United States at the beginning of the war were made by some Frenchmen of the Reformed religion, at the suggestion of the celebrated Admiral Coligny. In 1562, he obtained from King Charles IX. authority to have some ships fitted out, which, under the command of Jean Ribaud, reached the mouth of the river still called to this day Port Royal. Near this point Fort Charles, so named in honor of the king of France, was built by these first emigrants; at the same time the country itself received the name of Carolina, which it has retained. But this attempt was no more successful than a second the following year, commanded, under the same patronage, by René de Laudonnière. Poverty, the fanaticism of the Spaniards, and the hostility of the Indians soon exhausted the courage of the little band of Frenchmen isolated in this new country. The Spaniards, led by Pedro Melendez, attacked the Protestant colony established at the mouth of the St. John's River, and massacred all the inhabitants. Roused by such an act of

barbarity, Dominique de Gourgues, a nobleman (*gentilhomme*), of Mont-de-Marsan, a worthy forerunner of La Fayette, fitted out three ships at his own expense in 1567, embarked two hundred men on board of them, and came to inflict bloody reprisals upon the soldiers of Melendez. This vengeance, however, was barren in its results, and the persecution to which its author was subjected upon his return to France was the only fruit which he gathered from his patriotism.

The creation of flourishing settlements in America was reserved to the English. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh founded the colony of Virginia, so named in honor of Queen Elizabeth. Afterward King James I. divided all the territory comprised between the 34th and the 45th degrees of latitude between the companies called the London Company and the Plymouth Company, who hoped to discover mines of gold and silver there as in Mexico. Cod-fishing in the north, and the cultivation of tobacco in the south, made amends to these first settlers for their deception. The fruitfulness of the soil attracted new colonists, whilst political events in England encouraged emigration to other points.

In 1620, some Puritans, flying from the mother country, came to settle at Cape Cod, near the place where, some years later, the city of Boston rose. At the same time that the English took possession of Bermuda and of part of the West Indies, they founded the colonies since known by the name of New England. Under Cromwell they took Jamaica from the Spaniards, and from the Dutch the territory out of which they formed the three provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware (1674). Charles II. gave Carolina, subsequently divided into two provinces, to several English lords, and ceded likewise to William Penn the territory which the latter called from his own name, Pennsylvania (1682). Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay were occupied in 1713, after the Treaty of Utrecht, which deprived France of those countries; and finally Georgia was founded in 1733.

The colonies all developed so rapidly, that at the period of the War of Independence, that is to say, in a little more than a century, they numbered more than two millions of inhabitants. But composed of very diverse elements, whose nature we shall soon study, founded at different times, and under varying influences, they were far from having a homogeneous population and an uniform organization. Thus, while Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, in the south, were governed by a powerful aristocracy, master of vast domains, which were worked by slaves and transmitted according to English customs, New England, in the north, enjoyed the most perfect civil equality, and was governed by constitutions wholly democratic. But all these colonies had the fundamental political institutions of England and exercised legislative powers by means of elected representatives. All were divided also into townships, which formed the county; into counties, which formed the State. The townships decided freely about their local affairs, and the counties chose representatives to the General Assemblies of the States.

Virginia, New York, the Carolinas, Georgia, New Hampshire and New Jersey did, indeed, receive governors appointed by the king; but the governors possessed only the executive power; the colonies always exercised the right of taxing themselves. They voted the subsidies necessary for the mother country freely and at the request of the governors, and it must be admitted that they paid her a heavy tribute. In addition to the extraordinary subsidies, the colonists paid, in fact, a tax upon the revenue; all offices, professions and trades were subject to contributions proportioned to the presumed profits. Wine, rum and liquors were taxed for the benefit of the mother country, which also received from the proprietors for each negro brought into the colonies a duty of ten pounds sterling. Finally, England derived still greater profits from the monopoly which she reserved to herself of supplying the colonies with all manufactured articles.

The Americans bore these heavy burdens without complaining, without even thinking about them. The fertility of their soil and the prodigious expansion of their commerce allowed them to re-purchase, as it were, for the benefit of the mother country, liberties and privileges of which they were jealous and proud. But the greed of England, joined to a blind obstinacy, abruptly dried up this abundant source of revenue.[30]

The suppression of commercial liberty and the establishment of a monopoly for the commerce of England had already, under Cromwell, excited discontent. The restrictive laws of the Protector were never well kept, and the State of Massachusetts dared to reply to the ministers of Charles II.: "The king may extend our liberties, but he cannot abridge them."[31] At the end of the Seven Years' War, England, which had derived great political advantages from it, saw her debt largely increased; it amounted to about twenty-five hundred million francs, and bore a heavy annual interest. To meet so critical a situation, Parliament, during the ministry of George Greenville, believed it had the right to adopt a measure that Walpole had rejected in 1739. Without consulting the colonies he laid upon them an im-

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[30] Edward Shippen, a judge at Lancaster, writes to Colonel Burd on the 28th of June, 1774: "The merchants in England look upon us in this part of the world as their slaves, having no more regard for us than the *seventy wealthy Creoles* (who have bought themselves seats in the Parliament-house) have for their negroes on their plantations in the Western Islands. It is our duty to work for them—the merchants—and while we, the white and black servants, send them gold and silver, and the Creoles send spirits, sugar and molasses, etc.; I say, while we supply these people with these douceurs, so that they may take their pleasure and roll about in their coaches, they are well enough satisfied."—*Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (*The Shippen Papers*), edited by Thomas Balch, Phila., 1855, p. 238.

[31] In 1638 this State already had printing, a college for advanced studies, primary schools for every collection of fifty houses, and a grammar school in every village of a hundred houses. Pennsylvania, founded in 1682, organized schools in 1685.

post which compelled the Americans to make use in all legal documents of a paper that was sold very dear in London (1765).

Already dissatisfied with certain resolutions adopted in the preceding year by Parliament to burden with taxes American commerce, which had become free with the French West Indies, and to restrict payments in paper money, the colonies no longer restrained themselves upon the receipt of this news. They considered the Stamp Act as a daring attack upon their rights, and the beginning of slavery if they did not resist it. After some tumultuous popular movements and lawful deliberations, they resolved to refuse to use the stamped paper, drove away the persons employed to sell it, and burnt their stock. The American newspapers, already very numerous, proclaimed that they must *unite or fall.* A Congress, composed of delegates from all the colonies, met at New York on October the 7th, 1765, and, in an energetic petition, declared themselves resolved, whilst remaining faithful to the crown, to defend their liberties to the bitter end. At the same time the Americans bound themselves to dispense with English merchandise, and a *Non-Importation League,* well planned and well carried into effect, severed their commercial relations with England. The mother country had to yield. She did not, however, renounce the exorbitant right which she had claimed to resort to similar measures. She persisted in claiming that the legislative power of Parliament extended to all parts of the British territory. It was by virtue of this principle that the English Government, in the summer of 1769, laid a new tax upon glass, paper, colors, leather and tea.

The colonists, pleading on their side, the great principle of the English Constitution, that no citizen is bound to submit to imposts which have not been voted by his own representatives, refused to pay these new duties. They everywhere submitted to privations. They renounced the use of tea, and dressed in coarse clothing. They rejected articles

of trade brought from England, and consumed only the products of American industry, which had just been born. In the face of this opposition, Lord North proposed to repeal the new taxes, except that on tea. This half concession satisfied no one. Philadelphia and New York refused to receive the chests of tea which the East India Company sent them. Boston threw them into the sea. The English Government desired to ruin this latter city. General Gage took up his residence there, whilst a fleet blockaded it. At the same time a real army was levied in England to reduce the colonies to obedience.

Indignation ran high in America. All the colonies determined to deliver Boston, and Virginia placed herself at the head of this movement.

While an army of volunteers gathered to oppose the movement of General Gage, a general Congress assembled on the 5th of September, 1774, at Philadelphia, the most central capital of the colonies. It was composed of fifty-five members, chosen from the most able and respected citizens of the thirteen colonies. They decided that they must sustain Boston and aid her with soldiers and money; and they published that famous *Declaration of Rights* which all the colonists demanded by virtue of the laws of nature, of the British Constitution, and of the conceded charters. This solemn declaration was followed by a proclamation to all the colonies, and by a petition to King George III., which, like its predecessors, remained unnoticed.

As had expected William Pitt, who had tried to reconcile the unity of the British Monarchy with the liberty of the American colonies, war broke out.

CHAPTER IV.

True Causes of the War.—The real causes are all of a moral character. Declaration of the Rights of the Citizen—The principles of government established by the Roman Empire and adopted by the Church of Rome—St. Augustine teaches the doctrine of national conscience. —The influence of religion on forms of government—Calvinism—Presbyterianism—Democratic and aggressive tendencies—The States General of the United Provinces—Buchanan—Zwingle—Christians and Citizens: analogy of the two positions—Of the Reformation in England—Cromwell; Declaration of Rights in England—Presbyterianism in America—Meeting at Octorara in Pennsylvania—French colonists—Religious persecution in France, the cause of emigration to America—To sum up, the American colonies were settled by all those who wished to escape from the political and religious persecutions of Europe.

Such are the purely material facts which preceded the rupture of the English colonies in America with Great Britain, and the acts that brought on the first hostilities. An upheaval so general, so spontaneous, so irresistible, as that which brought about the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and the formation of the Republic of the United States, cannot, however, be explained only by the simple fact of an imposition of a new tax. It is in the very spirit of the people, attacked in their liberties, aspirations, traditions and beliefs that we must seek for the germs of the revolution that was about to break out. The great upheavals which, in the history of humanity, have changed the destiny of nations and transformed empires, have always been the logical and inevitable result of moral influences, which, existing during many years, even centuries, only waited for a favorable circumstance to affirm their domination and show their power.

Nowhere more than in North America can these moral

influences be called up by the historian, and I propose to study here their origin, follow their development, and collect their numerous manifestations.

I have said that the first attempts at colonization on the shores of the St. John's River were made by French Protestants. These attempts at first were unsuccessful, but from the day that the Huguenots, sent out by Coligny, put their feet upon the soil of the new world, it seems as though they took possession of it as the home of liberty of conscience and of political liberty.

Before the Christian era, differences in origin, customs and interests were the cause of war—never religious beliefs. If the man who sacrificed to Capitolian Jove on the banks of the Tiber wished to conquer the Egyptian or the Gaul, it was not because the latter worshipped Osiris or Teutates but solely in a spirit of conquest. Since the introduction of Christianity amongst men, wars of religion, on the contrary, were the longest and most cruel. It is in the name of a God of peace and charity that the most impassioned and fratricidal wars have been waged, and the most horrible executions committed.

It was while preaching a doctrine whose foundation was the equality of men and the love of one's neighbor, that nations, which had arisen under the shadow of the cross and had reached the highest degree of civilization, tore each other to pieces. How could the successors of the Apostles, the disciples of Christ, forgetting that the tortures of martyrs had originally hastened the triumphs of their belief, cause the blood of their brothers to flow so abundantly, and hope thus to bring them back from their pretended errors? It was because the Christian doctrine was turned aside from its path, and its precepts disregarded. Embraced with enthusiasm by the people, especially the poor and the disinherited of this world, to whom Christianity gave hope, it soon became in the hands of the sovereigns and the mighty a political instrument, a weapon of tyranny.

Then the spirit of the Gospel was forgotten and gave place to a coarse fanaticism amongst the ignorant masses; a barbarous intolerance alone was able to mask the abuses and disorders that had stained the purity of the primitive Church and distorted the precepts of the Fathers.

The legislators and the writers of Antiquity never admitted that the State had rights and interests independent or separate from those of the people. It was when the Republic had fallen at Rome under military despotism, and that the people, crushed by the aristocracy and bastardized by the infusion of barbarian blood, had lost all energy, that a new law, until then unknown, was established. The Empire henceforth recognized as leader only the will of the chief. He was only called upon to give an account of his actions to the Gods, even when he was not himself considered to be a God. Christianity found this doctrine in force, and it was handed on to succeeding generations by the law and the ecclesiastical writers. The Church adopted it in its organization, and imposed it upon the barbarous people who came to settle on the remains of the Roman Empire. In the Middle Ages the triumph of this system of government was complete. *E Deo Rex, e rege lex,* was the device under which the nations were to bend, and which placed the Pope at the head of the social organization, when it gave him the right of nominating or deposing sovereigns.

From the moment that the study of the ancient philosophers dispersed the darkness of ignorance, the spirit of curiosity and examination sought out all subjects, and the infallibility of the Pope and of sovereigns began to be questioned. It was even found that the Fathers of the Church had not at all proclaimed the doctrine upon which was founded the new law. St. Paul had taught that the individual should take his conscience as the guide of his conduct. St. Augustine, giving this doctrine a broader meaning, said that nations, like individuals, were responsible for their acts before God. And St. Bernard exclaimed: "Who will allow

me before I die, to see the Church of God as it was in the early days!"

In the councils of Vienna, of Pisa, of Bale, the necessity of reforming the Church in its head and its members was recognized. Such was also the opinion of the most celebrated doctors, such as Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly. The Augustine monks at last energetically rose against the abuses of the Roman Court and the disorders of the clergy; their most eminent Doctor, Martin Luther, proclaimed the Reformation. The most religious nations embraced it eagerly. The perusal of the holy books, which proclaimed the fraternity of men and announced the humbling of the powerful and the elevation of the lowly, let them hope for the end of the oppression under which they had groaned for centuries. From that time the Reformed Religion took in Holland with John of Leyden, in Switzerland with Zwingle and Calvin, in Scotland with Knox, a democratic character till then unknown.

The government of each people is generally the outcome of the religion it professes.

Amongst the rudest savages, who are hardly above brutes, and even who are inferior in intelligence to some of the animals amongst whom they live,[32] we do not find a defined form of government, unless it be the absolute and uncontestable right of force, and a blind and sanguinary despotism that reduces these peoples to the most miserable condition. The idea of a God is not, however, unknown to these beings who are only human in their language, since physically they resemble the monkey, as much as man. But it is a material God who possesses neither the infinite intelligence of the God of the most civilized nations, nor the mysterious and special power of the pagan divinities, nor even the

[32] Compare the character and customs of the populations amongst whom Livingstone, Speeke, Baker, Du Chaillu and other travellers of Central Africa have sojourned, with the customs of monkeys as described by Buffon and Mansfield Parkins.

instinct of the animals worshipped by the ancient Egyptians. It is a wood or stone fetich, deprived not only of all the attributes of reason, but also of intelligence and life. If for these idolaters a little will is hidden in the inert mass before which they prostrate themselves, it is never expressed except by fantastic and ferocious acts from which all idea of reason or justice is excluded, and such as they recognize their kings have the right to commit. Why should not these unfortunates admit that their terrestrial sovereign can dispose, to suit his caprice, of their goods, their persons and their lives, since they blindly submit to the established order of things and refuse to recognize in their God any appearance of reason?

By degrees, as the religion of the nations is disentangled from superstition and as the dogmas become of a morality less open to censure or of a more imposing character, the forms of government become modified in a similar sense. Political laws are still only a copy of religious laws; and while a blind faith leads one set of persons to submit to a government without restraint, the right of free thought and examination of the philosophical order of ideas leads others to have some doubts about their political rights, and to intervene in the administration of public affairs.

All forms of government can in truth be reduced to three:[33] Monarchy, the immediate and forced result of belief in monotheism; Oligarchy or aristocracy, which results from pantheism; and Democracy or Republicanism, consequent upon polytheism, or the belief in the existence of one Supreme Being who exercises a multitude of functions. The last form of government is the most elevated expression of the political intelligence of a people, as well as that the idea of a God possessing all the virtues is the highest expression

[33] The opinion of Aristotle on this question has been examined and probed by Mr. James Lorimer, Regius Prof. of Public Law and the Law of Nature in the University of Edinburgh.—*Political Progress*, London, 1851, Chap. X.

of the moral and religious sentiments of a man. It is thus that we see polytheism and democracy coexisting amongst the Greeks and the Romans, and Christianity, or a God under the triple form of Creator, Saviour and Inspirer, engendering the republicanism of modern nations.

The successive reformations of Christianity were the natural results of its development, and here we propose to examine more particularly the last of these phases, Calvinism, the effects of which were felt in France through the Huguenots, in Holland through the Anabaptists, in Scotland through the Presbyterians, and in England through the Non-Conformists and the Puritans. This examination will enable us to see why the agents of France in the English Colonies of America, such as De Kalb and Bonvouloir, found in the religious principles of the colonists an element of disaffection towards the mother country, and why they counselled the French Government to foster and cherish it, as it was the only force capable of arousing public opinion to such a degree as to produce a rupture with England at the first opportunity.[34]

The religious perturbations set three different peoples in motion, and had a different character and result in each of them.

Among the Sclaves, the movement of which John Huss was the leader, was rather national than religious. It

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[34] See, upon this subject, *La Vie de Thomas Jefferson.* By Cornelis De Witt, Paris, 1861.

A New Journey in North America, by the Abbé Robin, Philadelphia, 1782.

"Intolerant Presbyterianism must have long ago sowed the seeds of hatred and discord between them and the mother country."

Presbyterianism and the Revolution. By the Rev. Thomas Smith, 1845.

The Real Origin of the Declaration of Independence, by the Rev. Thomas Smith, Columbia, 1847.

These two last works, although very short, are remarkable owing to the freshness of their ideas, the high tone of their thought, and the exactness of their logic.

resembled the last glimmers of the pile lit by the Council of Constance, in which the reformer perished (1415).[35]

The Reformation promoted by Luther took its deepest roots among the Germans. It was also more thorough, while preserving an exclusively national character. It not only denied the authority of the Pope, but rejected that of Councils, then that of the Fathers, in order to bring itself face to face with the Holy Scripture. This manly and energetic monk, whose square and jovial face made popular, exercised a commanding influence. The vigorous hatred with which he combated the Roman clergy, then owning one-third of the soil of Germany, drew around him all who suffered in fortune from this imposition, all who detested the alien occupants of their native land, all who revolted at the vices and disorders of the professed teachers of holiness. The war, which the German princes then had to maintain against the Catholic sovereigns and the allies of the Pope, ended in giving to Luther's Reformation that essentially Teutonic character which it ever afterwards maintained.

In the Latin race, the most advanced of all in an intellectual point of view at that period—which to-day still pretends to the empire of the world (*Urbi et orbi*)—John Calvin organized a transformation, the most thorough and the most fruitful in political results. Born in France, at Noyon (in Picardy), in 1509, the new reformer, after having studied theology and subsequently law, published at Bale, when twenty-seven years of age, his *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, which he dedicated to the king of France. Driven from Geneva, and then recalled to that city, thenceforth he was all powerful there. He desired to reform alike morals and creeds, and himself furnished an example

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[35] See *Les Réformateurs avant la Réforme; Jean Hus et le Concile de Constance.* By Emile de Bonnechose. 2 vols., 12mo, 3d edition. Paris, 1870. A very learned and interesting work.

of the most austere morality.[36] His theocratic rule deprived the Genevese of some of the most innocent enjoyments of life; but owing to his vigorous impulse, Geneva acquired great importance in Europe.

Bolder in his reforms than Luther, he was also more thorough and systematic. He clearly comprehended that his doctrines would neither spread nor last if they were not condensed into a code. A summary of them, the Profession of Faith, in twenty-one articles, was given to the world (November the 10th, 1536), and we find the spirit of it, though not the letter, in many a political document of after-days. According to this code, the pastors were to preach, to administer the sacraments, to examine candidates for the office of the ministry. Authority was in the hands of a Synod or Consistory, essentially democratic in its construction, for it was composed one-third of pastors and two-thirds of laymen.

Calvin perfectly understood the secret of the increasing strength of the disciples of Loyola. Like the founder of the order of Jesuits, he desired to place the new social condition upon the most absolute equality, operating under the control of the severest discipline. He retained the power of excommunication for his church, and himself exercised authority over his followers with such rigid inflexibility, that it amounted almost to cruelty. When the man had disappeared, his principles survived him in the social organization which was his work. The equality of men was recognized and publicly professed; the most austere morality was practised; and when the hour of agony or death arrived, their faith and discipline enabled the Calvinists to make the most heroic efforts, to endure the most frightful tortures, for the sake of conscience and political liberty.

From France, where the founder of Calvinism had been

[36] This sternness of character had been early displayed. While at school his comrades had nicknamed him, "the accusative case."

born, this form of religion passed through Alsace into Holland, where it became established on the ruins of Lutheranism; at the same time, it became established in Scotland; and it was in Great Britain that the two systems—a reform proceeding from the people, and a reform directed by the government—reached the most complete development. In fact, the Anglican Church, with its archbishops, its different orders in the priesthood, its unchanged liturgy, its immense income, its universities, its institutions for learning or charity, hardly differed in anything from the outward organization of orthodox Romanism. The change consisted in the costume, a greater simplicity of worship, the marriage of the priests, the ejection of the Pope, the lands wrested from monks and transferred to royal favorites. The existence of the Church was intimately connected with the existence of the monarchy, of which it was the most faithful, the most loyal support.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, on the contrary, developed the democratic tendencies which were the very essence of Calvinism, and which had made Switzerland so prosperous. No distinction of rank or riches existed among the clergy. They were hardly separated from the faithful, except in the execution of their spiritual duties. There was no delegation of the priesthood. Every Christian was fit for the sacred office who had true piety and a call from God. The ministers were poor, but it was because they "lived of the sacrifice." The power they exercised was purely moral; but in Scotland, as well as at Geneva, magistrates and nobles were more than once compelled to listen to the stern and energetic voices of their pastors.

Vox populi, vox Dei was henceforth the watchword of the peoples. It displaced the maxim of divine right. Upon the principles summed up in it, the States General relied when they pronounced (July the 26th, 1581) the deposition of Philip II. and created the Batavian Republic.

Some years previously Buchanan,[37] and, later on, other British writers, expanding the views of St. Augustine and Calvin, maintained that nations had a conscience like individuals, that the Christian revelation ought to be the foundation of civil law, and that only where it was in default had the State a right to legislate and establish rules of action for itself; that whatever might be the form of government chosen by a people—republic, monarchy or oligarchy—that government was only the machinery which the people employed to administer affairs, and that its continuance or its arrest depended solely upon the way in which it discharged the duty intrusted to it.

These are the principles which are found in the teachings of the primitive Church, revived by Calvin, and which tended to nothing else than to overturn the ideas then admitted in the organization of empires, and to sap the foundation of the absolute power of sovereigns as well in France and England as in Spain, Italy and Germany; and their antagonism, therefore, provoked violent persecutions of the dissenters of all sects and all classes.

This denial of human authority in the spiritual system led to the denial of authority in the philosophical system—to Descartes and Spinoza.[38] The protest against royal prerogatives could not fail to produce, later on, declarations more or less akin to those of the States General and the American colonies. It was not without reason that sovereigns considered Calvinism the religion of rebels, and waged so bitter a warfare against it. "We must obey princes only in so far as we can do so without offending God."[39] "It furnished the nations," says Mignet,[40] "with a model and a

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[37] Buchanan's work, which had the greatest renown in England and in Scotland, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, was printed in 1579. The *Lex Rex* of Rutherford, in 1644. *Pro populo angliae defensio*, by Milton, in 1651.

[38] *Benedicti Spinoza, Opera* 21, i.: 24, Tauchnitz, 1843.

[39] *Harmonie Evangélique.*

[40] *History of the Reformation at Geneva.*

method of righting themselves." In effect, it nourished the love of liberty and independence. "We must combat not only for the truth, but for liberty," writes Calvin. It kept alive in the hearts of his disciples that republican and anti-sacerdotal spirit[41] which was to become all-powerful in America, and which certainly has not uttered its last word in Europe.

Thus, by a singular coincidence, France gave to the world Calvin, the originator of ideas which she at first rejected, but in whose triumph she was to share, arms in hand, two and a half centuries later in America.

It was not so much the Catholic religion that the Pope upheld by promoting the crusades against the Albigenses and the Huguenots, by establishing the inquisition, by condemning the heresies of Luther and Calvin; it was his temporal power and his supremacy that he so fiercely defended by the terror of the secular arm, when spiritual thunders failed him. Nor was it in zeal for religion, but from a motive altogether political, that Francis I. caused the Vaudois to be massacred and the Protestants to be burnt in France, while he sustained them in Germany against his rival, Charles the Fifth.[42] His task was to keep down that leaven of liberalism which offended his despotism and gave so much uneasiness to his successors. Catharine de Medicis by the St. Bartholomew massacre, Richelieu[43] by the siege of La Rochelle, and Louis XIV. by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, steadily endeavored to regain the absolute power which the Protestants denied them; and they persecuted

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[41] As poisons of the deadliest kind
Are to their own unhappy coasts confined;
So Presbytery and its pestilential zeal
Can flourish only in a Common Weal.
Dryden, Hind and Panther.

[42] Brantome relates that the king, after reading Calvin's dedication, allowed an observation to escape him one day: "This novelty (said he) will overthrow all monarchy, human and divine."

[43] "If this man had not had despotism in his heart, he would have had it in his head." *Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws*, v: 10.

them with all the legitimate and criminal means at their command. They did not desire this "State within State," according to Richelieu's expression; and under pretence of opposing the religious reformation, it was political reform that they hoped to stifle.

The Catholic Philip II. felt the Netherlands tremble under his heavy iron hand. He saw that rich prey won over by the Reformation, and raised against the Calvinists, in whom he saw, especially, enemies of his absolute power, gibbets, and stakes and scaffolds, of which the Duke of Alva was the sanguinary purveyor.

But the persecutions, banishments, tortures and massacres ended in results entirely different from those for which their sanguinary authors had hoped. The popes, far from recovering that supremacy of which they were so jealous, beheld half of the Christian populations, formerly subject to the Holy See, escaping from their spiritual jurisdiction. Spain, bowed down beneath the cruel yoke of the inquisition and despotism, lost all social energy, all political life. She sank to rise no more. The Low Countries organized themselves into a republic. Two-thirds of Germany became Protestant; and America, England, Germany, received into their bosoms some of the most skilful artisans, some of the noblest families of France, banished by an act as unjust as it was impolitic, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Crushed forever, religious opposition disappeared from France. But its political and social work was resumed by the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which, freed from all religious restraint, engendered results terrible in quite another way. The example of America, in shaking off a royal yoke, was not without influence there, and the Protestants of the new world saw that throne totter, from which Louis XIV. had issued orders against them for the dragonnades and exile, and had a bloody and terrible revenge for the persecutions that absolute royalty and the old political régime had made them suffer.

One single state in Europe, a republic, Switzerland, found in the principles of a liberal constitution, as the United States of America afterwards did, the solution of its religious quarrels.[44] At first the Catholics had also taken up arms against the dissenters of Zwingle,[45] and had defeated them.

[44] Some examples will be found in the *History of the Anabaptists*, Amsterdam, 1669. The interview of William the Silent with the Mennonite envoys is an affecting episode.—P. 233.

[45] Two works lately published make us much more thoroughly acquainted with the life, the actions, and the doctrines of Zwingle, than heretofore. They are:

Zwingli Studien, by Doctor Herman Spoerri, Leipzig, 1866.

Ulrich Zwingli, from unknown sources, by S. C. Moerihoffer, Leipzig, 1867.

Born in 1484, at Wildhaus, in the Canton of St. Gall, he was Vicar of Glaris at twenty-two years of age, where he remained twelve years. A year before Luther, he attacked the vices and abuses of the court of Rome, and his numerous adherents called him to the vicarage of Zurich in 1510. In 1524–5 he suppressed the celibacy of the priests and the mass, and was married. More logical and milder than Luther, he had not the same power of arousing the masses. He taught, with prophetical inspiration, that the moral, social, religious and political difficulties would end in the separation from the Bishop of Rome of many of his subordinates; that the constitution of the church ought to be congregational, and all its business transacted by the congregations themselves. These views were solemnly adopted at the Conference of 1523, as the foundation of the Helvetian Church. He differed with Luther in some points, especially respecting the Real Presence in the Eucharist, which Zwingle positively denied. He tried in vain to come to some understanding with the German reformer in the interview at Marburg. Berne adopted his doctrines in 1528; he says, "I hope to see them extend throughout all Switzerland." When the war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants, the Catholics were victorious at Cappel, 1531, and Zwingle was killed in the battle.

He published *Civitas Christiana—De falsa et verâ Religione.*

"Religious and political matters were confounded in his mind," says D'Aubigné. "Christians and citizens were the same to him." This universal Christian citizenship was the dominant idea of his life and his works. It was adopted by Grotius, and has been thus expressed by Tennyson:

"With the standards of the peoples, plunging through the thunder-storm,
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled,
In the Parliament of Man, the federation of the world."

But the conflict taught both parties the wisdom of a pacific solution, and they speedily agreed that each of the Cantons should be free to adopt the mode of faith which it preferred. Thus, only where political liberty existed could religious liberty be established without danger to the public peace.

To revert to the Reformation in England, which contributed at each successive phase a contingent, either Puritan, Covenanter, Cameronian, or Presbyterian, to the increasing emigration to the colonies. The declaration (March the 30th) by which the deputies of the English clergy acknowledged the king to be the Defender of the Faith and the Head of the Church of England, was the unexpected result of an amorous caprice of Henry VIII. for Anna Boleyn, and the refusal of the Pope to approve of the king's divorce from Katharine.[46] The people were wholly unprepared for this schism. The separation of England from Rome effected little else than the transfer of the authority of the church to the king, and her possessions to his favorites. Religious despotism was none the less complete for assuming a dissenting form and name. The Catholics resisted spoliation. They were hanged by hundreds. The continental Protestants believed they could find an asylum in the domains of Henry. They found only persecution. The governmental reformation had nothing in common with the teachings of the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, the Calvinists. It never lost the cruel fanaticism of the expeditions against the Vaudois in Italy, the Albigenses and Camisards in France, the Anabaptists in the Netherlands. Mary Tudor persecuted in the name of Catholicism. Elizabeth proscribed that sect. The Stuarts ferociously pursued the Non-Conformists, the Presbyterians, the Puritans, the

[46] It should not be overlooked that the Pope had originally granted a dispensation for King Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. The schism of the Anglican church dates from the subsequent refusal of the Pope to consent to a divorce. See W. Beach Lawrence, *Revue du Droit International*, 1870, p. 65; Froude, *History of England*, i: 446, for details.

Cameronians. The Tudors exercised absolute power as a matter of fact. The Stuarts pretended that it existed by right. James I. was the most audacious advocate of the doctrine of divine right. "No Bishop, no King," said he. He asserted that kings reigned by authority derived from God, and were therefore above human laws; that their decrees were of more force than parliamentary statutes; and that they could disregard charters and conventions. Though the son of Mary Stuart, he furthered the severest enactments against the Catholics, using the Gunpowder Plot (1605) as a pretext for consigning them to a condition of abject political inferiority, from which they were not emancipated until within the last half century.

It was then that the emigration to the new world set in, which was to form the United States, and to which all the nations contributed that were under an absolute or despotic government that allowed to the persecuted unfortunates no other means than exile to save their lives, their belief and their property. It was thus that the executioners of Charles I., the tyranny of Buckingham, the cruel persecutions of Archbishop Laud, the extraordinary tribunals of Charles I. contributed to people America.[47]

The Puritans, while in power under Cromwell, were no more tolerant than their adversaries. The Protector waged a war of extermination in Ireland. He had no pity on the Scotch prisoners. "The Lord has delivered them into our hands." The officers and soldiers, their wives and children, were transported to America and sold to the planters.[48] The

[47] By a strange coincidence, on board of one of the eight ships that were anchored in the Thames before crossing the ocean, when a decree of Charles I. stopped them, was Cromwell, the future chief of the Revolution of 1648.

[48] A work ascribed to General Fairfax's Chaplain, *England's Recovery*, which there is every reason to believe was written by the general himself, gives the prices at which some of the captives were sold. Many of them were not destitute of merit. For instance, Colonel Ninian Beall, captured at the battle of Dunbar, was sent into Maryland, where he was

restoration of the Stuarts brought about bloody reprisals.[49] At last came the Revolution of 1688, which gave victory decidedly to the Protestants. The successive encroachments of the crown on the rights of the nation were not accomplished without energetic protests, of which some, celebrated in history, express in precise and energetic language the claims and purposes of their authors, even of those very persons who crossed to America to create a new country. These unheeded protests brought on the continual resistance of Parliament and the League of the Covenanters and of the Independents, which soon brought the heads of Strafford and Charles I. to the scaffold.

The Stuarts, after the restoration, again trampled on the rights of the nation. But though for a short time overwhelmed by the despotism of the Catholic James II., the nation called to the throne William of Orange, whose royal authority was limited by that famous act, known as the *Declaration of Rights*. This revolution, which was inspired by the same principles as that of Holland in 1584, was a momentous European event, and not merely an English conflict like that of 1648. The English had succeeded finally in causing the principles for which they had carried on such protracted struggles to be proclaimed and to rule—principles which their fellow-countrymen had carried over to America.

These principles were that no taxation could be imposed without representation in Parliament; that that body alone

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soon appointed commander-in-chief of the troops of that colony. A victory which he gained over the "*Susquehannochs*" secured him the eulogies and thanks of the province, with extraordinary gifts and honors.

Historical Magazine of America, 1757; *Middle British Colonies*, by Lewis Evans, Philadelphia, 1775, pages 12 and 14; *Terra Mariæ*, by Ed. Neil, Philadelphia, 1867, p. 193; Bacon's *Laws of Maryland* contains the *Act of Gratitude*, 1659, to Ninian Beall and his wife Elizabeth; see also *Vie de Cromwell* by Raguenet, Paris, 1691; *Les Conspirations D'Angleterre*, Cologne, 1680.

[49] *Vie de Cromwell*, by Raguenet, Paris, 1691. *Les Conspirations D'Angleterre*, Cologne, 1680.

could authorize the levy of a regular army; that the two houses of Parliament, regularly convened, should have a serious part in the affairs of the country; that every citizen should have the right of petition; and, finally, that the *habeas corpus* act should obtain.

These principles were always invoked by the American colonists. You do not leave your native land and your home without keeping in your heart and transmitting to your children the ideas for which you have made great sacrifices and without retaining profound aversion for the despotism which has rendered those sacrifices necessary. While English statesmen were speaking of the omnipotence of Parliament, and its right to tax the colonies without admitting their representatives to its bosom, the Calvinistic colonists were asserting "the prerogatives which they derived from Jesus Christ." We are authorized, they said, by the law of God, as by that of nature, to defend our religious liberty and our political rights. This liberty, these rights, are innate and indefeasible. They are inscribed in the code of eternal justice, and governments are established among men, not to encroach upon or undermine them, but to protect and maintain them among the governed. When a government fails in this duty, the people ought to overthrow it, and construct another conformable to their needs and their welfare.

On the 11th of November, 1743, just as Walpole's corrupt ministry was expiring, that had no other object but the increase of the royal prerogatives, and no other means but corruption, the Reverend Mr. Craighead convened a meeting at Octorara in Pennsylvania.[50]

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[50] *A Renewal of the Covenants, National and Solemn League, A Confession of Sins, and an Engagement to Duties, and a Testimony, as they were carried on at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania,* November the 11th, 1743. Psalm lxxvi: 11; Jeremiah 1: 5. This curious and very interesting pamphlet was reprinted at Philadelphia in 1748. It is quite probable that it was known to Mr. Jefferson, who says (*Autobiography*): "We rummaged

Among other resolutions the following were adopted: "We must guard, according to the rights that Jesus Christ has transmitted to us, our bodies and our property free from all unjust restraint." And further on: "King George II. has none of the qualifications for governing this country which the Scriptures require." They made a solemn covenant, which "they" swore to with uplifted hands and drawn swords, according to the custom of our ancestors, and of soldiers ready to conquer or to die, "to protect our persons, our property, and our consciences against all attacks, and to defend the Gospel of Christ and the liberty of the nation against enemies within and without." [51]

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everywhere to find the biblical formulas of the old Puritans." Franklin, his colleague in the committee, could not, as printer and politician, have been ignorant of its existence. The only copy which I have seen was said to have been brought from North Carolina.

[51] The most complete and most energetic expression of the ideas inspired by the religious Reformation, ideas which were to lead to a political Reformation, are found in the Declaration of Independence of the colonies, proclaimed at Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776. But then already for a long time men's minds were filled with the principles that the colonists proclaimed at that time to the nations, astonished at their audacity. As soon, in fact, as the blood of the Americans was spilt on the battle-field of Lexington, meetings were held at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina, at which resolutions were adopted that had a strong analogy with the declaration drawn up the following year by Jefferson. After the meetings (May, 1775), the Presbyterians, in view of their violated rights, and resolved for the struggle, directed three of their most respected and influential members—all Presbyterians, all graduates of Princeton College, the Reverend Hezekiah James Balch, Doctor Ephraim Brevard and William Kennon—to propose resolutions befitting the solemn occasion; and they adopted the following:

"*First:* Whoever, directly or indirectly, shall have directed, in any way whatsoever, or favored attacks as unlawful and serious as those which Great Britain directs against us, is the enemy of this country, of America, and of all the indefeasible and inalienable rights of men.

"*Secondly:* We, the citizens of the County of Mecklenburg, break, from this time forward, the political bonds which attach us to the mother country; we free ourselves for the future from all dependence upon the crown of England, and reject all agreement, contract or alliance with that nation, which has cruelly shed the blood of American patriots at Lex-

Another element of dissatisfaction towards England existed amongst the Americans in addition to all the causes of antipathy that the English colonists nourished in their hearts against the mother country and her government.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) had forced France to furnish to the new world her contingent of Protestants. Even before Louis XIV. had taken this step, as iniquitous in its principle as it was barbarous in its execution and fatal to the interests of France in its results, at the time when Richelieu, after the fall of La Rochelle, deprived the Protestants of the political rights that Henry IV. had given them, numbers of fugitives, hailing from the western provinces, had sought a refuge in English America, and had founded, amongst others, the town of New Rochelle, in the State of New York. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, had, about 1662, a community of Huguenots, which constantly attracted new emigrants. But from 1685, the movement of French emigration towards the Anglo-American colonies increased largely. They settled mostly in Virginia and South Carolina, where they were received by their English co-religionists with great benevolence and generosity.[52] It is there, too, that we find several names of French origin which recall to those who bear them their first country and the misfortunes that drove them from it. As English subjects, these Frenchmen, who had lost all hope of again seeing their native land, and who only remembered with horror the monarchical government which had driven them into exile, fought at first in the ranks of the American militia, for the triumph of the English policy. But when the

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ington." *American Archives* (4th series) ii: 855; *The History of North Carolina*, by Wheeler, Foote and Martin; *Field-Book of the Revolution*, by Lossing, ii: 617, and the numerous authorities therein cited.

[52] *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, by the Right Reverend Doctor Meade, Protestant Bishop, Philadelphia, 1857. Vol. i, art. xliii. See, also, *The Westover MSS.* in the possession of Colonel Harrison, of Brandon, Virginia; *History of Virginia*, by Charles Campbell, Richmond, 1847; *America*, by Oldmixon, i: 727, London, 1741.

colonies, arbitrarily taxed, revolted, these same Frenchmen found in their hearts the secular hatred of their ancestors for the English. They were amongst the first to take up arms, and urge on the proclamation of independence. Several even played an important part in the conflict.[53]

Thus the English colonies in America were largely peopled by adherents of the Reformed faith, who fled from religious intolerance and monarchical despotism. The Catholics who settled there were also driven out of England by similar causes, and had learnt in their misfortune not to look upon the Protestants as enemies. All, then, were animated by a profound dislike for the form of government which had driven them into exile. Here, in this immense country, lived a population of diverse origin, but united by the recollections of kindred wrongs and sufferings in the old world, by common wants and hopes in the new. The constant contests in which they were engaged, either with a virgin soil covered with forests and swamps, or with the natives who were unwilling to be dispossessed, inured them to hardship, developed their inventive capacities and resources, and gave them that moral and physical vigor needed by new-born nations. Religion, divided into numerous sects, had the same body of doctrine in the Bible and Gospel, inculcated the same rules of life—the fear of God and the love of one's neighbor; the same aspirations—liberty of conscience and political liberty.[54] The pastors—rigid, pious,

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[53] Among the French names prominent in the war were Bayard, Gervais, Marion, the two Laurens, John Jay, Elias Boudinot, the two Manigaults, Gadsden, Huger, Fontaine, Maury, de Frouville, Le Fèvre, Benezet, etc.

[54] The anonymous Ms. that I believe was written by Cromot, Baron du Bourg, gives *some observations on the Quakers*, which proves how forcibly the French Officers were impressed with these facts. "The base of their religion," he says, "consists in the fear of God and the love of one's neighbor. It is also a part of their principles to take no part in war. They hold in horror everything that may tend to the destruction of their brothers. Owing to this same love of one's neighbor, they will not allow

austere, simple in life, energetic in soul, strengthened by privations—set an example of duty to their flocks, and more than once proved on the field of battle that they knew how to defend their rights as Christian freemen.[55]

At the period when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, all these elements were in full vigor. And yet, the colonies, in spite of all their courage, might have been too weak to maintain their just pretensions if they had not met, in the political situation of Europe, with a powerful auxiliary.

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any slaves in their community, and the Quakers cannot possess negroes. They even deem it their duty to assist them. They also refuse to pay tithes, considering that the demands made by the clergy are an usurpation that is not authorized by the Gospel.

[55] In the *American Archives* and *Revolutionary Records* are to be found the names of several clergymen who served as officers in the Continental Army.

CHAPTER V.

The Part France Played in this War.—Rivalries of France, Spain and England at the time of the discovery of America—Canada—Explorations of Marquet, Juliel, La Salle and Father Hennequin—The founding of Louisiana—Céleron—The English invade Canada, 1754—Washington appears for the first time, and against the French—Louis XV. declares war against England—Diversion made on the continent by the Seven Years' War—Montcalm—Loss of Canada—Policy of Choiseul—De Kalb—Letters of Montcalm to de Berryer ascribed to Choiseul—Intrigues against Choiseul. . . . . .

Let us now study the part which the French government played and the share, sometimes concealed and sometimes public, which it took in the revolt of the English colonies.

From the time when Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, the possession of the rich countries which excited the covetousness of the Europeans became an unceasing cause of contention between the three great maritime powers—Spain, England and France. Their rivalries were maintained with changing fortunes, down to the moment when the Declaration of Independence of the United States, by taking away a support from some and causing to disappear the object of greediness of others, put an end to the interminable wars that these powers carried on.

Jacques Cartier, sent by Philippe de Chabot, Admiral of France, set out in 1534 from St. Malo, his native town, with two ships, to examine the territories of North America, hitherto unexplored. He discovered the Magdalen Islands, sailed along the western shore of the St. Lawrence River, and afterwards, the next year, in a second expedition, took possession, in the king's name, of the greater part of Canada, which he called New France.

Canada, too much neglected under the feeble successors of Francis I., received new French colonists under Henry IV. The Marquis de la Roche, who succeeded in 1598

Laroque de Roberval in the government of that colony, founded a settlement on the Isle des Sables, now Royal Island, and explored the coasts of Acadia. Four years later Acadia was again examined by Samuel de Champlain, who founded in 1608 the city of Quebec.

These successive enlargements and the prosperity of the French colony could not remain a matter of indifference to the English, recently established in Virginia. Therefore, in 1613, some English privateers, under the command of Samuel Argall, without a declaration of war, or warning, attacked and destroyed St. Croix and Port Royal, in Acadia. In 1621, James I., king of England, granted all the eastern and northern portion of Canada to the Earl of Stirling, under pretence that all that country was inhabited only by savages. But the French colonists were in nowise disposed to allow themselves to be despoiled in this manner, and two years afterwards Charles I. had to restore to France the territory which William Stirling had taken possession of only as a matter of form.

In 1629, 1634 and 1697, Acadia and a part of Canada were successively taken and as often given back to the French, until finally, by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, England was put in unquestioned possession of the disputed territory.

The English were not satisfied with this success. It only encouraged them to persevere in their design to conquer the whole of Canada. The French, on their part, notwithstanding the way the mother country deserted them, courageously resisted the English, and generally found a powerful support in the struggle in their auxiliaries, the aborigines, whom they had not ceased to treat with mildness and good faith.

Meanwhile, Canada, in spite of the incessant attacks from the English, to which it was exposed on the south, was flourishing. The St. Lawrence was a convenient and safe retreat for the French vessels. The soil, formerly unculti-

vated, had become fruitful through the exertions of many thousand inhabitants.

They now found that to the south were large unexplored rivers. There were important discoveries to be made in that direction. That glory was reserved for Robert de La Salle.

Already in 1673, the Jesuit Father Marquet and the Sieur Joliet had been sent out by Frontenac, governor of Canada, and had discovered the Mississippi to the west of Lake Michigan. Later, in 1679 and 1680, Father Hennequin, a Recollect, accompanied by the Sieur Dacan, had ascended that river towards its source as far as the Falls of St. Anthony.

De La Salle, a resolute and energetic man, furnished with the fullest powers by the minister of the navy, Seignelay, set out from Quebec in 1682. He first repaired to the Illinois, where, with the consent of the Indians, he built a fort. While a part of his men ascended the Mississippi, following the route of Father Hennequin, he himself descended that river to the Gulf of Mexico. Everywhere he received the kindest reception from the Indians, and profited by it to establish a store in the town of the Arkansas and another among the Chicasaws.

The next year he desired to return to the mouth of the Mississippi by way of the sea. But the vessels which were conveying the soldiers and colonists whom he was bringing from France left him with his expedition in a bay that he called St. Louis. The pleasant and fertile territory on which he settled took the name of Louisiana. He was on the point of seeking assistance from his establishments on the Mississippi, when he was murdered by the people of his retinue. The Spaniards settled in Mexico, destroyed the germ of this colony.

Ten years elapsed before d'Iberville revived La Salle's project concerning Louisiana. In 1712, Crozat and Saint Denis continued his work, and this possession was so favor-

ably known in France that it served from 1717 to 1720 as the foundation of the system and speculations of the famous Law. It was at that period that New Orleans was founded.[56]

Thus, although France had ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia and Hudson's Bay to England, she still had Labrador, the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the course of the river and the region of the great lakes, comprising Canada and the valley of the Mississippi, known under the name of Louisiana. But the limits of these possessions were not well defined. The English claimed that the boundary of Acadia extended as far as the St. Lawrence River; the Pennsylvanians and the Virginians, crossing the Alleghany Mountains, were advancing westwardly as far as the banks of the Ohio. To confine them in an immense semi-circle, the French had connected New Orleans with Quebec by a chain of posts on the Ohio and the Mississippi.

As we have seen, the territory on which they established these forts had been discovered by La Salle. Following the laws of nations of those times, he sent Céleron, a French officer, to take possession of it officially. That officer went through the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi and the region of the lakes, in a word, the whole country comprised between New Orleans and Montreal. Everywhere on his journey he buried plates of lead,[57] as a memorial and testimony of the establishment of French domination over that territory.

The English, justly alarmed at such pretensions, alleged that these establishments aimed a blow at their rights, and abruptly invaded Canada (1754).

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[56] I have found some curious information, not in print, in the *Relation concernant l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, by Penicaud, an unpublished manuscript. Father Charlevoix speaks of this work (VI., 421); and the copy which I have in my hands was described at a sale in Paris in 1867, as neatly copied by a person named François Bouet.

[57] *Life of Washington*, by Sparks (II., 430). The date is August the 16th, 1749.

Then for the first time the name of Washington appears in history. He commanded a detachment of Virginians and had the rank of colonel. Thus, by a singular coincidence, this great man first bore arms against those same soldiers who were to aid in the deliverance of his country, and he endeavored to subject to the British Government those same Canadians whom he afterwards summoned in vain to assist in the common deliverance.

Washington surprised near Fort Duquesne a detachment of French troops sent on a reconnoitering expedition, surrounded it, captured it and killed its commander, Jumonville.[58] Besieged in turn in his camp at the Great Meadows, by de Villiers, the brother of Jumonville, he was obliged to surrender and withdraw, but with the honors of war.[59]

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[58] This was the spark that kindled the Seven Years' War. Laboulaye, *Histoire des États-Unis*, II., 50, 297.

[59] This surrender gave birth to a horrible calumny, which, notwithstanding the repeated protestations of Washington, still tries to attack his memory, in spite of the universally admitted nobleness of his character. I mean the pretended *assassination* of Jumonville. Several works published in France (*Mémoires, précis des faits, pièces justificatives, etc.*, Paris, 1756—the official reply to the observations of England) repeat and propagate this error, and though it has been recognized and noticed as such in the most conscientious writings, I believe that it is my duty to contradict once more an assertion so improbable and so contrary to the judgment which the contemporaries of Washington and posterity have given respecting that great man.

The articles of capitulation that Washington signed, in full confidence, were drawn up in French, that is to say in a language that neither Colonel Washington nor any of the men of his detachment understood. The Dutch interpreter who read it to the Americans translated the word assassination as the equivalent of *death* or *loss*, either from ignorance or as a culpable trick, and people considered that as an avowal of Washington which was only the result of his unwitting good faith.

Moré de Pontgibaud, in his memoirs already mentioned (p. 16), clears Washington of the accusation which he had heard brought against him in France. "It is most unquestionable in the traditions of the country," he says, "that M. de Jumonville was killed by the fault, the mistake and the act of a soldier who fired upon him, whether he did or did not believe him to be the bearer of a flag of truce, but that the commander of the

The second expedition[60] led the same year by General Braddock, an Englishman, against Fort Duquesne, had a more unfortunate result for that officer. Despising the Virginia militia, he entangled himself in a region with which he was unacquainted, and was surrounded and killed by the French, assisted by the Indians. Colonel Washington rallied the fugitives and effected his retreat in good order.

Finally, in 1755, still before a declaration of war, the English admiral, Boscawen, captured some French ships of the line at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, whilst the English privateers, scattering over the seas, captured over three hundred merchantmen carrying nearly six millions of dollars of merchandise, and led away as prisoners to the hulks more than eight thousand French sailors. In the face of so audacious a violation of the laws of nations, King Louis XV., notwithstanding his apathy and shameful indifference to the public interests, was obliged to declare war against England.[61]

It was to the interest of France to allow the contest to retain the exclusive colonial character. But her navy was almost destroyed. She could not, therefore, help her colonists. Besides, England did not leave her liberty to act thus. The gold given by Pitt to Frederick II., king of Prussia, started the continental war known by the name of the Seven Years' War. Thus compelled to fight on the land

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fort gave no order to fire ; the most unexceptionable guaranty is the mildness and magnanimity of General Washington's character, which, amidst the chances of war and all the trials of good and evil fortune, never belied itself. But M. Thomas (of the French Academy) has thought it more poetical and more patriotic to present this unfortunate event in a light injurious to the English officer." See also *Histoire des États-Unis*, by Edouard Laboulaye, Paris, 1866, II., 50, wherein this episode is examined.

[60] The best account of this is *Braddock's Expedition*, by Winthrop Sergeant, published in the *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1855.

[61] June the 9th, 1756.

and the sea, France made vigorous efforts. Unfortunately, the generals whom the caprices of Madame de Pompadour placed at the head of the armies were either utterly incompetent, or carried the quarrels and intrigues of the court into the camp. The results of this war were therefore disastrous.

Alike in Canada and the East Indies there were reverses. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm captured in 1756 Forts Oswego and St. George, on Lake Ontario and Lake George (Saint Sacrement). Montcalm even won an important victory on the shores of Lake Champlain, at Ticonderoga (1758); but he could not prevent Admiral Boscawen's fleet from capturing Louisbourg, Cape Breton, the Island of St. John and blockading the entrance of the St. Lawrence, whilst the Anglo-American army destroyed the forts of the Ohio and cut the communications between Louisiana and Canada.

In 1759, Montcalm and Vaudreuil had only five thousand soldiers to oppose to forty thousand. They were, besides, deprived of all assistance from France, alike in men, money and ammunition. The English besieged Quebec. The city was outflanked by a bold manœuvre of General Wolff. Montcalm was mortally wounded. The English general also fell, and expired satisfied on learning that his troops were victorious. Vaudreuil still struggled for some time. It was in vain. Canada was lost to France.

Choiseul, an able minister, the only man who, in those times of disorder and corruption, took to heart the interests of his country, came to power, called by the favor of Mme. de Pompadour. His first act was to unite by a treaty, known as the Family Compact (August the 15th, 1761), all the reigning branches of the House of Bourbon, which at once gave to France the support of the Spanish navy. This, being at once exposed to the attacks of England, suffered great losses.

However, all the nations of Europe were exhausted by

this war, in which a million men had perished. France had spent for her share two hundred and sixty million dollars. By the Treaty of Paris she kept only the little islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, and the right of fishing near Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. She recovered Guadeloupe, Marie-Galande, Désirade, and Martinique, but ceded the eastern part of Louisiana to Spain.

England had secured her object—the complete expulsion of the French from the American continent, and the ruin of their navy.

Choiseul wished to raise France from this state of depression. He tried to reorganize the army by diminishing the waste in it and organizing it on a new basis. He aroused a patriotic movement in the Parliaments so that each one of them should furnish a ship to the State, and England sorrowfully saw that navy spring up again which she had believed destroyed forever.

Under his administration, France obtained sixty-four ships and fifty frigates or corvettes, which made England feel, during the American war, that the disasters of the Seven Years' War had not been irreparable.[62]

At the same time that Choiseul supported Spain in her antagonism to England, he kept himself informed about the relations of the American colonies with their mother country. His correspondence shows him persevering in his hatred for the rival of France, studying the fittest means to diminish the power of that rival, and especially uneasy concerning the development of her colonies. He encouraged with all his might, and by means of agents, who, as de

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[62] It was during his administration that France acquired Corsica, and that, two months afterwards, England's greatest enemy, Napoleon, was born in that island. We find in his *Mémoires imprimés sous ses yeux, dans son cabinet, à Chanteloup*, 1778, his reasons for the annexation of Corsica, I., 103.

Pontleroy,[63] de Kalb,[64] Bonvouloir,[65] were wanting neither in talents nor in energy, the growing opposition of the colo-

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[63] Pontleroy, lieutenant of the navy in the department of Rochefort, was ordered in 1764, by Choiseul, to visit the English colonies in America. The Count de Guerchy, ambassador at London, in a dispatch dated October the 19th, 1766, again asks for letters and a passport for this same Pontleroy, under the name of *Beaulieu*, which he bore in America. A short time previously, Durand wrote to Choiseul that Pontleroy had no talent for writing, but that he might map out to advantage the plans of the principal ports of America and even of England, by entering the service of an American merchant who would put him in command of a ship. He was well acquainted with ship building, piloting and drawing. He asked for nothing but the pay allowed to the lieutenants of the navy.

This proposition was agreed to by Choiseul, and Pontleroy or Beaulieu set out shortly afterwards.

[64] De Kalb was an officer of German origin, who served in the French infantry with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. There could be no doubt of his courage, ability and zeal. His knowledge of German facilitated his intercourse with the colonists who were natives of the same country as himself. His instructions, dated April the 12th, 1767, ordered him to start from Amsterdam and, when he should have reached his destination, to ascertain what were the needs of the colonists for artillery officers and engineers, as well as for military stores and provisions. He was to study and stimulate the desire of the colonists to break with the English government, to inform himself about their resources in troops and intrenched forts, about their projects of revolt and the leaders whom they expected to put at their head. "The commission that I confide to you," said Choiseul to him, "is difficult and requires intelligence; ask me for the means necessary to fulfil it; I shall supply you with them all."

After having served France as a diplomat, de Kalb felt it his duty to take his share, alongside of the Americans, in the dangers that he had persuaded them to face. He served as a volunteer, with the rank of major-general, and was killed in the unfortunate battle of Camden. (*Biographical Notices.*)

[65] Another agent of France in America was Bonvouloir (Achard de), a French officer, enlisted as volunteer in the regiment of the Cap. Illness compelled him to leave St. Domingo to return to a milder climate. At first he visited the English colonies, where he was invited to serve in the rebel armies. He declined at that time, but, having arrived in London in 1775, he was put into communication with the Count de Guines, French ambassador, who obtained from him useful information respecting the condition of the revolted colonies, and who wrote to de Vergennes for

nies, which from 1763 seemed already prepared to pass into a state of revolt against the mother country.[66]

From 1757 to 1759 there appeared some letters, said to be written by the Marquis de Montcalm to his cousin, de Berryer, residing in France, wherein we find a very correct appreciation of the state of affairs in the American colonies, and a very distinct prediction of the revolution that was in preparation. "Canada," it is said therein, "is the safeguard of the colonies. Why does the English Minister seek to conquer it? Once this country is subjected to British rule, the other English colonies will grow accustomed to consider the French no longer as their enemies."

These letters made a great stir on both continents. Greenville and Lord Mansfield, who had them in their possession, believed that they had really originated with Montcalm. Even in our own days, the judicious Carlyle[67] has not hesitated to quote extracts from them with the object of boasting of the sagacity of the French general and the accuracy of his prophecy. But the style of these letters, the exaggeration of certain ideas, the absence of all character that denotes

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authority to make Bonvouloir an agent in America of the French government.

The French minister, in fact, gave Bonvouloir the sum of two hundred louis for a year and the commission of a lieutenant, antedated, that he might enter the army of the rebels to advantage. He left London for Philadelphia on the 8th of September, 1775, under the name of a merchant of Antwerp. He found in Philadelphia a M. Daymond, a Frenchman and a bookseller, who assisted him in his researches. He wrote, in giving intelligence to de Vergennes, that two French officers had arrived, who were living in great style, and who had made proposals to Congress for supplying it with arms and powder. Doubtless he had reference to de Penet et Pliarne, mentioned in a letter from Barbue Dubourg to Franklin. (*American Archives.*)

[66] See *Vie de Jefferson*, by Cornélis de Witt, Paris, 1861, wherein the policy of Choiseul is very ably set forth. All the important documents are printed in the appendix.

[67] *Life of Frederick the Great* XI., 257–262. Leipzig, edition of 1865. Bancroft flatly calls them forgeries (IV. Ch. IX.), 128, note V.

See also *The Life of James Wolff*, by Robert Wright, 601, London, 1864.

their origin, and the comparison which has been made with all the pieces relating to the affairs of Canada and to Montcalm, no longer allow us to believe in the truth of the origin that has been attributed to them from the time of their appearance. We see therein a skilful move of Minister Choiseul, who hoped, by means of this pamphlet, to sow division between the two parties, to increase their mutual distrust, and to hasten a catastrophe that he foresaw the more willingly as he desired it more ardently.

The French officers who passed through Canada and the Mississippi Valley for the last time, on casting a farewell glance over those fertile countries and receiving the touching proofs of the attachment of the Indians, could not refrain from regretting the territory which they were compelled to give up. The Duke de Choiseul thought very differently. He read the future.[68] He did so without reserve; with the conviction that he was making a good political move. He thought that the time would soon be at hand when the entire colonial system would have to be modified. "Ideas respecting America, whether military or political, have greatly changed during the last thirty years," he wrote to Durand on the 15th of September, 1766. He was persuaded that nothing but commercial and political liberty could henceforth give life to the States of the new world. Therefore, from the day when an Act of Parliament imposed taxes upon the Americans, France began to take steps to push them to independence.[69]

But this minister aided in the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762. This powerful company left behind

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[68] Choiseul, as he signed the surrender of Canada to the English, said: "*At last we have them.*" It was in fact delivering the American colonies from a neighbor who compelled them to lean on the mother country.

[69] He detached Portugal and Holland from the English alliance, and prepared that union of second-rate navies which, a few years afterwards, was to become the league of the neutrals against those who called themselves masters of the ocean.

it a party that did not forgive him his firmness in that transaction.[70] The Dauphin, their pupil, was hostile to him. The Duke d'Aiguillon, whom he had deprived of his government of Brittany, the Chancellor Maupeou and the Abbé Terrai, controller of the finances, formed a secret triumvirate against him, which, however, would have been powerless without the shameful ally that they found in the new favorite.[71]

Notwithstanding the origin of Choiseul's favor, the defects in his character, and the mistakes that he made in his multifarious administration, he throws out a singular and unexpected brilliancy in the midst of that corrupt court where everything was abandoned to intrigue, and whence every idea of justice and all regard for the public good seemed banished. Besides, he understood the instability of his position, and had no hope that the services that he might render to his country would be acknowledged at court. Proof of this is found in a memoir which he addressed to the king in 1766, and in which he dares to express himself with a certain lofty impertinence that we are pleased to find in those times of base fawning and cowardly servility.

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[70] *Raisons invincibles*, published July the 8th, 1773, an analysis of which is in *Secret Memoirs* VII., 24, London, John Adamson.

[71] Mme. de Pompadour died in 1764, and Choiseul, who had owed his influence to her, refused to bow before the cynical arrogance of Mme. Du Barry, who succeeded her. Choiseul soon felt the fatal influence of this woman upon the enfeebled mind of the king.

We should read in the memoirs of the time the correct estimate of the miserable influences which directed public affairs and amidst which the fortune of France was played with. A new favorite had been almost chosen. Before the cries of fear of Laverdie, the controller-general, and the attitude and firmness of Choiseul, the king was forced to yield; but he turned the cold shoulder to his minister. Later he yielded with regret to the repeated entreaties of his courtiers, stirred up by the rancor of the Jesuits. He understood perfectly of how much he had deprived himself in dismissing his minister; and when he learnt that Russia, Austria and Prussia had just partitioned Poland among themselves, he cried out: "Ah! that would not have happened if Choiseul had still been here." *Vie du marquis de Bouillé, Mémoires du duc de Choiseul*, I., 230, *Mémoire inédit.*

"I despised, as much from principle as from my disposition," he said to the king, "the intrigues of the Court, and when Your Majesty confided to me the management of the war, I accepted this sad and painful employment only with the assurance which Your Majesty was pleased to give me that you would allow me to resign when peace was made."

The minister then enters into the details of his administration, which had comprised during six years the war department, the navy, the colonies, the post office and foreign affairs. The first year he cut down the expenses of foreign affairs from fifty-two to twenty-five million francs.

As for England, Choiseul speaks of her with a certain fear: "But the American revolution," said he, "that will come; but which we probably shall not see, will reduce England[72] to a state of weakness in which she will no longer be an object of fear."

"Your Majesty will banish me," he said at the end. This prediction was not realized until five years afterwards; in 1770, Choiseul was banished to his estates.

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[72] The policy of Choiseul and Vergennes was followed by Napoleon. When he was thinking of ceding Louisiana to the United States, he uttered these words: "To deliver the nations from the commercial tyranny of England, we must balance her by a maritime power which will one day become her rival; this is the United States." *Les États-Unis et la France*, by Edouard Laboulaye, Paris, 1862.

CHAPTER VI.

Beginning of the War.—Successful beginnings of the Americans—Washington—Character of Washington—Narrative of the Prince de Broglie—Dramatic works on Washington—Congress at Philadelphia, 1776—French sympathy for this war—Franklin at Paris.

The war was carried on simultaneously at three points on the American continent: in the vicinity of Boston, New York and Philadelphia; in Canada, which the Americans desired at that time to allure to their cause, and whence the English started to take the rebels in the rear; and lastly, in the south, around Charleston and the Carolinas.

The beginning of the conflict was fortunate for the Americans. Their militia, stronger by the feeling of the justice of their cause than by their experience in war and by their discipline, defeated an English detachment at Lexington (April, 1775). They besieged General Gage in Boston. Congress intrusted to Washington[73] the difficult task of or-

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[73] I do not wish to attempt to recall the lofty deeds of this great man, whose memory is dear to every American heart. Besides the fact that such a task is entirely outside of the limits which I have undertaken to fill, I am too sensible of the talent and spirit with which several illustrious writers have treated it before, for me to pretend to write on this subject. Washington is, moreover, one of those heroes whose glory, far from growing dim, increases as years roll on. The more the human mind progresses, the more we take pleasure in recognizing the nobility of his character and the elevation of his ideas. In modern society, wherein right tends every day to prevail over force, and the love of humanity has more partisans than the spirit of domination, great conquerors, like those whose names are preserved and whose deeds are exalted by history, far from being ranked with the Gods, as in Antiquity, would be considered veritable scourges. The people, daily more solicitous about giving themselves a social organization founded upon justice and liberty, than to satisfy the barren and savage ambition of subjugating their neighbors, are no longer willing to allow to some privileged men the task of fulfilling the designs of Providence by overturning empires to change

ganizing the bands of militia and putting them in a condition to conquer the veteran troops of Great Britain.

It was a great act of patriotism on the part of this generous citizen to accept such a mission. From the day when,

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the face of the world. Now, Washington was still more a great citizen than a skilful general. His victories would have sufficed to perpetuate his memory. His conduct as a statesman and a private man will make him live again in the midst of future generations, who will always present him to their leading men as a model for imitation.

All contemporary writers, American and French, depict Washington to us as having the noblest traits, physically and morally; there is no spot in any of their pictures. I do not desire to repeat here the impressions made upon La Fayette, de Chastellux, de Ségur, Dumas, and many others, when they were admitted for the first time to the presence of the American generalissimo. They are nearly identical, and are expressed in the memoirs subscribed with their names, with all the enthusiasm of which those Frenchmen were capable. "He is the God of Chatellux," Grimm wrote to Diderot (*Correspondence X*, 471). I shall content myself with transcribing the passage relating to this great man, which de Broglie has inserted in his unpublished memoirs (*Relations inédits*):

"This general is about forty-nine years old (1782); he is tall, nobly formed and very well proportioned; his face is much more agreeable than his portraits represent it; three years ago he was still very handsome, and although persons who have not left him since that time say that he seems to have aged a great deal, there is no question that the general is still as fresh and active as a young man.

"His physiognomy is mild and open; his manner is cold, though polite; his thoughtful eyes seem attentive rather than sparkling; but his look is gentle, noble and assured. In his private conduct he maintains that refined and attentive propriety which satisfies everyone, and that reserved dignity which does not offend. He is an enemy of ostentation and vain-glory. His disposition is always even; he has never shown the least ill-humor. Modest, even to the point of humility, he does not seem to esteem himself at his true worth. He receives the homage paid to him with good grace; but he shuns rather than seeks it. His society is agreeable and pleasing. Always serious, never absent-minded, always simple, always free and affable without being familiar, the respect that he inspires never becomes painful. Generally he speaks little and in a very low tone; but he is so attentive to what is said to him that you would almost dispense with a reply, being persuaded that he understands you. This course of conduct has been very useful to him on sev-

without ambition as without fear, he took the management of affairs into his hands he never lost sight of the aspirations of the country. He never despaired of their realization, and if, at critical moments, at times when the cause of

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eral occasions. No one has needed more than he to be circumspect and to weigh his words.

"He combines to an unalterable tranquility of mind an exquisite judgment, and you cannot reproach him with anything except a little slowness in coming to a decision and even in acting. When he has made up his mind, his courage is calm and brilliant. But to appreciate to a certainty the extent of his talents, and to give him the name of a great warrior, I believe that it would be necessary to have seen him at the head of a larger army, with more resources at his command, and opposed to a less overwhelming enemy. We can at least give him the title of an excellent patriot and of a wise and virtuous man, and we are greatly tempted to give him all the good qualities, even those which circumstances have not allowed him to develop.

"He was unanimously called to the command of the army. Never was there a man better suited to command the Americans, or who has exhibited in his conduct more order, wisdom, constancy and reason.

"Mr. Washington receives no pay as general. He always refused it as not needing it. Only the outlay of his table is at the expense of the State. Every day he has some thirty persons to dinner, maintains very good military fare, and is very attentive to all the officers whom he admits to his table. This is generally the time when he is most lively. During dessert, he consumes an enormous quantity of nuts, and, when the conversation amuses him, he eats them for hours, proposing, according to English and American usage, numerous healths (*Santés*). This is what they call 'toaster.' They always begin by drinking to the United States of America, then to the King of France, to the Queen, to the success of the combined armies. Then they sometimes give what is called a 'sentiment': for instance, to our success over the enemy and the fair sex; to our good luck in war and love. I have also frequently drunk toasts with General Washington. Among others I proposed to him to drink to the Marquis de La Fayette, whom he looks on as his own child. He agreed with a pleasant smile, and had the politeness to propose to me in return, the health of my father and my wife.

"Mr. Washington seemed to me to maintain a perfect deportment towards the officers of his army. He treats them very politely, but they are very far from being familiar with him. On the contrary, they all maintain, in the presence of this general, an air of respect, confidence, and admiration.

independence seemed in the greatest danger, he had some moments of discouragement, he knew at least how to prevent, by his attitude, his fellow-citizens from allowing themselves to be carried away by a similar feeling.

"General Gates, famous for the capture of Burgoyne and for his reverses at Camden, commanded this year one of the wings of the American army. I saw him at the house of Mr. Washington, with whom he had been at variance, and I was present at their first interview after their quarrel, which would require too much detail to insert here. This interview excited the curiosity of both armies. It passed off with the most becoming propriety on both sides. Mr. Washington treated Mr. Gates with a politeness that had a frank and easy air, and the latter responded with that shade of respect which was becoming in the presence of his general; but at the same time with an assurance, a noble tone and an air of moderation which convinced me that Mr. Gates was worthy of the success that he obtained at Saratoga, and that his misfortunes have only made him more estimable owing to the courage with which he has borne them. It seems to me that this is the judgment that capable and disinterested persons pass upon Mr. Gates."

It is not suprising that the character of Washington has appeared several times upon the French stage. These pieces, that date generally from the epoch of the French Revolution, are hardly worth reading, and if they were heard with some interest in the theatre this could have only been due to the sympathy that the American hero inspired and to the cause that he had brought to a successful end.

Nevertheless, I shall give the titles of a few of these works and the names of their authors:—

First.—*Washington ou la liberté du Nouveau Monde*, a tragedy in four acts, by M. de Sauvigny, performed for the first time on July the 13th, 1791, at the theatre of the Nation, Paris.

Second.—*Asgill ou l'Orphelin de Pennsylvanie*, a melodrama in one act, and in prose, mingled with *ariettes* by B. J. Marsollier, music by Dalayrac, represented at the theatre of l'Opéra-Comique, Thursday, May the 2d, 1790. Pitiful ditties uttered at a mournful epoch.

Third.—*Asgill ou le Prisonnier anglais*, a drama in five acts and in verse, by Benoît Michel de Comberousse, representative of the people and member of the *Lycée des Arts*, year IV. (1795). This piece, in which a certain Washington, Jr., plays a ridiculous part, was never given at any theatre.

Fourth.—*Washington ou l'Orpheline de Pennsylvanie*, a melodrama in three acts (a spectacle), by M. d'Aubigny, one of the authors of *la Pie voleuse*, with music and ballets, represented for the first time, at Paris, at the theatre of l'Ambigu-Comique, July the 13th, 1815.

He kept his countrymen about himself and communicated to them his confidence in the future. After success had been won, he again became a private citizen, and wished to live tranquilly at his house at Mount Vernon, in Vir-

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Fifth.—*Asgill*, a prose drama in five acts, dedicated to Mme. Asgill, by J. S. le Barbier-le-Jeune, London and Paris, 1785. At the end (p. 84), there is a letter of gratitude and thanks, signed *Thérèse Asgill*. The author represents Washington afflicted by the cruel necessity which his duty imposes on him. He even makes him take Asgill in his arms, and they embrace each other with a comico-dramatic enthusiasm (Act 5, Scene II).

The part of *Wazington* was played by M. Saint-Prix; *Lincol* and *Macdal* were lieutenant-generals. Johnson, the English envoy, is transformed into *Joston;* Mr. Ferguson is brought upon the stage, as well as Mrs. Nelson, the widow of a relation of *Wazington;* Congress, the new legislature, the ministers of religion and numerous other people. In this drama the son of *Wazington* has no part, but his ghost appears.

The most extraordinary scene is the first of the fourth act, wherein we see, in the camp of the confederation the altar of the country, upon which is the treaty of alliance concluded with the French.

Butler, who was really a partisan, the commander of the refugees, a genuine brigand, besides his real crimes, commits, in the drama, the hateful crime of Captain Lippincott, who caused the American, Captain Huddy, to be hung, a deed which forced the Americans to threaten reprisals. In the drama, Huddy is turned into an English officer, Seymour is saved, and Butler hung.

Sixth.—*Washington*, historical drama in five acts and in verse, by J. Lesguillon, 1866. Not performed. Here, history is treated with an exaggerated want of ceremony. The scene is laid at West Point, at the time of Arnold's treason, and the author begins by believing that West Point is the *western point* of the island of New York; that that city is in the possession of the Americans, and that Arnold's object is to surrender it to the English. Washington is taken prisoner. Major André is shot; we know that he was hung. Arnold gives himself up, which he did not do. Finally, La Fayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, d'Estaing, Bougainville, Duportail and some others reach a kind of apotheosis.

It is known that Washington had no child, and that Colonel Washington, a native of North Carolina, who served with honor at the head of a body of cavalry during the War of Independence, was distantly related to the general-in-chief, who was born in Virginia. We also find absurdities in several books of the time, such as *l'Histoire impartiale des événements militaires et politiques de la dernière guerre, by* M. de Longchamps, Amsterdam, 1785; D'Auberteuil, *Essai historique sur la révolution d'Amérique, Paris, 1782.*

ginia. The independence of his country was the only recompense that he expected from his efforts. Amongst the Americans, he is the man "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." History has done him justice, and, among all nations, his name has remained the most pure.

The Americans invaded Canada and took Montreal; but their commander, Montgomery, being killed before Quebec, Carleton drove them out of the whole province (December, 1775). The capture of Boston (March the 17th, 1776) and the repulse of the English fleet before Charleston (June the 1st, 1776) in a measure made amends for this check.

The English ministry had not believed at first that there would be so energetic a resistance. To overcome it, they were not ashamed of purchasing from the German Princes, who had been dependent upon them since the Seven Years' War, an army of seventeen thousand mercenaries. The colonies, put by the mother country under the ban of nations, then took a step of which hardly any one had thought at the beginning of the struggle. The Congress at Philadelphia, by proclaiming the *independence* of the thirteen colonies, united in a confederation in which each State preserved its religious and political liberty (July the 4th, 1776), irrevocably broke with England.

The American volunteers, without stores, without resources, could not at first withstand the veteran regiments sent against them. Howe took New York and Rhode Island. Washington, forced to retreat, suffered the pain of seeing a large number of his soldiers abandon him. Yet he only gave way foot by foot, and stopped after crossing the Delaware. From there he made an unexpected and remarkably bold attempt. He crossed the river on the ice on the night of December the 25th, 1776, surprised at Trenton a body of a thousand Germans commanded by Rahl, killed that officer and made his soldiers prisoners. This success, that relieved Philadelphia, restored public spirit. New

militiamen flocked from Pennsylvania; and Washington, resuming the offensive, compelled Cornwallis to fall back to New Brunswick.

The young French nobility had received with sympathy the news of the revolt of the English colonies in America, as much from antipathy to England, which had defeated them in the Seven Years' War, as because they were imbued with the philosophical spirit of their age. It must, however, be admitted that neither Louis XVI. nor the Queen was enthusiastic for the cause of the Americans. Ideas of political independence and religious liberty, loudly proclaimed on the other side of the Atlantic, could not well find an echo in a throne founded upon divine right and occupied by Bourbons imbued with the principles of absolutism. Nevertheless, the wholesome traditions of Choiseul were not quite forgotten. The American privateers had access to the French ports and could buy munitions of war in Holland. Silas Deane was the secret agent of Congress at Paris, and forwarded to America, in secret, military stores and old arms that were of little use. It is true that when Lord Stormont, the English ambassador, complained to the Court, the latter denied that stores had been sent, and drove the privateers from its ports. But the public feeling was against England and for the colonies. The emigration of volunteers to America had begun. At last, the arrival of Franklin, whose sojourn in Paris was a perpetual ovation, and the deeds of violence committed by the English navy upon French sailors, finally overcame the repugnance of Louis XVI., and obliged that unhappy king to yield for the first, though not for the last time, to public opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

La Fayette and Washington.—Departure of La Fayette for America—He is presented to Washington—Washington's warm affection for La Fayette—Difference between the American Revolution and the French Revolution—List of the guillotined—Influence of the ideas that the nobility brought back from America—Influence of the American war on the character and career of La Fayette.

The revered figure of Washington may be looked upon as the embodiment of the ideas that led up to the American Revolution. After it the most sympathetic figure is that of La Fayette, who represents the same ideas in the French element that took part in the struggle.

La Fayette,[74] barely nineteen years old, was in garrison at Metz, when he was invited to a dinner that his commander, the Count de Broglie, gave to the brother of the king of England, the Duke of Gloucester, then on his way through the city. News had just been received of the proclamation of the independence of the United States, and, the conversation having naturally fallen on this subject, La Fayette plied the duke with questions to acquaint himself with the events, entirely new to him, which were happening in America. Before the end of the dinner he had made his decision, and, from that moment, he no longer thought of anything else except setting out for the new world. He went to Paris and confided his project to his friends, the Count de Ségur and the Viscount de Noailles, who were to accompany him. The Count de Broglie, whom he also informed, tried to turn him from his design. "I saw your uncle die in Italy," he said to him, "and your father at Minden, and I do not wish to contribute to the ruin of your family by allowing you to go." Nevertheless, he put

[74] *Biographical Notices.*

La Fayette in communication with the former agent of Choiseul in Canada, the Baron de Kalb, who became his friend. De Kalb presented him to Silas Deane, who, considering him too young, wished to dissuade him from his project.

But the news of the disasters experienced by the Americans before New York, at White Plains and in New Jersey, confirmed La Fayette in his resolution. He bought and fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and disguised his preparations by making a journey to London. Nevertheless his design was disclosed at Court. His family became angry with him. He was forbidden to go to America, and, to render this order effective, a *lettre de cachet* was issued against him.[75] Nevertheless, he left Paris with an officer named Mauroy, disguised himself as a courier, went on board his ship at Passage in Spain, and set sail April the 26th, 1777. He had several officers on board.[76]

La Fayette successfully avoided the English cruisers and the French vessels sent in pursuit of him. Finally, after a hazardous passage of seven weeks, he reached Georgetown, and, furnished with letters of recommendation from Deane, he reported to Congress.

Washington, after his skilful manœuvre at Trenton, had remained in his camp at Middlebrook. But the English were preparing for a decisive campaign against him. Burgoyne was advancing from the north with ten thousand men. The American General St. Clair, had just abandoned Ticonderoga to save his forces. At the same time, eighteen

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[75] De Pontgibaud, who joined La Fayette in America in September, 1777, and was his aid-de-camp, tells us how easy it was at that time to deprive young men of the best families of France of their liberty by means of a *lettre de cachet*. It was from the Château of Pierre-en-Cise, near Lyons, where he was shut up by virtue of one of these arbitrary orders of detention, that he escaped to proceed to the United States. (See his memoirs and the *Biographical Notices*.)

[76] The memoirs of La Fayette, from which I derive this information, mention, among others, the Baron de Kalb.

thousand men in the service of Great Britain set sail from New York, and the two Howes were joining forces for a secret movement. Rhode Island was occupied by a hostile force, and General Clinton, remaining at New York, was preparing an expedition.

It was at this difficult juncture that La Fayette was presented to Washington. At that time the American general was forty-five years old. He had no child on whom he could bestow his affections. His character, naturally austere, was reserved. The important duties imposed upon him, the cares that had weighed on him since the beginning of the war, and the deceptions that he had experienced, filled his soul with a melancholy which the present condition of affairs changed to sadness.[77] It was at the very moment when his heart was sunk in the greatest despair, that, according to his own words, La Fayette came to dispel his gloomy thoughts as the dawn comes to dispel the night.

He was seized with an entirely new feeling at the sight of this young man of twenty, who had not hesitated to leave his country and his young wife to come to support a cause which he believed to be great and just at the very moment when it appeared desperate. Not only had he sacrificed for the Americans a great part of his fortune and perhaps his future prospects, but also he had refused those lawful compensations which the French who had preceded him demanded of Congress as a vested right—a high rank and pay. "After the sacrifices that I have already made,"

[77] Washington had not only to provide for the needs of an army destitute of all resources, but he had also to contend against the intrigues and slanders of the discontented and the jealous. The serious accusations that were brought even against him, and the insinuations prejudicial to his honor that reached his ears, compelled him to ask of Congress a scrupulous examination of his conduct. Some persons went even so far as to forge letters which were published as emanating from him. See *The Life of Washington*, Ramsay, 113; Sparks I., 265; Marshall, iii, chap. VI.

he replied to Congress, which had made him at once major-general, "I have the right to insist upon two favors: one is to serve at my own expense; the other to begin to serve as a volunteer." So noble a disinterestedness must have gone straight to the American general's heart. His modesty was as great, for as Washington expressed to him his regret that he had not finer troops to show to a French officer, La Fayette replied: "I am here to learn, and not to teach."

It was by such conduct and such language that he immediately won the esteem and affection of his new companions in arms. The courage and military talents that he afterwards displayed secured him the eternal gratitude of the whole people.

This period in the life of La Fayette was the most brilliant and most glorious, for it allowed him to display at the same time his physical and moral qualities. His youth, his natural superiority, and his language captivated at first sight. The nobleness of his character and the elevation of his ideas inspired confidence and sympathy. His disinterestedness under all circumstances, the loyalty and frankness with which he embraced the cause of the Americans, the striking contrast of his conduct with that of some of his countrymen who had preceded him, the energy, rare at his age, that he always displayed, his constancy in reverse and his moderation in success, caused him to be adopted by the revolted colonists as a brother, and by their general as a son.

Many writers in France have pronounced an entirely different judgment upon the character of La Fayette, and uttered far from flattering opinions respecting his actions. Far be it from me to think of reversing these judgments or modifying these opinions. If I am allowed to speak, as fully acquainted with the subject, of the part that La Fayette played in America, I do not presume to weigh more exactly and more justly than his fellow-countrymen themselves, the deeds that he performed in his own country. I am willing

to believe, too, that the fickleness peculiar to the disposition of the French has no share in the reproaches addressed to him or in the accusations brought against him. But it seems to me that if we wish to discover the cause of these differences of opinion of the two people respecting the same man, we shall find it especially in the difference in the character of these two peoples, the revolutions which they wrought, and the results which they secured.

The American Revolution was made rather with the design of maintaining than of demanding the political and religious liberties acquired by the colonists at the cost of numerous sufferings and exile, liberties which they had enjoyed for centuries, and which had been abruptly denied and violated. They did nothing but drive away from their territory[78] the English whom they had considered till then as brothers and who were nothing more to them than strangers from the time when they wished to impose themselves upon the Americans as masters. They also based their future power upon the union of their different States which retained their autonomy. When the enemy was conquered and independence proclaimed without opposition, the Americans had nothing more to do than to enjoy the fruits of their victories in peace. Who would have dreamed of raising his voice against those who had assisted them in re-conquering that independence and those rights? The Frenchmen, therefore, who came to aid them, obtained the most sincere and the most unanimous proofs of the public gratitude; and La Fayette, more than any one else, had shown himself worthy of this universal gratitude.

But the French Revolution was not brought about under the same conditions. It had an altogether different character. It was not provoked by a sudden violation of the rights of the people and the citizen. It did not answer to a

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[78] They were in the habit of speaking of the mother country by the sweet name of *Home*.

sudden attack by the government upon liberties long since obtained. It was a general rebellion against an order of things established from the origin of the nation. It was like an outbreak of all the vital instincts of France, which, after twenty centuries of repression and misery, overturned society and blindly broke all the obstacles which opposed its expansion.

During this long period, the condition of the people, bowed down under the royal despotism, the tyranny of the lords, and the intolerant absolutism of the clergy, had been more wretched than the result of the harshest slavery would have been. It was not only a political overturning that the French were to accomplish, but also a complete social transformation. Hatred had grown up in the mass of the nation against everything that pertained, whether closely or not, to the old order of things. The corrupt morals of the nobles had long since excited public contempt for them.[79] So, when the deranged state of the finances forced the crown to appeal to the country by convoking the States General, all the legitimate demands of the rights of man and of the citi-

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[79] It is not only from the time of the Regency that that vile corruption of morals, which knew no restraint, dates. It is not since Voltaire either that religion had no longer left in the hearts of the great anything but gross superstition or dangerous scepticism. We may go back as far as Brantôme to find again in the upper ranks of French society that absence of moral sense and of a genuine Christian spirit that we remark in certain writings, and especially in the memoirs of the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI., and of which the *Mémoires de Lauzun* present the shameful picture.—See a work recently published: *Marie Thérèse et Marie Antoinette*, by Mme. d'Armaillé.

"The policy of Richelieu and of Louis XIV. had caused the fate of the nation to depend on the caprice of a single man. Everything that had its own life had been crushed. The prince stamped the character of his mind upon the Court, the Court upon the city, the city upon the provinces. To create this united monarchy that some people admire, required the destruction of family life among the nobility, the deadening of religious life, and, in one word, the drying up of the springs of morality and the regeneration of morals." *La Société, française et la Société anglaise au XVIII^e siècle*, by Cornélis de Witt, Paris, 1864.

zens came to light through this breach made in the royal *good-will.* The government, gangrened in all its limbs and without either moral or material support in the nation, attacked by that same *blasée* and voltarian nobility which, until then, had been its sole strength, could oppose only a feeble dike against the torrent that was always swelling. And when the monarchy crumbled to pieces under the weight of its iniquities, the people, drunk with their triumph and suddenly put in possession of a liberty of which they hardly knew the name, were seized with a sort of frenzy, unique in history. In their desire of vengeance, they struck blindly and engulfed in the same proscription the princes, the nobles, the wealthy, the learned, and the men renowned for their courage or their virtues. All fell in turn beneath their blows. They even turned their arms against some of their own number. They did not know; they could not and would not recognize them.

The painful and frightful lacerations that France then suffered at least secured for her an immense result; they were like convulsions in the midst of which the painful delivery of her genuine nationality was produced.[80]

Woe to him who, in such circumstances, tried to stop the torrent and control its roaring with his voice! He must be fatally broken to pieces.

The part of mediator, when it has for its object especially to defend virtue and justice, and to prevent the spilling of blood in civil war, is, doubtless, a fine part; but seldom has it produced any good result. On the contrary, the intentions of the worthy man, who thus interposes between the

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[80] The Americans were citizens before calling themselves republicans and making themselves soldiers. The Convention in France had to democratize the nation by the *reign of terror*, and the army by the punishment of some generals.

"Subdue, then, by terror the enemies of liberty." *Robespierre*, Mignet II., 43. See the sadly comical note put at the head of Kerguélen's *Relation*, already quoted; we may there see how these liberals of but yesterday called themselves *citizens*.

parties ready to tear each other to pieces, are generally misunderstood by all. No one will believe them sincere and disinterested. Calumny ridicules them and makes them the chief butts of accusation which public opinion is always ready to admit without examination.

Such was the fate of La Fayette. Upon his return from America, imbued with the most noble and generous ideas concerning the principles which ought thenceforth to govern modern society, he concurred, with all his might, in the peaceful Revolution of 1789. But, full of illusions respecting the tendencies of the public mind and the good faith of the Court, he foresaw neither the excesses to which the people were soon to go, nor the resistance which royalty was to oppose to progress. The rank which he occupied, as well as the popularity which he enjoyed, led him to believe that he could guide the existing state of affairs and, in case of need, control it. Regarding neither the difference of character nor of circumstances,[81] after having seen liberty and

[81] Dumas, during his stay in Boston, on the eve of returning to France after the glorious expedition of 1781, often had occasion to speak with Dr. Cooper, and when he showed his enthusiasm for liberty, the Doctor said: "Take care, young men, that the triumph of the cause of liberty upon this virgin soil does not inflame you with too much hope; you will carry away the germ of those generous feelings; but if you try to make it bear fruit upon your native soil, after so many centuries of corruption, you will have to overcome many obstacles. It has cost us a great deal of blood to conquer liberty; but you will pour out torrents before establishing liberty in your Old Europe."

How often during the political storms of the bad days must the officers present at this interview, Dumas, Berthier, Ségur and the rest, have remembered the prophetic farewell of Dr. Cooper!

In the *Journal de Blanchard*, I find this passage respecting Dr. Cooper: "Mr. Hancock is one of the authors of the Revolution, as well as Dr. Cooper, with whom we took breakfast on the 29th (July, 1780); he is a clergyman who seemed to me to be an intelligent, eloquent and enthusiastic man. He has much influence over the inhabitants of Boston, who are devout Presbyterians, generally imbued with the principles of Cromwell's adherents, from whom they are descended. Thus they are more attached to Independence than any other people in America, and it is they who began the Revolution."

equality so easily established in America, he flattered himself that he could help also to implant them in France; and he did not think of the serious obstacles that he would be obliged to encounter. It was a mistake that many others shared with him.

La Fayette was necessarily sacrificed in his character of go-between and mediator between the partisans of liberal royalty and extreme republicanism. He lost, at the same time, the favor of the Court, which treated him as an enemy, and the affection of the people, who considered him as a traitor. In France, history itself has not rehabilitated his memory; not that the truth will never shine for him, but because the passions which to this day have dictated the opinion of French writers concerning La Fayette and the men of the Revolution are not yet extinct.

Has the French Revolution really broken with the traditions of the past? Has it really laid the foundations of a new lay organization that is marching[82] towards Democracy? Has it had a last and decisive battle with the spirit of the Middle Ages, which, by means of theological dogmas, seeks to rule the whole world? or else was it nothing but a terrible tempest, a kind of destructive typhoon, the ravages of which are gradually effaced by time?

The taking of the Bastile, which followed the concentration of the troops around Paris, the wretchedness of the people and the demonstrations at the banquet of the body-guard before the 5th and 6th of October, the massacres of September, the 10th of August, the conspiracy of the *Chevaliers du poignard*, the treason of Mirabeau, the bloody suppression of the riots on the Champ-de-Mars by Bailly, the actions and the sentence of the king, the conduct of the Girondins, that of the Montagnards and of the Committee of Public Safety, and the advent of Bonaparte, are so many exciting questions, discussed with passion and animation.[83]

[82] Prévost-Paradol: *La France Nouvelle.*

[83] I have been able to obtain a collection of bi-monthly pamphlets pub-

In America the judgment of posterity has begun for La Fayette. His memory is venerated; his reputation is free from every stain. But in his own country he is not, and cannot be, judged yet impartially. The dissensions

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lished during the terrible years 1792, 1793 and 1794, entitled, *Liste Générale et très-exacte des noms, âges, qualités et demeures de tous les conspirateurs condamnés à mort par le tribunal révolutionnaire établi à Paris . . . pour juger tous les ennemis de la patrie.* This collection appeared as regularly as *l'Almanach des Muses* and the *Mercure galant*, and material to fill its thirty-two closely printed pages was so far from failing, that often supplements were necessary. Few reflections accompanied this list of names, as cold as the knife of the guillotine and as dry as the hearts of the executioners. The editors knew too well that the approbation of the evening before might be the criticism of the next morning. Every citizen felt a blade weighing upon his head, of which the smallest imprudence might cause the fall.

Yet, how eloquent is this gloomy silence of the publishers under the pretended reign of liberty! What thoughts in their reserve! What instructions in the choice of their titles! Read this epigram inscribed at the head of each bulletin:

"Vous qui faites tant de victimes	"You who make so many victims
Ennemis de l'égalité,	Enemies of equality,
Recevez le prix de vos crimes,	Receive the reward of your crimes,
Et nous aurons la liberté."	And we shall have liberty."

Was it an apology or else a satire upon the government of the Terror?

In this same book, wherein you read of the *infamous* (*l'Infâme*) Capet, you find in turn the *infamous* Girondins, the *infamous* Robespierre, and, finally, the *infamous* Carrier.

The Republic is therein emphatically proclaimed to be *one*, *indivisible*, and *imperishable*.

This passionless necrology shows to the reader, as in a heart-breaking nightmare, the massacres of September, the shooting at Lyons, the drownings at Nantes, and those thousands of heads, newly cut off, of children, adults, old men, young girls, men of learning, magistrates, artisans, soldiers, priests, rolled up pell-mell for the satisfaction of the delirious People-King.

Reading this *Liste exacte des guillotinés* has led me to make a remark, which I have not as yet seen anywhere. It is that the majority of victims belonged to the humblest classes of society. They were mostly workmen, small bourgeois, husbandmen and employees, who paid with their lives for the triumph of a revolution accomplished by themselves and for themselves.

born of the struggle of 1789, and of the massacres of 1793, are not yet allayed. The French Revolution is not finished. Civil equality is secured, but political liberty is always in dispute. It has numerous partisans, but also powerful adversaries. Will the French be able to obtain it and preserve it?[84]

La Fayette did too much for it in the estimation of some, not enough according to the taste of others. Having no aspirations except for the public welfare, he was of no camp, of no faction. All parties repulsed him as an adversary; and, whilst in France, his military talents are disputed and his disinterestedness is styled a farce, and his liberalism is called calculation, the Americans erect monuments to him and gratefully associate his name with that of Washington.

Two men, who, by their social position, were the natural adversaries of La Fayette, but who were forced by their intelligence to admit his worth, did him justice in his lifetime. Napoleon, it seems to me, never doubted La Fayette's principles or sentiments. He only did not believe in his political sagacity. It is known that he also made the liberation of La Fayette, a prisoner of the Austrians at Olmutz, one of the conditions of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

Charles X., in an audience that he gave to de Ségur in 1829, said to him: "M. de La Fayette is a complete person. I know only two men who have always professed the same principles—they are myself and M. de La Fayette; he as defender of liberty, I as king of the aristocracy." Then, speaking of the events of the 6th of October, 1789, he said: "Prejudices forever to be deplored caused the refusal of his advice and services."[85]

When France, withdrawn by time from the influences that affect the justice of her decisions, shall be able to enumerate those of her children who have really deserved well of

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[84] See on this subject: de Parieu, *Science politique*, p. 399.

[85] Cloquet, 109.

her, I hope that she will put in the front rank the men, such as Malesherbes and La Fayette, who, by their civic courage and moral qualities, and their unalterable serenity in good fortune as in ill, were the real apostles of civilization and the sincerest friends of humanity.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRENCH WHO WENT OVER BEFORE THE TREATY THAT WAS AFTERWARDS CONCLUDED BETWEEN FRANCE AND AMERICA.—Dissimilarity of the character of the first Frenchmen who arrived with that of the Americans—Officers who had preceded La Fayette—Offers of stores of war—Barbue-Dubourg—Silas Deane—Beaumarchais—Names of the French or foreign officers who preceded or followed La Fayette—Letter of Beaumarchais—Howe lands in Maryland, 1777—The Americans lose the battle of the Brandywine—Congress leaves Philadelphia—The English are defeated on the 19th of September and the 7th of October, at Saratoga—Burgoyne is obliged to surrender—Washington resumes the offensive—Defence of Fort Redbank by Duplessis-Mauduit—Treaty of alliance concluded by Louis XVI. with the Americans on the 6th of February, 1778—This treaty is due to the influence of La Fayette—The English declare war against France.

A FRENCH historian has said that the first Frenchmen who crossed to America did not succeed well.[86] The greater

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[86] *Histoire des États-Unis*, by Scheffer, Paris, 1825, p. 174. The author seems to have had some intercourse with La Fayette. See also the *Mémoires du chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire*, Paris, 1788. On July the 24th, 1778, General Washington wrote to Gouverneur Morris, at Philadelphia:

"The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been bestowed on these gentlemen [the foreigners appointed to offices of high rank and trust] will certainly be productive of one or the other of these evils, either to make it despicable in the eyes of Europe, or become a means

part were, in fact, of two sorts, equally incompatible with the ideas of the Americans and with the kind of war which the latter carried on. Some were nothing but adventurers, who sought, above all things, easy success and speedy glory. They thought that they would at once receive, if not the command of armies, at least those of regiments. The others were young noblemen who felt little interest for the principles of the war, but who, tired of their inaction, desired to signalize themselves by some brilliant deed in a dangerous and distant expedition. But Congress did not wish to commit both an injustice and a mistake by giving commands to the former; and the latter, on their part, soon saw themselves engaged in a painful and fatiguing war, in which chivalric ardor would have to give way to patient courage, and the object of which was the liberty of a people and not the glory of soldiers.[87] These seekers of adventures soon returned, discontented with the Americans and faithlessly decrying their cause. Little attention was paid to them. Their unjust complaints were soon lost amidst the outbursts of enthusiasm excited by the generous conduct of La Fayette and the constancy with which he persevered in his first resolution.

If La Fayette gave entirely a new impulse to the emigration of the young French nobles to America, I ought also to mention, among those who had preceded him, some

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of pouring them in upon you like a torrent, and adding to your present burden. But it is neither the expense nor trouble of them that I most dread. There is another evil more extensive in its nature and fatal in its consequences to be apprehended, and that is the driving of all your officers from the service, and throwing, not only your army, but your military councils, entirely into the hands of foreigners."

The Life of Gouverneur Morris, by Sparks, Boston, 1832, Vol. I., p. 72.

[87] *Papers in Relation to the case of Silas Deane;* MSS. printed at Philadelphia for the *Seventy-Six Society* (p. 16) give information about the proceedings of the American commissioners at Paris. Arthur Lee, p. 170, accuses Deane of fickleness and vanity with regard to the French officers. Deane, p. 65, boasts of his conduct.

officers who lacked neither talent nor courage, and whom I ought not to confuse with the adventurers spoken of by the historian just quoted.

Already in 1775, we find in the *American Archives* that two French officers, Penet and de Pliarne, were recommended by Governor Cook, of Providence, to General Washington, that he might hear the proposals which they had to make in behalf of the cause of independence. These officers arrived from Cap Français (St. Domingo) and were received in December by Congress, which accepted their offers concerning supplies of powder, arms and other warlike stores. The secret agreement that was then concluded was executed, at least in part, for, in a letter dated from Paris, on the 10th of June, 1776, by Dr. Barbue-Dubourg to Franklin, he says that he has heard from him, through Penet, who had returned from Philadelphia, that a supply of fifteen thousand guns from the royal factories, which had been delivered to him under the name of *La Tuillerie*, gunsmith, was about to leave Nantes with the same Penet.[88]

Barbue-Dubourg, who was a zealous agent of the American party, wrote at the same time that he had engaged, with the promise of the rank of captain, and by means of some advances of money, the Sieur Favely, a soldier of fortune and formerly a lieutenant of infantry. To the Sieur Davin, formerly a distinguished sergeant-major, he had promised only the payment of his passage over the sea. He had also engaged de Bois-Bertrand, a young man, full of honor, courage and zeal, who in France held the commission of a lieutenant-colonel, but who asked for nothing.

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[88] Dr. Dubourg had become acquainted with Silas Deane, who had been sent to him by Franklin. He doubtless hoped that a subsidy would be given him to supply, secretly, arms and ammunition to the Americans; perhaps he even received this subsidy, since he sent some cargoes to America and some agents to Congress. But he perceived with great dissatisfaction that the French government had given to Beaumarchais the preference for secretly furnishing supplies to the revolted colonies. He wrote to de Vergennes, and blamed the minister for his choice.

(See de Loménie, *Beaumarchais et son temps.*)

I have met with the names of these officers nowhere else. But I see in another correspondence, that de Bois-Bertrand set out in July, 1776, taking with him, at his own expense, two subalterns of great bravery. Barbue-Dubourg had led him to expect the rank of colonel.

The American militia was in want of engineers. Again it was Barbue-Dubourg who undertook to procure them. In his letter of June the 10th, 1776, already quoted, he thus expresses himself on this subject: "I have engaged two engineers: one M. Potter de Baldivia, very young, but well educated, the son of a Chevalier of St. Louis, who was an engineer attached to the Duke of Orleans; the other, Gille de Lomont,[89] a young man of remarkable merit, although he has not yet been employed except in peace; but we cannot induce any others to accept.

"I have spoken to M. de Gribeauval, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king and director of the artillery, who believes that we must send you three, one of whom would be chief, M. Du Coudray,[90] a distinguished and envied officer, who served in Corsica, and whose knowledge of chemistry might be useful."

The only engineers who were sent to America with a

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[89] *Biographical Notices.*

[90] This Tronson du Coudray, here mentioned, obtained, in fact, permission to go to America as a volunteer, and set out with a number of French officers to join Washington's army. They were on board of the first vessel freighted by Beaumarchais, which left Havre in January, 1777. On September the 17th, 1777, he was crossing the Schuylkill on a flat-boat, when the restive horse he was riding backed and threw his rider into the river, where he was drowned. His aid-de-camp, Roger, tried to save him. Du Coudray was buried at the expense of the United States. He was much dissatisfied with the behavior of Beaumarchais towards him. *Silas Deane in France*, p. 33.

La Fayette (*Mémoires*, p. 19) says that Du Coudray started with him. Du Coudray came to America before La Fayette, in January, 1777, on the *Amphitrite*, the first vessel freighted by Beaumarchais for the Americans, according to de Loménie. Silas Deane leaves it doubtful how Du Coudray came, p. 35. See also *Biographical Notices.*

secret mission from the French government were de Gouvion, Du Portail, La Radière and Laumoy. They were engaged by Franklin, then in Paris, who had been intrusted by Congress with that negotiation; but they did not arrive in America until after La Fayette, on July the 29th, 1777.[91]

The oldest of the volunteer officers, concerning whom I have positive information, is de Kermovan. On March the 24th, 1776,[92] Barbue-Dubourg wrote from Paris to Dr. Franklin, at Philadelphia: "I seriously think that the Chevalier de Kermovan is one of the best men that your country can obtain. He has already accepted its principles, and asks for nothing before having made his mark; but he is ambitious of obtaining a high rank when his zeal and talents shall have been proved. He is as ready to expose himself to every danger as a simple volunteer as if he were commander-in-chief. He seems to me well acquainted with the military art."

He left France on April the 6th; and on June the 21st, 1776, the *Board of War*, having decided that the Chevalier de Kermovan had given undoubted evidence of his good character and skill in the art of war, recommended him to Congress as an engineer, and believed that the authorities of Pennsylvania ought to employ him upon the works at Billingsport, on the Delaware. He was commissioned on these conditions on the 4th of July, 1776.

Let us also mention among the volunteers who accompanied La Fayette, preceded him, or followed him closely: De Mauroy, who had accompanied him in his flight from France; De Gimat, his intimate friend and aid-de-camp; Pontgibaud, who was also his aid-de-camp; Armand de la Rouerie, better known as *Colonel Armand*, whose chivalric bravery, liberal character, and adventures made popular in America; de Fleury, the hero of Stony Point; Mauduit du Plessis,

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[91] *Biographical Notices.*

[92] *American Archives.*

the hero of Red Bank; Conway, an Irishman in the service of France, "an ambitious and dangerous man," says La Fayette.[93] He was drawn into those intrigues, the purpose of which was to oppose Gates and Lee to Washington,[94] and justified in those sad affairs the bad opinion that his general had of him; de Ternant, de La Colombe, Touzard, Major L'Enfant and others.

Lastly, amongst the foreigners were: Pulaski and Kosciusko, who both played important parts in the revolutions in Poland; and Steuben,[95] a Prussian officer, who came

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[93] *Mémoires.*

[94] To understand the intrigues, the object of which was to overthrow Washington, and to put Charles Lee or Gates, or some one else, in his place, intrigues of which I shall speak more at length in another part of my work, consult the following books:

Mr. Lee's Plan—March the 29th, 1777, or the *Treason of Charles Lee*, by George H. Moore, New York, 1860.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the trial of Major-General Lee, July, 1778. Cooperstown, 1823.

Life of Charles Lee, pp. 227–229, for Joseph Reed's letter.

Life of Washington, by Irving, II. 284, Sparks, Vol. V. *passim.*

[95] De Loménie in *Beaumarchais et son temps*, has blamed the people of the United States and their government for their ingratitude and injustice to Beaumarchais. It does not belong to this little monograph to enter upon a discussion on this subject, with which de Loménie says he is perfectly well acquainted. But to show how disagreeable from the beginning Beaumarchais made his intercourse with Congress, I give here the following extract from the *Mémoires* of (the Count de Moré) Pontgibaud:

"The French government then decided to recognize the independence of the United States, and to send M. Gérard as minister to Congress. It was time, for they were dissatisfied with the assistance that France had sent through the intervention of the Sieur Caron de Beaumarchais. The correspondence of this man shocked every one by its frivolous tone, which bordered upon insolence. I have kept a copy of one of these letters.

"'Gentlemen: I believe that I ought to announce to you that the ship *Amphitrite*, of 400 tons, will sail with the first favorable wind for the first port of the United States that it can reach. The cargo of this ship, which is intended for you, consists of 4,000 guns, 80 barrels of powder, 8,000 pairs of shoes, and 3,000 blankets; besides some officers of engineers and artil-

over about the beginning of 1778, and who organized the discipline and manœuvres in the American army.[96]

Congress, reassured about the safety of Philadelphia, had returned to that city on February the 27th, 1777, after the battle of Trenton. The arrival of the European volunteers brought to the Americans rather a moral assistance than an effective aid. They were much inferior to their adversaries in numbers; but the ability of the leaders and the perseverance of the soldiers made up for this numerical inferiority.

By June, 1777, it was known that Sir William Howe had left New York and was advancing with sixteen thousand men against Pennsylvania. He landed his troops in Maryland, and Washington moved to meet him with eleven thousand men. The two armies soon met upon the banks of the Brandywine, and on the 11th of September, they fought a battle in which the American generals were defeated in detail. Count Pulaski distinguished himself in it, and La Fayette, who still served as a simple volunteer at the head of a brigade, had his thigh pierced by a ball, which did not prevent him from continuing the struggle and trying to rally the

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lery, item, one German baron, formerly aid-de-camp to Prince Henry of Prussia; I think you can make a general of him, and am your servant,

'C. de Beaumarchais.'

"Congress was indignant with this manner of writing, and we all heard of this impertinent letter, still less impertinent, however, than the whole life of the man who wrote it.

"The German officer of whom he spoke so cavalierly was Baron de Steuben, a great tactician, who arrived accompanied by the Chevalier de Ternant, a distinguished officer; there were few Frenchmen at that time [in America]."

De Loménie's work has been criticised and refuted in another phase of Beaumarchais's life by Paul Huot: *Beaumarchais en Allemagne*, Paris, 1869. Another pretty severe judgment on Beaumarchais has been expressed by one of his fellow-countrymen in the *Revue rétrospective*, Paris, March the 15th, 1870, p. 168. See also *Biographical Notices* and *Silas Deane in France*, p. 73.

[96] I have devoted a detailed notice to each of these men and to a great number of others, who are less known, in the *Biographical Notices*.

fugitives, and being among the last to leave the field. Sir William Howe entered Philadelphia, and Congress removed to Lancaster.

In another quarter General Gates had succeeded St. Clair in the command of the troops that had abandoned Ticonderoga at the beginning of the campaign. He joined Generals Arnold and Morgan, who had been forced to abandon Canada, and resolved to oppose the daring march of General Burgoyne, who, having taken the place of Carleton, awaited the Americans on Bemis Heights. A hard fought battle took place there on the 19th of September.[97] The English were defeated without, however, losing their position. But beaten in another engagement fought on the 7th of October, at Saratoga, Burgoyne, surrounded and without hope of assistance, was compelled to surrender with his army. It was the greatest success that the Americans had obtained since the beginning of the conflict; a large amount of artillery, arms, and ten thousand prisoners fell into their hands.

Meanwhile, Washington resumed the offensive. At the very moment when the English thought him in full retreat after his defeat on the Brandywine, he approached them by an unfrequented route and vigorously attacked them in their lines. A fog that occasioned disorder in the divisions of his army, deprived him of a certain victory. He was compelled to retreat after having caused the enemy to suffer much greater losses than his own at Germantown (October the 4th, 1777).

It is at this same time that we must place the splendid defence of Fort Red Bank by the volunteer, Captain Duplessis-Mauduit, at the head of four hundred men, against

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[97] Upon the field of battle was found the corpse of a woman who had been slain in the ranks of the American soldiers; her arms were still ready for the combat and her hands were full of cartridges. (A fact reported by Captain Anburg, of the royal forces; *Travels*, London, 1789, I. 437, Paris, I. 311).

Colonel Donop, of a Hessian regiment, which numbered not less than sixteen hundred soldiers. This regiment was partially destroyed and its colonel killed. The Americans, however, had to abandon that entrenchment, as also Fort Mifflin.

The victory of Saratoga induced Louis XVI. to yield to the entreaties of his ministers and of Franklin. On the 6th of February, 1778, he signed with the United States a treaty of commerce, to which was added a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance in case England declared war against France.

This measure should be attributed in a great degree to the impulse that La Fayette had given to public opinion in France, and to the change of ideas that had been produced in men's minds in consequence of his favorable reports respecting the Americans. This news reached Congress on the 3d of May. It was received with public rejoicings and caused the liveliest enthusiasm.

In England, Lord Chatham had himself carried to the House of Lords and proposed an immediate declaration of war against the House of Bourbon. At the end of his speech, he fainted, and died the same day. His motion was carried, and the English ambassador at the Court of Versailles was at once recalled. Lord North wished to conjure the danger by offering to the colonies all that they had asked for since 1774, with an unlimited amnesty. The Americans rejected every arrangement that had not for its foundation the acknowledgment of their independence. The war went on with a more and more violent character.

CHAPTER IX.

Continuation and Summary of the Operations.—Naval engagements between France and England—In America, Clinton abandons Philadelphia in the face of the forces of Washington and the Count d'Estaing—Diversion in the South—Exactions of the English in Carolina and Georgia—The Americans recover the two States, 1778—Operations of Clinton, Washington and de Bouillé—La Fayette leaves America in 1779—He returns there in 1780, preceding aid of every description—Success of d'Estaing—Repulse of the allied troops before Savannah—Anecdote about Rodney, the English admiral—The diversion of Clinton in Georgia succeeds in consequence of the check at Savannah—In the midst of these events La Fayette returns from Europe—Arnold's treason—Rochambeau—Coalition against England—Declaration of war against Holland—Simultaneous operations of Washington and Rochambeau—La Fayette in Virginia.

It was at this moment especially that France was able to appreciate the good effects of Choiseul's administration. Her navy could contend with advantage against that of England. A fleet of twelve ships and four frigates started from Toulon for America, under the orders of the Count d'Estaing. Another was collected at Brest to fight in the seas of Europe. Finally, an expedition was prepared to make a descent on England. The battle of the *Belle-Poule* (Captain de La Clochetterie) opened hostilities with glory. Count d'Orvilliers, who had left Brest with thirty-two ships, fought, with doubtful result, the battle of Ouessant against Admiral Keppel (July the 27th, 1778). England, alarmed to see France reappear on the seas with a strength equal to her own, brought her admiral before a court martial.

In America, Clinton, in danger of being shut up in Philadelphia by the army of Washington and the fleet of the Count d'Estaing, fell back upon New York, which he did not enter, however, without meeting a check at Monmouth

(June the 28th, 1778). To divide the forces that were pursuing him, he sent Colonel Campbell into Georgia, and the war was then extended to the southern colonies.

The English General Prevost rejoined Campbell; and Lincoln, the leader of the American troops, was forced to abandon all South Carolina as well as Georgia to them. In that quarter the English carried on a war of extermination, which aroused the entire population against them, so that Lincoln was soon able to resume the offensive and compel the enemy to raise the siege of Charleston (March, 1779).

At the same time, Sir Henry Clinton sent some detachments to the coasts of Virginia and New England to lay everything waste. They succeeded but too well in this barbarous mission. The general concentrated his troops on the banks of the Hudson and attacked Forts Verplanck and Stony Point. The latter place was taken, and then retaken by Wayne. Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury was the first to re-enter the entrenchments which he himself had constructed and seize the English flag. The Americans, no less generous than brave, spared the lives of the English garrison, though they had committed horrible massacres. Nevertheless, Washington had to abandon that post after carrying away the stores and destroying its defences.

In the West Indies, the Marquis de Bouillé displayed an activity and talent that the incapacity of the admirals and the bad weather often paralyzed, but which, however, threw upon the French arms a new lustre. Dominica was taken, but the English captured St. Lucia, which d'Estaing could not recover.[98]

It was at that time that La Fayette asked Congress for permission to return to France, with the idea either of helping the American cause more effectually at Court, or of tak-

[98] *Histoire raisonnée des opérations militaires et politiques de la dernière guerre*, by Joly de Saint-Vallier, Lt. Col. of Infantry, Liége, 1783. The author (pages 70 and 99) bestows high praise upon de Bouillé.

See *Biographical Notices* and also *la Vie de M. de Bouillé*, Paris, 1853.

ing service in his own country if the war became continental. He embarked at Boston, on the *Alliance*,[99] on the 11th of January, 1779, overwhelmed with the thanks and the congratulations of Congress. He returned a few months later to Boston on the *Hermione*, April the 28th, 1780, to resume his post in the war of independence, preceding the succors in men, goods and money, which he had obtained from the French government.

D'Estaing made amends for the loss of St. Lucia by capturing the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada, in sight of the fleet commanded by Admiral Byron. He then fought a naval engagement with him July the 6th, which left the English ships unable to remain at sea. At that moment the French flag had command of the sea in the West Indies, and d'Estaing was able to steer towards the coasts of Georgia to reconquer that province by supporting General Lincoln. The siege of Savannah (September, 1779), an unsuccessful attack, which caused so much French blood to flow upon the soil of the United States, was at once undertaken.

The Count d'Estaing frequently declared that he could not remain on shore more than ten or fifteen days. The capture of Savannah was considered assured. Full of hope, the militia began the campaign with extraordinary ardor. The English had sunk in the channel two armed ships, four transports and several small vessels. The large ships of Count d'Estaing could not approach the shore, and the landing could not be effected until the 12th of September, by means of some small vessels sent from Charleston.[100]

On the 16th, Savannah was summoned to surrender *to the arms of France.* This summons was only thus made because the American army had not yet arrived; but the Loyalists made it a pretext for accusing the French of desiring to make conquests on their own account.

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[99] The frigate *Alliance* was finished expressly to carry La Fayette back to France in 1779.

[100] MS. of Dupetit-Thouars.

The garrison asked a delay of twenty-four hours to consider a reply. The only object of this request was to give time for a detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland to join the English army in Savannah. In fact, this junction was effected before the expiration of the delay, and General Prevost then believed himself able to resist an assault.

The besiegers, forced to make a sudden attack or to commence a regular siege, found themselves compelled to adopt the first course. The distance at which their fleet was, and their want of wagons made them lose time, which was the more precious as their adversaries worked actively to strengthen their means of defence. Several hundred negroes, under the direction of Major Moncrief, made the defences of the city every day more perfect. It was not until the evening of the 23d that the French and the Americans opened the trenches.

On the 24th, Major Graham, at the head of a small detachment of the besieged, made a sortie against the French troops, who repulsed him without difficulty; but the French approached so near the entrenchments of the town that on their return they were exposed to a sharp fire which killed several of them.

On the night of the 27th, a new sortie was made under the command of Major MacArthur. It threw the besiegers into such confusion that the French and the Americans fired upon each other for some time.

The besiegers and the besieged cannonaded each other without much result until October the 8th. On that day, Major L'Enfant took five hundred men and marched under a severe fire against the fortifications of the town in order to set fire to the abattis. The dampness of the wood prevented the success of this daring attempt in which the major was wounded.

Owing to the advice of the engineers, who did not believe in the possibility of a speedy success by means of a regular

siege, and the representation of his naval officers, who showed him the dangers to which the fleet was exposed, the Count d'Estaing resolved to make an assault.

On October the 9th, in the morning, three thousand five hundred men of the French force, six hundred of the Continental troops, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleston militia, led by Count d'Estaing and General Lincoln, advanced with great boldness to the enemy's lines. At the same time the militia of the country was engaged in two feigned attacks. The fire of the English was so strong and so well directed that the head of the column of attack was thrown into confusion. Nevertheless, two standards were planted upon the English redoubts. In vain did Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred horsemen, attempt to penetrate into the city by galloping between the redoubts. He was mortally wounded.[101] At last, the assailants, after having been under the fire of the enemy for fifty-five minutes, made a general retreat.

The Count d'Estaing received two wounds and owed his safety entirely to the devotion of young Truguet.[102] Six hundred and thirty-seven of his soldiers, and two hundred and fifty-seven of the Continental soldiers were killed or wounded. Of the three hundred and fifty of the Charleston militia, although they were among the most exposed to the fire of the enemy, Captain Shepherd was the only one killed, and but six were wounded.

On the day of the summons of surrender, *there were not ten cannon mounted* on the lines of Savannah. Thus, the defence of that place did the greatest honor to General Prevost, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland and Major Moncrief. The latter was so active in his preparations for defence that in a few days he had placed more than eighty cannon in position.

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[101] *Biographical Notices.*

[102] *Biographical Notices.*

The garrison numbered between two and three thousand men of English regulars, with only a hundred and fifty militiamen. The losses that it sustained were insignificant, for the soldiers fired from under cover, and many of the assailants had not even an opportunity to fire.

Immediately after the failure of this enterprise, the American militia returned to their homes. Count d'Estaing re-embarked his troops with his artillery and baggage, and left the continent.

The successes of the French in the West Indies, however, had made a great stir in Europe. Admiral Rodney was then in Paris, where he was kept by debts that he could not pay. One day, when he was dining at the house of Marshal de Biron, he spoke of the successes of the French sailors with contempt, saying that if he were free he would soon have satisfaction for them. The marshal paid his debts and said to him: "Go, sir; go and try to fulfil your promises; the French do not desire to take advantage of the obstacles that hinder you from fulfilling them." This chivalrous generosity cost France dear.[103]

In fact, after the recall of Admiral Byron, Rodney was sent to replace him in the West Indies.[104]

The following year, he had three indecisive, but murderous engagements, with Count de Guichen, and took St.

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[103] *Anecdotes historiques sur les principaux personnages anglais*, 1 Vol., 1784.

[104] He took on board his ship the king's third son, William Henry, who went through all the grades. The admiral reprovisioned Gibraltar on his way, and captured, before that place, four of the eight Spanish vessels that were blockading it. One of these ships having too weak a prize crew to work it in bad weather, and being on the point of foundering or running aground, the English wished to compel the Spanish prisoners, whom they had shut up in the hold, to assist them in saving the vessel. The prisoners all answered that they were ready to perish with their conquerors, but that they would not give them any aid to deliver them from danger unless they had liberty to take back the vessel into one of the ports of Spain. The English were obliged to yield, and the Spaniards brought back their *conquerors* as prisoners to Cadiz (Saint-Valier, *Histoire*, p. 86).

Eustatius from the Dutch. That little colony, barely defended by a hundred men, was shamefully pillaged by the conqueror, who also set a kind of trap for Dutch ships by letting the flag of their nation float on the island. Yet England did not profit by the fruit of these rapines to which her admirals were but too well accustomed. The entire convoy sent by Rodney, loaded with booty worth more than sixty millions, carried on more then twenty vessels, was captured in sight of the coasts of England by Admiral La Motte Piquet. This discomfiture put an end to the absurdly exaggerated joy that the inhabitants of London exhibited at the news of the easy conquest of St. Eustatius.[105]

The diversion attempted by Clinton in Georgia was completely successful, owing to the repulse of d'Estaing before Savannah. That general seized the moment when Washington was reduced to inaction by the distress of his army, to dispatch a part of his troops from New York and to capture Charleston, in South Carolina, where he took five thousand Americans prisoners (May, 1780). He then left in that province Lord Cornwallis, who defeated all those whom Congress sent to drive him out.

Meanwhile, La Fayette returned from Europe, and, by the good news that he brought, revived the drooping courage of the Americans. In July, the corps commanded by Count de Rochambeau, six thousand men strong, landed at Newport. It was brought by a squadron of ten vessels under command of the Chevalier de Ternay. It was while Washington was drawing near to New York, in order to communicate

[105] Admiral Rodney returned to London in 1781. Yorktown had just been taken, yet he appeared at Court as a conqueror. He derived his greatest renown from the spoils of the unfortunate inhabitants of St. Eustatius; but as that island was retaken on the 26th of November, 1781, by the French, the large sum of money that the English admiral had left there, owing to his inability to remove it, was distributed amongst the soldiers.

better with Rochambeau, that the traitor Arnold began negotiations with Clinton for the surrender of West Point to him, which Washington had intrusted to his care. It is known how the plot was discovered and how Major André, of the English army, fell a victim to his connection with the traitor.

Before commencing operations, Rochambeau waited for reinforcements, which the Count de Guichen was to bring him from France; but the latter, as we have mentioned above, had met in the West Indies Admiral Rodney, who compelled the French convoy to seek refuge in Guadeloupe. Washington could send but small reinforcements, with La Fayette, to the Southern patriots, and resigned himself to postpone until the next campaign the decisive expedition which he was planning with Rochambeau. Cornwallis, on his side, received some troops, which increased his army to twelve thousand men. The position of the English appeared, therefore, as prosperous as in the past.

A vast coalition, however, was forming against the maritime despotism of England. That nation assumed the right of searching neutral vessels, under pretext that they might be carrying assistance and warlike stores to their adversaries. Catherine II. was the first to proclaim, in August, 1780, the freedom of the flags, on condition that they did not cover contraband of war. To maintain that principle, called *the right of neutrals*, she proposed a plan of armed neutrality, which was adopted in succession by Sweden and Denmark, Prussia, Portugal, the Two Sicilies and Holland. This last nation, by affording a refuge to American privateers, had excited the fury of the English to the highest pitch. They declared war against her. Then it was that Admiral Rodney took from them St. Eustatius. The Spaniards, for their part, took Pensacola, in Florida, while de Grasse ravaged the English West Indies, and Bouillé retook St. Eustatius.

These victories allowed Washington and Rochambeau at

last to carry out an expedition that was as decisive as it was skilfully conducted. During the winter, the American army, destitute of the most necessary things, had been subjected to the severest trials. A few Pennsylvania and New Jersey regiments had even mutinied. The American leaders, Marion and Sumpter, had too few troops to carry on against Cornwallis anything but a war of skirmishes. Gates' corps was beaten at Camden (August, 1780), and de Kalb was killed there. Still, Morgan,[106] at the head of a body of light troops, defeated Tarleton at Cowpens (January the 17th, 1781). By means of a skilful retreat, Green drew Cornwallis across the Dan, which separates Virginia from North Carolina. He reinforced himself with the Virginia militia and fell unexpectedly upon the newly levied forces of Cornwallis, which he threw into such disorder that they killed each other, and Cornwallis fired his cannon upon his own troops mixed up with the militia.

Green fought another battle with Cornwallis, on March the 15th, near Guilford Court House, and inflicted such losses upon him that he was compelled to fall back to Wilmington. By a skilful march Green cut off the retreat of the English general to South Carolina, and manœuvred so well that after the bloody battle of *Eutaw Springs*, there remained to the English, in Georgia and Carolina, only the city of Savannah and the district of Charleston.

During this time,[107] La Fayette, ordered to operate in Virginia against forces four times as numerous as his own, again sacrificed a part of his fortune to support the soldiers under

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[106] M. La Chesnays has communicated a manuscript letter to me, which was found among Blanchard's papers, and is signed "Daniel Morgan." It gives an authentic account of this affair. It is dated at the camp of "Craincreek," January the 19th, 1781, and is addressed to General Green.

[107] Although I have now reached that part of my labors which has been, more especially, the object of my researches, I have considered it best to give here a rapid summary of events so as not to interrupt abruptly this general epitome.

his command, and, combining prudence with courage, was able, by forced marches and sudden returns, to fatigue Cornwallis and harass his troops to such an extent that the English general, after having despised his youth, was obliged to dread his ability.[108]

Suddenly, the troops of Rochambeau left their positions at Newport and Providence, where their winter quarters were established, and advanced towards Hartford. Washington halted the united army for some time before the island of New York. He reconnoitred in front of that place and induced his adversary to believe that he was about to direct all his efforts against that city. But he only waited for promise of assistance from the fleet to change his arrangements. Count de Barras arrived from France on board the *Concorde*. He came to replace the Chevalier de Ternay in his command and was accompanied by the Viscount de Rochambeau, who had been charged to hasten the sending of the reinforcements and the promised succors. These reinforcements did not arrive; but, as a compensation, they learned that Admiral de Grasse's fleet, after having taken Tobago and held Rodney in check, was advanc-

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[108] "The nation was far from being up to the emergency. A spirit of weariness and selfishness was prevailing among the people. The army, ill-disciplined and ill-paid, was exceedingly restless. Troops of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines had broken out into actual revolt at the beginning of the year. The government was still ineffective, the Confederation feeble, Congress inert, not to say broken down. When we read that this body stood ready to give up the Mississippi to Spain, nay, to waive the express acknowledgment of American independence as an indispensable preliminary to negotiations with Great Britain—when one reads these things, he may well wonder that there were any preparations to meet the exigencies of the times. The German Baron de Steuben, collecting troops in Virginia at the time of the invasion, was afterwards joined by La Fayette, whose troops had been clad on their march at his expense. By sea, the French fleet was engaged in defending the coasts against the invader. It seemed as if the strangers were the only defenders of Virginia and of America."

See the excellent and very exact summary, entitled *Manual of United States History*, by Samuel Eliot, Boston, 1856, p. 258.

ing with three thousand men drawn from the colonies, under the command of the Marquis de Saint-Simon, to force an entrance into Chesapeake Bay, which was defended by Graves, and blockade, in Yorktown, Cornwallis, whom La Fayette was pursuing in his retreat.

The camps were raised before New York, and while the Count de Barras, in spite of seniority of rank, placed himself, with noble disinterestedness, under the command of de Grasse, the allied generals advanced by forced marches towards Virginia. It was towards Yorktown that, thenceforth, full of confidence in the number and bravery of the troops, they concentrated all their efforts. The army was divided into two corps. One proceeded by land, and, passing through Philadelphia and Baltimore, soon arrived at Williamsburg to assist the troops of Saint-Simon and La Fayette. The other body, commanded by Custine, embarked at Head of Elk, touched at Annapolis, and, under the lead of Choisy and Lauzun, took up a position in front of Gloucester. For his part, Count de Grasse occupied Chesapeake Bay and cut off the English from all communication by water.

A few days sufficed to trace the first and the second parallels. Two redoubts delayed the approaches of the allies. It was decided to take them by assault. La Fayette, with a column of American militia, was intrusted with the capture of that on the right, while Guillaume de Deux-Ponts assailed that on the left. The allied troops rivalled each other in ardor. In a few minutes these obstacles were taken.

Cornwallis, recognizing that resistance was no longer possible, in vain attempted to force the passage of the York River, abandoning his cannon and baggage. His attempt was unsuccessful, and he had to surrender. The garrison were made prisoners of war. The English vessels fell to the share of the French fleet, while more than a hundred and fifty cannon or mortars, the military chest and arms of all kinds were delivered to the Americans (October the 11th, 1781).

CHAPTER X.

Influence of La Fayette: Composition of the French Forces.—The situation of the Americans becomes very precarious—The arrival of La Fayette in France hastens the succor—Hesitation respecting the choice of a commander—Rochambeau is chosen—Composition of the fleet.

Since the Declaration of Independence, the Americans had received from France rather moral than effective assistance. The supplies of arms furnished by the government of Louis XVI. were rather a speculation of Beaumarchais and some other business men than efficacious assistance.

During the three years the Americans thus carried on alone the contest against all-powerful England, their strength had become exhausted without their having won any marked successes, and without their being able even to foresee the day when their enemies would renounce the exaction of absolute submission from them. Their financial resources were also ruined. Their situation became each day more perilous. It required nothing short of the firmness and authority of Washington to retain the militia under the colors and still maintain some confidence in the hearts of the sincerest supporters of independence.

La Fayette's arrival at the Court of France in February, 1779, again brought the situation of the Americans to the notice of the government, hitherto more engrossed by intrigues and trifles than by politics and war. The young general who, two years before, had departed as a fugitive, was received in triumph. His renown had grown in crossing the ocean, and he knew how to turn the enthusiasm of which he was the object to the advantage of his adopted brethren. He added his entreaties to those of John Laurens, the American envoy, to obtain from the king assistance in

men and money, and the check received by d'Estaing before Savannah was the last argument that decided the cabinet of Versailles to carry out, to its fullest extent, the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded with Franklin on February the 6th, 1778.

It was resolved that France would send to the Americans a squadron of seven ships of the line to act upon the coasts, and a body of from ten to twelve thousand soldiers, and six millions of *livres*. Rochambeau was appointed commander-in-chief of the land forces, and the Chevalier de Ternay was placed at the head of the fleet.

La Fayette then busied himself with the means of carrying this plan into effect. He made the ministers understand that if he was not placed in command of the expedition, which would surprise the Americans, at least it was imperative to place over it a French general who would consent to serve under the American commander-in-chief. But he knew well that his old companions in arms in France were jealous of his rapid military fortune and brilliant renown. He knew still better that the officers who were his seniors in rank would be unwilling to serve under him. His first proposition, therefore, was only made to satisfy public feeling in America, which left the management of this affair almost entirely in his hands. In view of the serious difficulties that necessarily would result from the adoption of such a decision—difficulties that might have most disastrous consequences for the cause to which he had devoted himself—he promised to make the Americans understand that he had preferred remaining at the head of one of their divisions and that he had refused the command of the French forces. But he insisted upon this point, that, in order to avoid wounding the self-respect of the Americans, it was indispensable to choose a general to command the expedition, whose promotion had been recent and whose talents were certainly equal to his mission, but who, considering this mission as a distinction, would consent to acknowledge

General Washington's supremacy. The choice that was made, under these conditions, of the Count de Rochambeau was perfectly satisfactory to him, and, without waiting for the departure of the expedition, he embarked at Rochefort, on February the 18th, 1780, on board the frigate *Hermione*, which the king had given him as being a swift sailer. He was accompanied only by a war commissary, de Corny, who was to prepare the arrangements in Rhode Island for the army.[109] He was anxious to inform Washington of the good news himself, and immediately upon his landing at Boston, on April the 28th, he hastened to Morristown to rejoin his well-beloved and revered friend, as he called him in his letters.

The instructions given to La Fayette by the minister of foreign affairs directed that, in order to prevent any mistake or delay, he should station at Rhode Island, as well as at Cape Henry, at the mouth of the Chesapeake, a French officer, with orders to wait for the squadron, which was to land at one of these two points, and to furnish it with all the information that it would need on arriving. It was de Galvan, a French officer in the service of the United States, who was sent alone to Cape Henry, according to these instructions, with a letter from La Fayette. But the squadron was not to land at that point, and the precaution was useless.

Meanwhile, the preparations for the departure of the expedition were not carried on with all the activity that was desirable. Everything that depended on the war department, it is true, was promptly sent to Brest. By the early days of April the regiments of Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Saintonge, Deux-Ponts, de Neustrie, Anhalt, Lauzun's legion, a corps of artillery and of engineers, with field artillery, siege artillery and a large supply of provisions, were assembled at that port. But the minister of the navy did not

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[109] See the *Biographical Notice* respecting de Corny, who was war commissioner by accident, and returned in February, 1781.

display the same alacrity. The departure of de Guichen's fleet, with all the transports of troops and ammunition which the French were sending to the West Indies, had stripped Brest of all its transport ships. Tardy orders were sent to Bordeaux to furnish them. These were stopped by the wind, and it was necessary to send to St. Malo, where only an insufficient number could be found.

Yet it was necessary to hasten the departure, else the situation would become critical and the voyage dangerous. They knew that England was arming a squadron to stop the French forces, which would be the easier to do, owing to the English having no convoy to protect. They learnt, also, that the situation of the Americans was daily growing more critical and that immediate succor was necessary to them. The Council of Ministers sent orders to Rochambeau to embark immediately a part of his troops and stores, and to set sail with the first favorable wind. In vain did the general protest against the danger to which they exposed him by reducing to one-half an army corps that was already too weak. All that he could obtain was a formal promise of the speedy dispatch of the second division of his army. He resigned himself to taking with him as many troops as he possibly could and to starting as soon as possible.

I give here, according to Blanchard, the names of the general officers and the principal personages of the army:

The Count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general, commander-in-chief.

The Baron de Vioménil,[110] }
The Count de Vioménil, } Major-generals.
The Chevalier de Chastellux,[111] }

De Béville, brigadier, quartermaster-general.[112]

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[110] The second in command.

[111] The latter discharged the functions of major-general.

[112] De Choisy, brigadier, did not arrive until September the 30th, and had with him the Berthiers, who entered the staff.

De Tarlé, directing commissioner, discharging the duties of steward.

Blanchard, chief commissioner.[113]

D'Aboville, commander-in-chief of the artillery.

De Fersen,
De Damas,
Ch. de Lameth,
De Closen,
Dumas,
De Lauberdières
De Vauban,
} Aid-de-camps to Rochambeau.[114]

De Chabannes,
De Pangé,
Ch. d'Olonne,
} Aid-de-camps to de Vioménil.

De Montesquieu, (grandson of the lawyer)
Lynch (an Irishman),
} Aid-de-camps to Chastellux.

COLONELS.

The Marquis de Laval,
The Viscount de Rochambeau, in second (*en 2e*).
} Bourbonnais.

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[113] The other war commissioners, according to the *Annuaire militaire* of 1781, were:

De Corny, war commissioner; he had preceded the expedition by a month and returned to France in the beginning of February, 1781, on the *Alliance*.

De Villemanzy, id.
Jujardy, id.
Chesnel, id.

Gau, commissioner of artillery.

[114] "Cromot-Dubourg, who arrived shortly after us," says Blanchard, "was also an aid-de-camp of Rochambeau."

We must add Collot, de Charlus, the Viscount de Rochambeau and the Berthier Brothers to this list, according to the *Archives de la guerre*, the *Souvenirs* of Dumas, the *Mémoires* of Rochambeau, the narrative of *mes Campagnes en Amérique*, by G. de Deux-Ponts, the *Mémoires* of Du Petit-Thouars and the *Manuscrit inédit* that I attribute to Cromot-Dubourg.

Christian de Deux-Ponts,
Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, in second. } Royal Deux-Ponts.

The Count de Custine,
The Viscount de Charlus, } Saintonge.

De Sainte-Mesme or Saint-Maime,
The Viscount de Noailles, } Soissonnais.

The Duke de Lauzun,
The Count Arthur Dillon,[115] } Legion de Lauzun.

Nadal, director of the artillery.
Lazié, major.
Desandroins, commanding the engineers.

Querenet,
Ch. d'Ogré,
Caravagne,
D'Aubeterre,[116] } Engineers.

Turpin—

Coste, chief physician.
Robillard, chief surgeon.
Daure, superintendent of food.
Demars, superintendent of hospitals.

"There were, besides, some superintendents for forage, food, etc. As a rule, too many employees, especially in high positions."[117]

Bouley, treasurer.

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[115] There were two officers in the French army who asked to serve in the expeditionary corps immediately after its arrival, and who had already served the Americans with distinction as volunteers: They were de Fleury, major of Saintonge, and Duplessis-Mauduit, adjutant of the artillery.

[116] The *Journal de Blanchard*, says d'Opterre.

[117] (Blanchard.)

Chevalier de Tarlé,[118] } Adjutant-generals.
De Ménonville, }

De Béville, Jr., } Assistant quartermaster-generals.
Collot, }

Composition of the fleet that left Brest.

Vessels.	Guns.	Commanders.
The Duc de Bourgogne,[119] (Sheathed in copper.)	80	Chevalier de Ternay.
The Neptune,[120] (Sheathed in copper.)	74	Destouches.
The Conquérant,[121]	74	La Grandière.

[118] The Chevalier de Tarlé was the brother of the steward.

[119] This ship, which bore the admiral's flag, had Rochambeau on board.

[120] Vessels sheathed in copper were rare at that time ; they sailed faster.

[121] Blanchard, who left Brest on May the 2d, 1780, on the *Conquérant*, gives the composition of the crew of this ship as follows: Captain, La Grandière; second captain, Cherfontaine; first lieutenant, Dupuy; id., Blessing (a Swede). Ensigns: La Jonquières, Kergis, Maccarthy, Duparc de Bellegarde, Buissy. Officers of marines: Lyvet, Leyrits, Lourmel. Auxiliary officers: Cordier, Deshayes, Marassin, Guzence. The son of de la Grandière was also on board, but he was not yet an officer of the marines. Detached infantry officers on board the vessel, taken from the regiment of la Sarre : Captain, Laubanis ; lieutenant, Lamothe ; sub-lieutenant, Loyas.

Passengers : The Baron de Vioménil, major-general ; Count de Custine, brigadier-colonel of the regiment of Saintonge ; the grenadier company of this regiment, whose officers were : de Vouves, captain ; de James, second captain ; Champetier, lieutenant ; Josselin, second lieutenant ; Denis, sub-lieutenant ; Fanit, second sub-lieutenant. Ménonville, lieutenant-colonel of the staff; de Chabannes and de Pangé, aid-de-camps of de Vioménil ; Brizon, a cavalry officer, filling the post of secretary to the general. In addition, a surgeon and a chaplain, whose names Blanchard does not mention. There were on board, altogether, nine hundred and sixty persons and food for six months.

A part of the regiment of Bourbonnais (about three hundred and fifty men) had embarked on the transport, the *Isle de France*, which also carried the Chevalier de Coriolis, Blanchard's brother-in-law.

Vessels.	Guns.	Commanders.
The Provence,[122]	64	Lombard.
The Éveillé,[123] (Sheathed in copper.)	64	De Tilly.
The Jazon,[124]	64	La Clochetterie.
The Ardent,	64	Chevalier de Marigny.
Frigates.		
The Bellone,[125]		———
The Surveillante,		Sillart.
The Amazone,		La Pérouse.
The Guêpe, cutter,		Chevalier de Maulevrier.
The Serpent, id.		———

The Fantasque, an old vessel, was fitted up as a transport (*armé en flûte*) and was intended to serve as a hospital; the money, the heavy artillery and many passengers were embarked on it. Besides these there were thirty-six transports,[126] and altogether forty-eight sails.

The lack of transports prevented the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt from starting. Rochambeau had even to leave a part of the regiment of Soissonnais at Brest. Only two battalions embarked on April the 4th under the command of the Count de Sainte-Mesme. Only two-thirds of Lauzun's legion found room on the vessels, and four hun-

[122] There were on board the *Provence:* de Lauzun, Robert Dillon, the Chevalier d'Arrot and a part of the legion. Lauzun says in his *Mémoires* that the captain was, he thought, Champaurcin.

[123] On board the *Éveillé* were the two de Deux-Ponts and a part of their regiment. (*Mes Campagnes en Amérique.*)

[124] This vessel had among its passengers: Dumas, Charles de Lameth, Count de Fersen and the Count de Charlus, all of whom were on Rochambeau's staff. (*Souvenirs de Dumas.*)

[125] May the 5th, the *Bellone* returned to the port and did not rejoin the expedition. (Dumas.)

[126] Among the transports were: The *Vénus,* the *comtesse de Noailles,* the *Loire,* the *Lutin,* the *Écureuil,* the *Baron d'Arras,* etc. (Blanchard.)

dred men of that legion had to remain at Brest. They were to form a part of the second convoy. Later they were sent to Senegal, to the great displeasure of the duke, who was colonel-owner (*colonel-propriétaire*) of it. Rochambeau was able to embark only a part of the stores for the artillery as well as a detachment of artillery, under the command of Colonel d'Aboville, and also one battalion of engineers, commanded by Desandroins.

CHAPTER XI.

Resumption of the Narrative of the Operations.—Departure of the fleet under the command of de Ternay—Happy beginning—Prudent conduct of de Ternay—Reproaches which this conduct brings on him—Insubordination and want of discipline of the officers of the French navy—Arrival on the coast of Virginia—Landing of the French troops—Washington's plan against New York—Rochambeau and de Ternay hesitate to carry out this plan—Letter of Rochambeau to La Fayette, and his appreciation of the character of the French soldiers—La Fayette's letter to Washington, respecting the French army—Preparations of Rochambeau at Rhode Island—Diversion attempted by Washington—Urgent advice to Rochambeau to commence the campaign—Letters of Washington and La Fayette on this subject—Rochambeau's departure—An incident—Interview at Hartford—Treason of Arnold and execution of Major André—Inaction of the English before Rhode Island—Visit of the Indians to Rochambeau.

By the 12th of April everything was ready for setting sail; and on the 15th, with a north wind, the whole convoy anchored in the harbor of Bertheaume. The next day, at the moment when the fleet was raising anchor, the wind changed to the west, and the convoy received orders to return. Up to the 1st of May the winds were changeable, but generally from the west. They were favorable for the

departure of Admiral Graves' squadron, eleven vessels strong, from the harbor of Plymouth, while they hindered the departure of the French troops. At last, on May the 2d, at four o'clock in the morning, de Ternay skilfully took advantage of a good northeast wind to set sail. He led the squadron with the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Neptune* and the *Jazon*. After passing the narrow entrance of the harbor and gaining the open sea, the squadron and the convoy proceeded in a southerly direction, successfully passed through the Raz Passage, and, after assembling, put themselves in order of march.

Their departure had not been perceived by the enemy. The squadron was making good progress and was on the point of rounding the cape, when, three days after its departure, the winds became adverse and detained the fleet in the Gulf of Gascony for four days. The *Provence* lost two masts. Her captain asked permission to put into port; but de Ternay did not think this should be done, and he had the damage repaired as well as possible. It was not until from the 15th to the 16th of May that the squadron and the convoy cleared the cape by means of a northeast wind.[127]

The English fleet had put to sea, favored by the same wind that had at first carried the French vessels out of Brest. The tempest had stopped it before it had got out of the Channel and had forced it to return to port. The French convoy, therefore, got ahead of the English.

After the storm experienced in the Gulf of Gascony, the Chevalier de Ternay decided to take the southern route, the same that Admiral d'Estaing had followed the preceding year. The western route was shorter, but less safe, owing to the enemy that might be met there and the variableness of the winds. By the southern way, on the contrary, they would have the advantage of the trade winds. A milder climate was more favorable to the health of the crews and

[127] On the 15th, the cutter *Serpent* was sent back to France to carry this news.

the troops. There was also less likelihood of meeting the enemy. Lastly, the southern winds, which usually prevail during the summer along the coast of North America, would easily bring back the expedition towards the north, to the point where it would be most advantageous to disembark.[123]

On May the 30th, after an agreeable voyage, they found themselves in 28° 58′ north latitude and 34° 44′ west longitude; and the persistence of de Ternay in keeping the fleet in the same direction was causing the officers to believe, to their great regret, that they were bound for the Windward Islands and not for North America, when the admiral gave orders to head towards the west. On the following days he sailed towards the northwest, and exercised the squadron in changing from the order of march to that of battle, the convoy remaining to windward. The frigate *Surveillante* chased and captured an English brig armed with eleven guns. They learned from the captain of this brig of the capture of Charleston by General Clinton, and the presence in that port of Admiral Arbuthnot, who was waiting there for Admiral Graves' squadron.[129]

On June the 20th, when they were to the south of the Bermudas, the frigates of the vanguard signalled that six vessels were bearing down with full sails upon the convoy. De Ternay also put his frigates in line of battle, and the enemy, astonished to see seven ships of the line come out of a group of merchantmen, stopped. One of their ships, which undoubtedly had forged too much in advance, was far distant from the others, and might have been cut off by the *Neptune* and the *Jazon*, the vessels at the head of the

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[128] May the 25th, the ship *Lutin*, armed for war and laden with merchandise, left the squadron to proceed to Cayenne.

[129] On June the 12th, they captured a small English vessel laden with codfish and herring, which was going from Halifax to St. Eustatius. Rochambeau had the codfish and herring distributed to the troops; the vessel was pillaged, dismantled and abandoned. (Blanchard.)

French line. The convoy was then well collected and well sheltered behind the frigates the *Surveillante* and the *Amazone;* but de Ternay, perceiving that the *Provence*, although carrying all her sails, could not follow him and was making a gap in his line, stopped the first two ships in their chase of the English frigate, which was then able to return to her consorts, after having, however, received the fire of the whole French line. They still cannonaded each other until sunset without much result, and the Chevalier de Ternay continued on his way with his convoy. "He preferred," said Rochambeau, "the preservation of his convoy to the personal glory of having captured a hostile vessel." His conduct was judged quite differently by the French officers, and an occurrence of the same kind soon afterwards increased the dissatisfaction of the army towards him.[130]

They afterwards learnt that the vessel that they had nearly captured was the *Ruby*, of seventy-four guns, and that the squadron of which it formed part, commanded by Captain Cornwallis,[131] was returning to Jamaica, after having escorted fifty merchantmen as far as the Bermudas. During the engagement de la Clochetterie, the captain of the *Jazon*, had loudly blamed the fault that de Ternay had committed in causing his two leading ships to shorten sail, which had given the *Ruby* time to extricate itself and rejoin its line. Summoned to the council that was held after this fight on the admiral's ship, and questioned in his turn as to what he thought was the destination of the English squadron, he said: "It is too late, admiral; I might have been able to

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[130] The *Neptune*, in the action of June the 20th, 1780, had two men killed and five or six wounded; the *Duc de Bourgogne*, a similar number; altogether twenty-one men killed and wounded. (Blanchard.)

[131] The squadron commanded by Captain Cornwallis was composed of six vessels: the *Hector* and the *Sultan*, of seventy-four guns; the *Lion* and the *Ruby*, of sixty-four; the *Bristol*, of thirty; and the frigate *Niger*, of thirty-two. (Dumas.)

tell you last evening; it depended upon you to interrogate the captain of the *Ruby*." [132]

De Ternay scrupulously followed, in his conduct, the instructions that he had received. He did not lose sight of his mission, which consisted in bringing the forces of the expedition to the United States as quickly and safely as possible.[133] Nevertheless, when he afterwards learnt that these English ships were on their way to join, at the Windward Islands, the fleet of Rodney and thus give it superiority over that of Guichen during the whole campaign, he was so deeply grieved about this, that his death, it seemed, was hastened thereby.[134]

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[132] These words, which exhibited the dissatisfaction of the brave sailor, were one of those acts of insubordination which were allowed to pass unnoticed, and to which the superior officers paid little attention at that period. I shall again have occasion to cite several similar examples. See p. 8, *Mercure de Grasse.*

[133] During the passage the ships and the frigates were obliged every day to lie to, to wait for the transports. On May the 25th, the storeship *Isle de France* had to tow the transport *Baron d'Arras.* (Blanchard.)

[134] D'Estaing had to submit to the same reproach on several occasions. His action, on the contrary, should have added to his glory. (See, upon this subject and upon the vindication of d'Estaing, *Histoire impartiale de la dernière guerre*, by J. de Saint-Vallier.)

Owing to not having acted with the same prudence and to having preferred the vain glory of fighting a useless contest to that of saving his immense convoy, de Guichen, who had left Brest on the 10th of December, 1781, with nineteen ships of war, allowed the English Admiral Kempenfeld, to capture, off the coast of Africa, a large number of the transport ships that he was commissioned to escort and protect. But this was not an isolated incident. At that period the escorting of vessels had become a secondary consideration for the officers of the royal navy, a function unworthy of their rank and their titles.

From 1781, the Abbé Raynal, in his work entitled *Des Révolutions en Amérique*, published at London, protested against this prejudice, too powerful among the commanders of French fleets.

"Officers of the navy," said he, "you consider yourselves disgraced by protecting and escorting commerce! But if commerce has no more protectors, what will become of the wealth of the State, of which, doubtless, you demand a part, as a reward for your services? What, disgraced by being useful to your fellow-citizens! Your post is on the seas, as

On the 21st, the *Surveillante* captured a large English vessel, laden with wood, coming from Savannah.

A sounding on July the 4th indicated that they were on the coasts of Virginia. At ten o'clock in the morning the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Amazone* and the *Surveillante* took a large armed ship, which did not surrender until it had received some cannon shots. From the papers of this vessel they learnt that, after the capture of Charleston, Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton had returned to New York. They had left five thousand men in the former town under command of Lord Cornwallis. That same evening, when they were preparing to anchor in front of Cape Henry, they saw ahead of them a fleet in which they counted no less than eighteen sail. They concluded that the vessel they had taken was only a patrol employed to watch for the approach of the French, and they presumed that they were the six ships with which they had already fought on June the 20th, that had joined the forces of Graves and Arbuthnot. Consequently, de Ternay sought to avoid their attack. He tacked about, made some false runs during the night, and then steered again towards the northwest.

De Ternay had again missed a fine opportunity of giving a brilliant opening to the expedition. The eighteen vessels signalled in front of Chesapeake Bay were really only a convoy on their way from Charleston to New York under the

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that of the judges is on the bench, as that of the officer and soldier on land is in the camp, as that of the monarch himself is on the throne, where he is placed only the higher that he may see further and embrace, at a glance, all those who need his protection and his defence. Learn that the glory of preserving is still better than that of destroying. In ancient Rome, glory was also loved, yet there the honor of having saved a single citizen was preferred to that of having slain a crowd of enemies. . . . . .

"The maxims consecrated at Portsmouth were very different. There they felt, there they respected the dignity of commerce. There they considered it a duty, as well as an honor, to defend it, and the events decide which of the two military navies had the most correct ideas respecting its own functions."

escort of some frigates. De Ternay's mistake brought down new reproaches upon him, perhaps more severe than the first ones, and to which he could reply with the same excuses.

Some pilots from the island of *Martha's Vineyard*, on the banks of Nantucket, steered the convoy towards the anchorage of Rhode Island, where they landed under the lead of Colonel Elliot, who was sent by the American general, after four days of heavy fog and alternations of calms and contrary winds. The next day, after a passage of seventy days, the fleet entered the harbor of Newport.[135]

"After so long a passage and such just alarms, our joy may be imagined; at last we had reached this so much desired land, where the mere appearance of the French flag was about to revive the hopes of the defenders of liberty. We were welcomed by the acclamations of the few patriots remaining upon this island, formerly occupied by the English, and who had been obliged to abandon it." [136]

The grenadiers and the *chasseurs* were landed first, on

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[135] The route followed by de Ternay's squadron was the same that d'Estaing had taken in 1778, as may be verified by the journal of de Belgarde, an ensign on board the *Conquérant* in 1780, and who had already served under d'Estaing. The scurvy made great ravages on the vessels, and there was not a day on which they did not lose one or two men.

The *Conquérant*, on arriving at Newport, had about sixty sick; there were fewer on the other ships; but in addition to the fact that the latter had not more men than they could accommodate, their crews had embarked only since the month of April, while the crew of the *Conquérant* had been on board from February the 3d, in order to start with de Guichen. (Blanchard.)

[136] Dumas. Blanchard also mentions the joy of the French soldiers at the sight of the mainland after their long trip. He adds that what was especially an agreeable surprise to them was the sight of two white flags with the lilies, which, placed at the entrance of Newport, recalled to their hearts their absent country, assured them of a good reception, and tranquillized them as to the result of the efforts that the English had made to repulse them from Rhode Island. It was to La Fayette that the expedition was indebted for this delicate attention.

the 13th; on the 14th and 15th, the troops that were in good health took their places in the camp which had been prepared; and the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th were spent in landing the sick, who were numerous. Some were taken to the hospitals in Newport, and the rest to a hospital twelve miles distant, at a place called *Papisquash.*

There were four hundred sick at Newport, and two hundred and eighty at the hospital at Papisquash, which had been established before the arrival of the force through the exertions of de Cornay, who, in company with La Fayette, had preceded the French. The detachment of three hundred and fifty men of the regiment of Bourbonnais which had landed at Boston from the *Isle de France,* in consequence of a manœuvre that had separated that store-ship from de Ternay's squadron during a fog, had about a hundred sick who remained at Boston; that made about eight hundred sick out of five thousand men.[137]

General Heath, who commanded the militia in the State of Rhode Island, announced, on the 11th of July, the arrival of the French squadron to General Washington, who was then with his staff at Bergen.

La Fayette set out almost immediately, provided with instructions from the commander-in-chief, dated the 15th, to repair to the French general and admiral to confer with them. For some time Washington had been considering a plan of offensive operation for the capture of the city and the garrison of New York. This plan, which conformed with the wishes of the French government, was only to be carried out upon certain conditions. First, it was necessary that the French troops should unite with the American forces, and, secondly, that the French should have a naval superiority over the forces of Admirals Graves and Arbuth-

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[137] "The regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts alone had about three hundred, and it seems that the Germans feel the heat more than other men." (Blanchard.)

not, who had effected their junction at New York the day after the arrival of the French at Newport. This last condition was far from being fulfilled. In fact, the French had learnt that the expedition had escaped an attack from Graves, solely on account of the storm which, at his start, had forced him to return to Plymouth, and then because he had captured, near the Azores, a ship belonging to the India Company, the *Fargès*, which he had towed during a part of his journey and so diminished his speed and delayed his union with Arbuthnot.

It was difficult, therefore, to carry out the plan projected against New York. Although it was accepted in principle by Rochambeau and de Ternay, neither of them admitted the possibility of its immediate execution, and for a long time they resisted the wishes of Washington and the entreaties of La Fayette on this point. Rochambeau even wrote, on August the 27th, to the latter, who had reproached him for his inaction and the uselessness of his presence on Rhode Island :

"My dear Marquis, allow an old father to reply to you as to a tender son whom he loves and esteems infinitely.

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"It is always well, my dear Marquis, to believe that the French are invincible, but I am about to confide a great secret to you, after an experience of forty years; there are none more easily beaten when they have lost confidence in their leaders, and they lose it immediately when they have been compromised, owing to private and personal ambition. If I have been so fortunate as to preserve it hitherto, I owe it to the most scrupulous examination of my conscience; out of about fifteen thousand men who have been killed or wounded under my command of different ranks and in the most bloody engagements, I have not to reproach myself for having caused the death of a single one on my own account."[138]

[138] *Mémoires* of La Fayette, correspondence, p. 365.

Moreover, the French troops were full of ardor, and the greatest harmony existed between them and their allies. "These troops," said La Fayette, in a letter written at Newport, on July the 31st, to General Washington,[139] "detest even the thought of remaining at Newport, and are burning with the desire of joining you. They curse any one who talks to them of waiting for the second division, and are furious at remaining blockaded here. As for the feelings of the inhabitants and the militia toward them, and their own as regards the latter, I find them conformable to all my wishes. You would have been amused the other day to see two hundred and fifty of our recruits who came to Conanicut without provisions and without tents, and who mingled so well with the French troops that every Frenchman, officer or soldier, took an American with him and shared with him, in a most friendly way, his bed and supper. The patience and sobriety of our militia is so much admired that two days ago a French colonel assembled his officers to persuade them to follow the good example given by the American troops to the French soldiers. On the other hand, the French discipline is such that chickens and hogs walk among the tents without any one disturbing them, and there is a field of maize in the camp, not a leaf of which has been touched."

I resume the narrative of events a little further back. Hardly had the arrival of the French squadron been signalled, when the principal inhabitants of the neighboring counties assembled to receive the forces of the expedition. The Count de Rochambeau was complimented by the authorities of the State: "We come," said he, "to defend with you the most just of causes. Rely upon our fraternal feelings and treat us as brothers. We shall follow your example upon the field of honor; we shall set you the example of the strictest discipline, and of respect for your laws. This

[139] *Mémoires* of La Fayette.

little French army is but an advance guard; it will soon be followed by more important succors, and *I shall be only General Washington's lieutenant.*"[140]

It had been foreseen that the English, who had concentrated their land and naval forces at New York, would not give the French time to establish themselves on Rhode Island; and Washington informed Rochambeau that Sir Henry Clinton was embarking his troops and would come shortly to attack the forces of the expedition with the squadrons assembled under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot, which were anchored at Sandy Hook, beyond New York, at the mouth of the Hudson River. The American general watched these movements, and, while he gave frequent information to the French of the projected attack upon them, he tried to prevent it. For this purpose he authorized Rochambeau to call upon the militia of Boston and Rhode Island to aid his army build the works for the defence of the island.[141] Those States sent, under the command of General Heath, from four thousand to five thousand men, who displayed much zeal and good will. Rochambeau kept only two thousand of them, whom he placed under the command of La Fayette, who had been sent to him by Washington, and he persuaded General Heath to send back the others to their harvesting, which had been abandoned, in order that they might come to his assistance.

Rochambeau, moreover, had not lost an instant. He had himself examined the principal points of defence, had had batteries of large calibre and mortars erected all along the

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[140] On July the 21st, a brig set out to carry news to France.

[141] Blanchard, instructed by Rochambeau to go to Boston to ask the aid of the provincial troops, set out on July the 26th, accompanied by a Saxon dragoon, whom the English had brought over, but who had gone over to the service of the Americans. This soldier was to serve as an interpreter, but he did not know French; he spoke English, of which Blanchard knew hardly a word. They had to talk in *Latin*, and "never did that language serve me so well," he says.

channel, and had had furnaces built for heating balls. His camp covered the city, cutting across the island, his left resting upon the sea, and his right upon the anchorage of the squadron which was lying under protection of the land batteries that he had had constructed upon the most suitable points. He also had his men fortify the different points where the enemy might land and open roads in order to move the greater part of the army to the very point of landing. In this position, the French forces could always concentrate by the shortest line on the point where the enemy would have desired to land, while the latter, to vary its points of attack, had to pass over large circles. Rochambeau also sent to the island of Conanicut a body of a hundred and fifty men, taken from the regiment of Saintonge, under the lead of Lieutenant-Colonel de la Valette. But soon, not thinking it secure in that position, he recalled it.

In twelve days, the position of the army on Rhode Island was made pretty safe, thanks to the skilful direction of the leader and the zeal of the soldiers. Unfortunately a full third of the land and sea forces were ill with the scurvy.

At the same time, Washington crossed the Hudson above West Point with the greater part of his troops, and proceeded to King's Bridge, at the northern end of the island, where he made some hostile demonstrations. This manœuvre detained General Clinton, who had already embarked eight thousand men upon the ships of Arbuthnot. He landed his troops and gave up his project. Nevertheless, the English admiral set sail and appeared before Rhode Island with eleven ships of the line and a few frigates, twelve days after the French had landed.[142]

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[142] "July 22d. The brigade returned to King's Bridge, and the flank companies marched to Frog's Neck, facing Long Island, and on the 25th embarked in transports to go to Rhode Island. Whilst we lay at Frog's Neck, the French arrived at Rhode Island, about six thousand in number, with a fleet of seven sail of the line and some frigates; and as we heard that they had many sick, and we had a superior fleet, we were going

De Custine and Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, who was second in command, were sent with the battalions of grenadiers and *chasseurs* of their two brigades, and took up a position on the seashore. Admiral Arbuthnot remained constantly in sight of the coast until July the 26th; at night he anchored at Point Judith, and spent the day under sail, cruising sometimes one league and sometimes three or four leagues from the coast. On the evening of the 26th, Rochambeau ordered de Custine's detachment to return to camp and replaced it by Lauzun's legion.

The campaign was too advanced and the naval forces of the French too inferior for the allies to attempt anything of importance. Rochambeau, notwithstanding the entreaties of La Fayette, to whom inaction was irksome, only thought of perfecting the defences of Rhode Island by the mutual protection of the ships and the coast batteries. On the other hand, the troops and the sailors had suffered a good deal from diseases caused by excessive crowding. The island had been laid waste by the English and by the sojourn of the American troops. It was necessary to build barracks to lodge the troops, to establish hospitals at the head of the bay in the small city of Providence, and to mount Lauzun's

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to attack them, and proceeded as far as Huntington Bay in Long Island, and there cast anchor to await the return of a ship which the General had dispatched to the Admiral, who had blockaded the French fleet in Rhode Island harbor and lay at the mouth of it. Upon the intelligence which the commander-in-chief received by this ship, a stop was put to the expedition. It was reported, some time after, that the French were in such consternation at being blockaded by a superior fleet, that had we proceeded, they would, at our arrival, have run their ships aground and thrown their guns overboard." *Mathew's Narrative.*

The author of this account was the late George Mathew. At fifteen or sixteen years of age he entered the Coldstream Guards, commanded by his uncle, General Edward Mathew, and came with that corps to New York as his aid-de-camp.

This manuscript, of which I have been able to make a copy, was communicated to me by his only son, His Excellency, George B. Mathew, at present Minister-Plenipotentiary of Great Britain to Brazil.

hussars—in a word, to provide for all the needs of the little army in their winter quarters. Dumas and Charles de Lameth, aids-de-camp of Rochambeau, were ordered to reconnoitre in different directions, and the former speaks in his memoirs of the kind reception that he met with at Providence from the family of Dr. Browne. The Duke de Lauzun was intrusted with the command of everything that was in the channel and within reach of the places where a landing might be made. Meanwhile, de Tarlé, the steward, and Blanchard, the war commissioner, were engaged in procuring food and wood for the army, and in organizing or carrying on the hospitals.

On August the 9th, when La Fayette had returned to the headquarters of Washington, which were at Dobb's Ferry, ten miles above King's Bridge, on the right bank of the North River, he wrote to Rochambeau and de Ternay an urgent dispatch, in which he finished, in the name of the American general, by proposing to the French generals to come at once to attempt an attack on New York. This letter ended in a sort of summons, based upon the policy of the country and upon the considerations that this campaign was the last effort of her patriotism. On the other hand, the same courier brought a letter from Washington, which made no mention of this project, but which only replied by a kind of refusal to the request of Rochambeau for a conference, "wherein in an hour of conversation they could agree upon more things than in volumes of correspondence."[143] Washington said with truth that he did not dare to leave his army in front of New York, for it might be attacked at any moment, and that by his presence he prevented the departure of the large body of the English forces that might have been sent against Rhode Island. Indeed, it is certain that if some differences had not arisen between General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, the French might have

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[143] *Mémoires de Rochambeau.*

found themselves in a dangerous position at the beginning. From the earliest letters exchanged upon this occasion some discord resulted between La Fayette, Rochambeau and Washington, but, owing to the good sense of Rochambeau, matters were soon smoothed over. He wrote in English to the American general to ask him thereafter to address himself directly to him, and to explain the reasons that induced him to postpone assuming the offensive. At the same time, he urgently requested a conference. From that moment the relations between the two leaders were excellent.

The mere presence of the French squadron and army, though they were still paralyzed and really blockaded by Admiral Arbuthnot, had effected a useful diversion, since the English had not been able to profit by all the advantages resulting from the capture of Charleston, and, instead of carrying on operations in the Carolinas with superior forces, they had had to bring the greater part of them back to New York.

At the beginning of September, news finally arrived of the squadron of de Guichen which had appeared upon the southern coasts of America. After having fought several battles in the West Indies with the fleets of Admiral Rodney,[144] he put himself at the head of a large convoy to take it back to France. The Chevalier de Ternay, seeing himself blockaded by a superior force, had asked de Guichen for four ships of the line, which he was empowered to demand of him to reinforce himself; but the letter did not arrive at Cape Français until after de Guichen's departure. De Monteil, who replaced him, could not decipher it. Neither was there good news from the Southern States. Lord Cornwallis had gone to Camden to meet General Gates, who was marching to fight him. Gates was defeated, and the American army utterly routed. De Kalb was killed at the head of a division that withstood during the

[144] See the *Biographical Notice* of de Guichen, and *ante* pp. 91 and 92.

whole day all the attacks of the English.[145] General Gates retreated with the remnant of his army as far as Hillsborough in North Carolina.

Yet Rochambeau only waited for the arrival of his second division and the assistance of a few ships to assume the offensive. At the news of de Guichen's approach,[146] he at last obtained from General Washington the interview that he had so long desired. It was fixed for September the 20th.

Rochambeau started in a coach on the 17th for the meeting, with Admiral de Ternay, who was suffering grievously with the gout. During the night, in the vicinity of Windham, the carriage broke down, and the general was obliged to send his first aid-de-camp, de Fersen, a mile from the place of the accident, to seek a wheelwright. Fersen returned to say that he had found a man ill with malarial fever, who had replied to him that if they filled his hat with guineas, they could not make him work at night. Rochambeau and de Ternay were obliged, therefore, to go together to entreat this wheelwright; they told him that General Washington would arrive that night at Hartford to confer with them the next day, and that the interview would fail if he did not mend the coach. "You are not liars," said he to them; "I have read in the *Connecticut Journal* that Washington is to arrive there this evening to confer with you; I

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[145] General Gates, after his defeat, I might say flight, wrote a singular letter that I have inserted in the *Maryland Papers, V.* See *Biographical Notice* of de Kalb.

[146] The *Alliance,* which brought him this inexact news, arrived at Boston on August the 20th, 1780. It had left Lorient on July the 9th. It carried powder and other stores for the army; but the captain, Landais, having become crazy during the voyage (see *Mémoires de Pontgibaud*), it was found necessary to lock him up in his room, and give the command to the second in command. There were on board de Pontgibaud, aid-de-camp to La Fayette; Gau, commander of artillery (Blanchard), and the American Commissioner, Lee. This frigate returned early in February, 1781, with Laurens on board, who was bound for the Court of Versailles. See, also, *Naval History of the United States,* by Cooper.

see that it is the public service; you shall have your coach ready at six o'clock in the morning." He kept his word, and the commanding officers were able to set out at the appointed hour. On their return and at about the same place, a wheel was again broken in the same circumstances. The wheelwright, who was again sent for, said to them: "Well! you again wish to make me work at night?" "Alas, yes," said Rochambeau; "Admiral Rodney has arrived to triple the naval force that is opposed to us, and it is very urgent that we should be at Rhode Island to oppose his plans." "But what are you going to do with your six ships against twenty English vessels?" he replied. "It will be the grandest day of our lives if they attempt to attack us in our roadstead." "Come," said he, "you are brave people; you shall have your carriage at five o'clock in the morning. But before I set to work, without wishing to know your secrets, tell me if you were satisfied with Washington, and he with you?"

"We assured him of it, his patriotism was satisfied, and he again kept his word." "All the farmers in the interior," says Rochambeau, who relates this anecdote in his memoirs, "and almost all the freeholders of Connecticut have this public spirit which animates them, and which might serve as a model to many others."

After the defeat of Gates, Green went to take command in Carolina. Arnold was stationed at West Point. The principal army under the immediate command of Washington, had for its advance guard La Fayette's light infantry, to which was added the volunteer corps of Colonel Henry Lee. La Fayette's corps consisted of six battalions, each composed of six companies of men selected from the different arms of the army. These battalions were grouped in two brigades, one commanded by General Hand and the other by General Poor. On August the 14th, La Fayette, who was eager for an opportunity to fight, had made a written request to General Washington for permission to attempt a nocturnal surprise of two camps of Hessians, stationed on Staten

Island; but his project could not be carried out owing to the fault of the War Department.

West Point, a fort situated upon a tongue of land that projects into the Hudson and commands its course, is in so important a position that it was called the Gibraltar of America. The retention of that post, where General Arnold was in command, was of the utmost importance to the United States. General Washington, who, with La Fayette and General Knox, was on his way to the interview at Hartford, crossed the Hudson on the 18th of September and saw Arnold. The latter showed him a letter from Colonel Robinson, who was aboard the English sloop, *The Vulture*, and pretended that that officer had appointed a meeting with him to talk over some private business; Washington told Arnold to decline this meeting, to which Arnold appeared to consent.

The conference at Hartford was held on September the 20th, 1780, between Washington, La Fayette and Knox on the one hand, and Rochambeau, de Ternay and de Chastellux on the other. Rochambeau had with him as aids-de-camp, de Fersen, de Damas and Dumas. All the plans of operations were settled upon the supposition of the arrival of the second French division or an increase of the naval forces brought or sent by de Guichen. They also decided to send a French officer to France to solicit additional aid and to hasten the sending of that which had been promised. They thought, at first, of intrusting this embassy to Lauzun, whose connection with de Maurepas, the minister, well suited to obtain a satisfactory result. Rochambeau proposed his son, the Viscount de Rochambeau, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, who had been detached and put on his father's staff.[147]

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[147] The Viscount de Rochambeau is designated by Blanchard, as we have seen in the list of the corps given above, as colonel of the regiment of Bourbonnais. Very few of the *Mémoires* of the day say, as do the *Archives* of the French Ministry of War, that he was on his father's staff.

The hopes that they had conceived of assuming the offensive vanished with the news that the generals received of the arrival of Admiral Rodney's fleet at New York, which trebled the forces of the English. The Baron de Viomênil, who commanded in Rochambeau's absence, made all the necessary arrangements to secure the anchorage ground of the squadron against this new danger; but he sent courier after courier to his commander-in-chief to urge his return.

Arnold, during the last eighteen months, had made secret arrangements with Sir Henry Clinton to surrender West Point to him, and the English general had intrusted the entire management of the negotiation to Major André, one of his aids-de-camp. The latter missed a first interview with Arnold, on September the 11th, at Dobb's Ferry. A second was proposed on board of the sloop of war, *The Vulture*, which Clinton sent for that purpose, on the 16th, to Teller's Point, about fifteen or sixteen miles below West Point. Arnold, prevented by Washington's prohibition from going on board *The Vulture*, arranged for a secret interview with Major André. André left New York, went on board of the sloop, and from there, with a false passport, went to Long Clove, where he saw Arnold on the evening of the 21st. They separated the next morning.

But the militia kept guard all the more strictly, as they wished to secure Washington's return. Three of them had suspicions of the identity of André, who, after his interview, was returning to New York, disguised as a countryman; he was stopped at Tarrytown, and the whole plan of the conspiracy was found in his shoes. He offered the militiamen a purse to allow him to escape. They refused it, and took him to North Castle, where Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson was in command. That officer sent, on the 23d, an account of André's capture to General Arnold, his superior, whom he did not suspect of being a party to the plot. Arnold received the letter on the 25th, as he was awaiting at his house, in company with Hamilton and

MacHenry, aids-de-camp of Washington and La Fayette, the arrival of the commander-in-chief. He went out at once, mounted a horse belonging to his aid-de-camp, whom he instructed to tell Washington that he had gone to wait for him at West Point; but, instead, he went to the bank of the river, got in his boat, and was rowed to *The Vulture.*

Washington arrived from Hartford a few minutes after Arnold's departure. It was not until four hours later that he received the dispatch which revealed the plot to him.

Major André, one of the best officers of the British army, and one of the most interesting from his character and youth, was tried and punished as a spy. He was hanged on the 2d of October. His death, a stern necessity of war, excited the regrets even of his judges.[148]

In spite of the superiority of strength which the squadron of Rodney gave the English, either because Rhode Island was well fortified or because the season was too far advanced, they made no move against the French. Their inaction allowed Rochambeau to busy himself about the winter quarters of his troops, a matter which, considering the want of wood and the absence of lodging places, was not free from difficulty.

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[148] "In September, also, the unfortunate Major André suffered. . . . The plan, had not Major André been discovered, was, that Sir Henry Clinton, on a certain day agreed upon between him and General Arnold, was to lay siege to Fort Defiance. Fort Defiance is reckoned almost impregnable. The main fort contains seven acres of land, mounts 120 pieces of cannon, and is surrounded with redoubts. It is built on the side of the North River, about eighty miles up. General Arnold was immediately to send to Washington for reinforcements, and before they could arrive was to surrender the place. Sir Henry was there to make a disposition to surprise the reinforcement, which probably would have been commanded by General Washington in person. Had this plan succeeded, it must have put an end to the war. General Arnold did but just escape, and upon his arrival in New York was appointed a Brigadier General in our service by Sir Henry. Had the scheme answered, no rank would have overpaid so important a service."

Mathew's Narrative. See *ante*, note 142.

The English had consumed and destroyed everything during their three years' sojourn on the island. In this unpleasant situation, Rochambeau proposed to the State of Rhode Island to repair, at the expense of his army, all the houses that the English had destroyed, on condition that the soldiers should occupy them during the winter and that each inhabitant should lodge an officer, which was done. In this way they spent only twenty thousand crowns to restore some houses that remained afterwards as a mark of the generosity of France to her allies. A camp with barracks, owing to the necessity of bringing wood from the continent, would have cost more than a hundred thousand crowns, and the ships' boats scarcely sufficed to bring firewood.

On the 30th of September, the frigate *La Gentille* arrived from France by way of the Cape. It brought de Choisy, a brigadier, who had asked to serve in America, de Thuillières, an officer of Deux-Ponts, and eight other officers, amongst whom were the Berthier Brothers, who were joined to Rochambeau's staff.

At that period different deputations of Indians came to the French camps. The chiefs were especially surprised to see the apple trees laden with fruit over the tents that the soldiers had occupied for three months. This fact proves how far the discipline of the army was carried, and shows how scrupulously the property of the Americans was respected. One day one of the Indian chiefs said to Rochambeau at a public audience: "My father, it is very wonderful that the king of France, our father, sends his troops to protect the Americans in an insurrection against the king of England, their father." "Your father, the king of France," Rochambeau answered, "protects the natural liberty that God has given to man. The Americans have been overloaded with burdens which they were no longer able to bear. He has found their complaints to be just; we shall everywhere be the friends of their friends and the

enemies of their enemies. But I can only exhort you to preserve the strictest neutrality in all these quarrels."[149]

This answer was consistent with the truth, as well as with the policy of France. If it did not perfectly satisfy the Indians, good treatment and handsome presents were more persuasive, for they remained neutral during the three campaigns of the French army in America.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION OF THE NARRATIVE.—Departure of the Viscount of Rochambeau on the *Amazone* for France—Lauzun asks to serve under La Fayette—Lauzun goes into winter quarters at Lebanon—Insubordination of the American forces—Rochambeau and Washington in want of money and provisions—Rochambeau sends Lauzun to Washington—Washington's warm affection for La Fayette—The condition of the allied armies obliges Congress to send one of Washington's aids-de-camp to France—Captain Destouches is sent to Virginia to fight Arnold—La Fayette and Rochambeau are sent off for the same purpose—Composition of this expedition—Criticism—Dissatisfaction among the officers—Destouches fails in his attempt to land—La Fayette is obliged to fall back—Washington intrusts the defence of Virginia to him—Was Washington a Marshal of France?

THE English squadron still blockaded Newport. Yet it was absolutely necessary to dispatch the frigate *Amazone*, commanded by La Pérouse, which was to carry the Viscount de Rochambeau to France with dispatches, showing to the ministers the critical situation of the French and American armies. He was especially to hasten the dispatch of the money that had been promised, for the advance money for

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[149] The date of the visit of the Indians to Rochambeau must have been August the 29th, 1780, at Newport (Blanchard). Some blankets, that had been brought from France for the purpose, were given to them. They went away on September the 2d.

the soldiers was only assured by costly loans until the 1st of January, and then the French would be without resources. Young Rochambeau had committed to memory the dispatches intrusted to him in order that he might repeat them verbally to the ministers, after having destroyed his papers, in case he should be captured and then paroled. La Pérouse was intrusted with Admiral de Ternay's dispatches.

On the 27th of October, twelve English ships appeared in sight of the town; but the next day a gale of wind dispersed them, and La Pérouse skilfully seized the moment when they were unable to reassemble, to put to sea with the *Amazone,* in company with two other frigates, the *Surveillante* and the *Hermione,* which carried a supply of building wood intended for Boston. The English cruisers hotly chased these ships; the *Amazone* had two masts broken off; but she was already beyond the reach of the hostile vessels, which stopped in their pursuit.

Admiral Rodney started again for the West India Islands during November. He left a squadron of twelve ships of the line to Admiral Arbuthnot, who fixed his anchorage ground for the whole winter in Gardner's Bay, at the end of Long Island, in order not to lose sight of the French squadron. At the same time with some ships of fifty guns and some frigates, he began cruising at the entrance of the other American ports. The concentration of the English forces before Rhode Island had been very advantageous to the commerce of Philadelphia and Boston; the American privateers even took many prizes from the English.

About this time, General Greene, who, after the defeat of General Gates, had taken command of the Army of the South, asked for aid, and especially for cavalry, which he might oppose to Colonel Tarleton, whom no one was able to resist. He said that without cavalry he would not guarantee that the provinces of the South would not submit to the king of England. The Duke de Lauzun, learning that La

Fayette was about to start for those provinces, and sure of Washington's consent, did not hesitate to ask to be employed in that expedition and to serve under the command of La Fayette, "though I had," he says in his memoirs, "made war as a colonel long before he had left college." Rochambeau refused this permission, and Lauzun's proceeding was censured in the army, especially by the Marquis de Laval, colonel of Bourbonnais. Owing to a ridiculous point of honor, which I have already mentioned, and which might have produced fatal results to discipline and the general safety, the officers of the expedition had promised each other that they would not serve under La Fayette and had even begged Rochambeau not to employ them under him.[150]

In the early part of November, Rochambeau put his army into winter quarters at Newport. Lauzun's legion was obliged, owing to want of provisions, to part with its cavalry, which was sent with the horses of the artillery and of the baggages into the forests of Connecticut, eighty miles from Newport. The government of that province had had barracks erected at Lebanon to lodge her militia. There it was that the Duke de Lauzun had to establish his winter quarters. He started on November the 10th, not without regret at leaving Newport, and especially the Hunter family, among whom he had been received and treated as a relation, and whose virtues silenced, by exception, his frivolous instincts and gallant fickleness. The 15th, he stopped with his hussars at Windham. Dumas had been sent with him, and he was rejoined by de Chastellux. On the 16th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they reached together the ferry at Hartford, where Colonel

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[150] This feeling of jealousy against the success and glory of La Fayette might have been fatal to the allied armies, if the young general had not made every effort to avoid exciting the susceptibilities of his countrymen upon this point. But France was not always so fortunate, and too often rivalries between leaders of her different armies have caused her irreparable disasters.

Wadsworth received them. "M.M. Linch and de Montesquieu also found good lodgings there," says Chastellux.[151]

Siberia alone, if we may believe Lauzun, can be compared to Lebanon, which consisted of but a few cabins scattered through immense forests. He was obliged to remain there until January the 11th, 1781.

On January the 5th, Lauzun again received a visit from Chastellux, who says about this: "I arrived at Lebanon about sunset; this does not mean that I reached Lebanon *meeting-house*, where Lauzun's hussars are quartered; I still had more than six miles to go, always travelling in Lebanon. After that, who would not think that I am speaking of an immense city? In fact, it is one of the largest in the country, for it has quite *a hundred houses;* it is unnecessary to say that these houses are very much scattered and often more than four or five hundred feet distant from one another. . . . M. de Lauzun gave me the pleasure of a squirrel hunt, . . . and on returning I dined at his quarters with Governor Trumbull and General Huntington."

In the meantime, the Count de Rochambeau went to examine some winter quarters in Connecticut, because he always counted upon the arrival of the second division of his army and was unwilling to be caught unprepared. He had left at Newport the Chevalier de Ternay, ill with a fever which did not appear alarming, but he had hardly reached Boston, on the 15th of December, when his second in command, the Baron de Vioménil, sent him a courier to inform him of the admiral's death. The Chevalier Destouches, who was the oldest post-captain, then took command of the squadron and acted according to the same instructions.

On January the 11th, General Knox, in command of the American artillery, came from General Washington to in-

[151] These were the two aids-de-camp of the Baron de Vioménil.

form Lauzun that the Pennsylvania and New Jersey brigades, tired of serving without pay, had mutinied, killed their officers and chosen leaders amongst themselves; that it was also feared that they would either march on Philadelphia to secure their pay by force, or that they would join the English army, which was not far distant from them. The last fear was exaggerated, for an emissary of Clinton having come to propose to the insurgents to pay them the arrears of their pay on condition that they would place themselves under his command, a militia sergeant said: "He takes us for traitors, but we are brave soldiers, who ask for nothing but justice from our fellow-countrymen; we shall never betray their interests." And the envoys of the English general were treated as spies.

Lauzun immediately repaired to Newport to inform the commander-in-chief of what was occurring. Rochambeau was both embarrassed and distressed by it. He had, in fact, no means of assisting General Washington, since he was in want of money himself, and he *had not received a letter from Europe since his arrival in America.*[152] Later it became known that Congress had quieted the revolt of the Pennsylvanians by giving them a small instalment, but that, as the mutiny had spread to the Jersey militia and threatened to extend through the whole army, which had the same causes of complaint, Washington was obliged to adopt severe measures against the new insurgents, which restored order everywhere.

Nevertheless, Rochambeau sent Lauzun to Washington, whose headquarters were at New Windsor, on the North River. The way in which the American general received Lauzun was very flattering to him, who certainly was not

[152] These are Rochambeau's own words that Lauzun relates in his *Mémoires.* This contradicts the passage in Rochambeau's *Mémoires,* where he says (page 259) that he received the first letter by the ship that brought de Choisy. Soulès (page 365, Vol. IV.) says that these first letters arrived with La Pérouse, at the end of February, 1781.

wanting in bravery, but who, also, had a fair share of vanity, as may be seen in his memoirs. General Washington told him that he expected to go to Newport in a little while to see the French army and Rochambeau. He confided to him that Arnold had embarked at New York with fifteen hundred men to go to Portsmouth in Virginia, to make incursions and commit depredations in Chesapeake Bay, against which he would meet with no opposition except from the militia of the country; and he also said that he was about to send La Fayette by land with all the light infantry of his army to surprise Arnold. He also asked that the French fleet should anchor in Chesapeake Bay and land a detachment of the army there in order to cut off Arnold's retreat.

Lauzun remained two days at the American headquarters and was nearly drowned in recrossing the North River. There was much drifting ice which the tide swept on with so much force that it was impossible to steer his boat. It got jammed sideways and became filled with water. The boat was about to be swamped, when a large block of ice passed by, Lauzun jumped upon it and spent three hours in reaching the opposite shore by jumping from one piece of ice to another, every moment at the risk of his life.

The aid-de-camp, Dumas, who accompanied Lauzun in this journey, gives us some interesting details concerning his stay with Washington. After describing the simple and cordial manner in which he was received at New Windsor, he says: "I was particularly struck and touched by the testimonies of affection of the general for his pupil, his adopted son, the Marquis de La Fayette. Seated opposite to him, he looked at him complacently and listened to him with evident interest. Colonel Hamilton, Washington's aid-de-camp, mentioned the way in which the general had received a dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton that was addressed to *Mr.* Washington. 'This letter,' he said, 'is directed to a planter in the State of Virginia; I shall send it to him after

the close of the war; until then it shall not be opened.' A second dispatch was then directed to *His Excellency, General* Washington.

"The next day, General Washington was obliged to go to West Point. Dumas and the Count de Charlus accompanied him. After having visited the forts, the block-houses and the batteries erected to close the passage of the river, as the day was drawing to a close and they were preparing to mount their horses, the general noticed that La Fayette, owing to his old wound, was very much fatigued. 'It would be better,' he said, 'for us to go back in a boat; the tide will aid us in ascending the stream.' A boat was quickly provided with good rowers, and they embarked. It was extremely cold. The blocks of ice amongst which the boat had to go made it roll continually. The danger increased when a thick snow-storm came to increase the obscurity of the night. Washington, seeing that the helmsman was very much alarmed, seized the helm and said: 'Come, my children, courage; it is I who will conduct you, since it is my duty to hold the helm.' And they were happily extricated from the affair."[153]

The bad situation of the allied armies induced Congress to send Colonel Laurens, General Washington's aid-de-camp, to France. He had instructions to represent again to the Court of Versailles the state of distress in which his country was.

Meanwhile, the frigates *Hermione* and *Surveillante*, which had accompanied the *Amazone*, on the 28th of October, towards Boston, returned to Newport on the 26th of January. They brought with them the store ship, *Isle de France*. The

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[153] At the same time, de Damas, de Deux-Ponts, de Laval and Custine came to the American headquarters.

On the 28th of January, 1781, General Knox came to spend two days at Newport and visit the French army. General Lincoln and the son of Colonel Laurens came at the same time (Blanchard). The latter was to sail for France a few days later on the *Alliance*.

Éveillé, the *Ardent* and the *Gentille* had preceded them. They were delayed by the bad weather. But the same gales that had stopped them were still more fatal to the English. The latter had sent four ships of the line out of Gardner's Bay to intercept the French squadron; one of them, the *Culloden*, of seventy-four guns, was wrecked on the coast, and two others were dismasted.[154] To respond to the pressing demands of the State of Virginia, which was unable to resist the incursions of the traitor, Arnold, Captain Destouches prepared a small squadron, composed of one ship of the line, the *Éveillé*, two frigates, the *Surveillante* and the *Gentille*, and the cutter, the *Guêpe*. It was intended to go into Chesapeake Bay, where Arnold had only two ships, the *Charon*, of fifty guns, and the *Romulus*, of forty-four, and a few transports. This small expedition, which was commanded by de Tilly, was prepared with great secrecy. It reached Chesapeake Bay in safety and captured the *Romulus*, three privateers and six brigs. The rest of the enemy's forces ascended the Elizabeth River as far as Portsmouth. The French ships, on account of their greater draught of water, were not able to follow them, and de Tilly returned to Newport with his prizes; but he had been separated from the cutter, the *Guêpe*, commanded by de Maulevrier. They afterwards learnt that it had run aground upon Cape Charles and that the crew had been able to save themselves.

This was but the prelude to a more important expedition of which Washington had spoken to Lauzun, and in which the latter had wished to take part. It had been arranged between the generals of the two armies that, while La Fayette should go to besiege Arnold in Portsmouth, a French squadron, carrying about a thousand men, should attack him by sea. In fact, Rochambeau embarked on Destouches' ships twelve hundred men from the regiment

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[154] One of these was the *London*, of ninety guns; the other the *Bedford*, of seventy-four.

of Bourbonnais, under the command of Colonel de Laval and Major Gambs; and from the regiment of Soissonnais, under the orders of its Second Colonel, the Viscount de Noailles, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Anselme de la Gardette.

The organization of the expedition was as follows:

The Baron de Vioménil, commander-in-chief; the Marquis de Laval and the Viscount de Noailles, commanding the grenadiers and the *chasseurs;* Collot, quartermaster; de Ménonville, chief aid-de-camp; and Blanchard, chief commissioner of provisions.

To fill the place of the troops that had gone,[155] seventeen hundred men of the militia of the country were sent forward under the command of General Lincoln, the former defender of Charleston.

These selections were severely criticised by the principal officers. Lauzun, for instance, was displeased with the general-in-chief that he had not employed him in this expedition, and Laval complained that he had not the chief command. A singular military organization in which the officers discuss the actions and commands of their chief and loudly testify their dissatisfaction! A singular discipline which, in time of war, allows the superior officers and aids-de-camp to act according to their own inclinations![156] Rochambeau's choice, however, seems to have been most judicious. Lauzun had to watch over the cavalry that was encamped twenty-five leagues from Newport. His place as commander of this particular part of the army could not be filled. Besides, owing to his knowledge of English and the friendly relations that his affable disposition permitted him

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[155] *Mercure de France,* May, 1781, p. 32.

[156] De Charlus was at that time in Philadelphia. De Chastellux was more conspicuous during the campaign by his excursions than by his fighting. De Laval and de Lauzun left their soldiers at any moment and without cause. Later, we shall see, too, that it was owing to the good nature of de Barras that he served under the orders of his chief, de Grasse, whom he thought too recently promoted.

to maintain, he was, on the mainland, of positive service, which his general was well pleased to recognize. The Marquis de Laval, who had said that he would not serve under La Fayette, could not be employed advantageously as commander of an expedition which demanded as an essential condition of success a good understanding with that general. Finally, the enterprise was very important, and Rochambeau thought that he could not do less than give the direction of it to his second in command, the Baron de Viomenil, especially at a time when he himself had to remain in camp.

On board of the ships there were a number of mortars and pieces of artillery sufficient to sustain a siege in case the expedition succeeded; but, although the land forces turned over all the provisions and money that they had left, the preparations for departure took a long time, and the English squadron had time to repair the damage that it had received in the storm at the end of February. Dumas was sent to New London, a small port on the coast of Connecticut, opposite to the end of Long Island and to the anchorage ground of the English fleet, to watch it as closely as possible while the fleet of Destouches was getting ready to put to sea. He was able to observe that it was in perfect security. Therefore, Destouches took advantage of a northeast wind, which sprang up on the 8th of March, to set sail. He was on the *Duc de Bourgogne* and took with him the following ships: the *Conquérant*, commanded by de la Grandiére; the *Jazon*, commanded by La Clochetterie; the *Ardent*, Captain de Marigny; the *Romulus*, recently captured by de Tilly; besides these, the *Neptune*, the *Éveillé*, the *Provence*, with the frigates the *Surveillante*, the *Hermione* and the *Fantasque*, fitted up as transports.

There were on board four companies of grenadiers and *chasseurs*, a detachment of a hundred and sixty-four men from each regiment and a hundred artillery men; in all eleven hundred and fifty-six men.

A stormy and rough sea obliged the commander of the French squadron to keep well out to sea, and when he had reached the latitude of Virginia, he returned near the coast. For a short time his vessels were scattered, but he was able to collect them at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. At the same time he discovered the English squadron, which, under the command of Admiral Graves, had weighed anchor twenty-four hours after him, but which, by following a straight course, had arrived two days earlier. The English admiral was on the *London*, a three-decker and stronger than any of the French ships. The other English ships were equal in number and armament to those of the French fleet.

It was the 16th of March. Destouches recognized that his expedition had failed. However, he did not think that he could avoid an engagement, which was sharp, and in which the *Conquérant*, the *Jazon*, and the *Ardent* were especially prominent. The first lost its rudder. Nearly all its crew were killed or wounded; de Laval himself was wounded.[157] The English fleet suffered still more; but it held the bay, and a few days afterwards General Philips, who had left New York with two thousand men, was able to join Arnold and insure him an uncontestable superiority in Virginia.

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[157] The *Conquérant*, in the action of the 16th of March, had to resist the attack of three hostile ships. It had three officers killed, amongst them de Kergis, a young man of great promise and brilliant valor. A hundred sailors or soldiers were hit, amongst whom were about forty killed and about forty more who died from their wounds. The greatest slaughter was on the deck. The boatswain, the master-at-arms and seven helmsmen were among the slain. . . . (*Journal* of Blanchard.)

"The *Duc de Bourgogne*, on board of which I was," adds Blanchard, "had only four men killed and eight wounded. An auxiliary officer also received a contusion alongside of me. During the whole of the battle, I stayed on the quarter-deck, within reach of the captain and M. de Vioménil. I showed some coolness; I remember that, when the firing was sharpest, M. de Ménonville, having opened his snuff-box, I asked him for a pinch, and we exchanged some joke on the subject. I received from M. de Vioménil proof of his satisfaction, which gratified me."

Captain Destouches returned to Newport on the 18th, after his glorious but useless attempt.

In another direction, La Fayette received on the 20th of February orders from Washington to take command of a detachment assembled at Peakskill to act, in conjunction with the militia and the fleet of Destouches, against Arnold, who was at Portsmouth; La Fayette did, indeed, set out with his twelve hundred light infantrymen. On the 23d of February, he was at Pompton and feigned an attack on Staten Island; then he marched quickly to Philadelphia, which he reached on March the 2d, went, on the 3d, to Head of Elk, where he embarked in small boats, and arrived safely at Annapolis. He left there with some officers in a small boat, and, in spite of the English frigates that were in the bay, reached Williamsburg to assemble the militia there. He had already blockaded Portsmouth and repulsed the enemy's pickets, when the result of the naval fight of the 16th of March left the English the masters of the bay. La Fayette could do nothing but return to Annapolis, from where, by a daring march, he brought back his detachment to Head of Elk, passing through the little English war ships. There he met a courier from Washington, who intrusted to him the difficult task of defending Virginia.[158]

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[158] On the 6th of March, Washington came to Newport to visit the French army. He was received with all the honors due to a Marshal of France. He reviewed the army, was present at the departure of Destouches' squadron, and started to return to his headquarters on the 13th.

"This interview of the generals," says Dumas, "was a real festival for us; we were eager to see the hero of liberty. His noble bearing, the simplicity of his manners, and his gentle gravity surpassed our expectations and gained him all the French hearts. When, after he had conferred with M. de Rochambeau, he left us to return to his headquarters near West Point, I received the agreeable mission of accompanying him to Providence. We reached this little city at night; the whole population had hastened beyond the outskirts; a crowd of children, who carried torches and repeated the acclamations of the citizens, surrounded us; they all wished to touch him whom, with loud cries,

they called their father, and crowded in front of us so as to hinder our advance. General Washington, softened, stopped for some moments, and, pressing my hand, said to me: 'We may be beaten by the English; that is the chance of war; but here is the army that they will never conquer.' "

George W. P. Custis, the grandson of Mrs. Washington, published (*Frederick, Maryland, Examiner*, for August the 18th, 1857) a letter in which he asserts that Washington actually received from the French government the title of Marshal of France, and he supports his assertion by quoting the manuscript dedication of an engraving presented by Count Buchan to "*Marechal Général* Washington." But the instructions given by the Court of Versailles to Rochambeau (Sparks, 1835, VII., 493) were sufficiently precise to prevent all conflicts of authority or precedence between the American generalissimo and the superior French officers; they rendered useless the nomination of Washington to a grade, the title of which, when combined with his name, produced a most singular effect. (See, also, *Maryland Letters*, p. 114).

CHAPTER XIII.

Reinforcements Sent; Military Operations.—Arrival of the *Amazone* at Brest with the Viscount de Rochambeau—Change that he finds in the situation—The king sends back de la Pérouse with 1,500,000 *livres*—The Viscount de Rochambeau stays at Versailles—Owing to the turn of events the sending of reinforcements is stopped—Amount of the supplies sent—The Viscount de Rochambeau departs again on the *Concorde*—The French government places 6,000,000 *livres* at Washington's disposal—Resumption of the account of the *Unpublished Journal* (by Cromot du Bourg)—Description of Boston and the surrounding country—The Count de Rochambeau learns that the English squadron has left New York—He learns from his son that de Grasse will come to extricate Barras—Interview of Washington and Rochambeau on this subject—Plan of the campaign—Intercepted letters—This helps the plan of the allies—Return of Rochambeau to Newport—Arrangements which he makes with Barras—Assembling of a council of war—Barras' opinion to remain before Rhode Island prevails—Letter of Rochambeau to de Grasse to acquaint him precisely with the respective positions of La Fayette and Washington—He asks him for assistance in men and money—Details (from Cromot du Bourg) respecting the route of the army—Vioménil arrives at Providence—Movements of the allied troops—Rochambeau's project to remain at Newtown—Washington begs him to go further—Arrival and taking up a position at Bedford.

While these events were occurring in America, the *Amazone*, that had started on the 28th of October under the command of de La Pérouse, with the Viscount de Rochambeau and the dispatches of de Ternay, arrived at Brest. The state of affairs was somewhat changed. De Castries had succeeded de Sartines as minister of the navy; de Monbarrey, in the War Department, was succeeded by de Ségur. The English had abruptly declared war against Holland and seized her principal possessions. France was preparing to support these allies. All these things together had diverted

men's minds from what was happening in America. The king, however, ordered de La Pérouse to go back immediately upon the *Astrée*, a frigate that was the best sailer of Brest, and to take to America fifteen hundred thousand *livres* which had been deposited at Brest for the last six months to go with the second division of the army. He kept Colonel Rochambeau at Versailles, until the council had decided what ought to be done.[159]

The ministers agreed that in the existing state of affairs, it was impossible to send the second division of the army to America. They only sent, on the 23d of March, 1781, one ship, the *Sagittaire*, and six transports under the command of the Bailli de Suffren. They carried six hundred and thirty-three recruits of Dillon's regiment, who were to complete the fifteen hundred men of that regiment, the other part of which was in the West Indies. There were, also, four companies of artillery. These ships followed the fleet commanded by the Count de Grasse as far as the Azores.

The frigate *Concorde*, Captain Saunauveron,[160] left Brest three days afterwards, at four o'clock in the afternoon, escorted by the *Émeraude* and the *Bellone* only just beyond the capes; these two frigates were then to cruise together. The *Concorde* carried the Viscount de Rochambeau with dispatches for his father; de Barras, who was crossing to take the place of Destouches as commander of the squadron and to continue de Ternay's operations; d'Alpheran, post-captain,[161] and an aid-de-camp of Rochambeau.[162] Lastly, it

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[159] I have already mentioned that the *Astrée* returned to Boston on the 25th of January, after a passage of sixty-one days. It had eight millions on board. (*Mercure de France*, May, 1781, page 31.) This sum of eight millions is certainly exaggerated.

[160] It carried thirty-six guns, twenty-four soldiers and thirty-five sailors. (*Mercure de France*, April, 1781, page 87.)

[161] Blanchard.

[162] I have already stated, in the second chapter of this work, the reasons which induced me to believe that the author of the unpublished journal that I possess, an aid-de-camp of Rochambeau and a passenger

carried one million two hundred thousand *livres* for the expedition. The *Sagittaire* was to carry a like amount; and, to take the place of promised reinforcements—reinforcements which the presence of a powerful English fleet before Brest had prevented from sailing—the French government put the sum of six millions of *livres* at the disposal of Washington.

The *Concorde*, which had left Brest on the 26th of March, arrived at Boston on the 6th of May, without other incident than meeting with the *Rover*, taken the previous year by the *Junon*, of which the captain was the Count de Kergariou Loc-Maria. The *Rover* was commanded by Dourdon de Pierre-Fiche, and was on its way to France to give information of the result of the naval engagement of the 16th of March, fought in Chesapeake Bay.

Here I resume the course of my narrative, using, as far as possible, the words of the unpublished journal that I possess, whose author was a passenger on the *Concorde* and an aid-de-camp of Rochambeau—the Baron du Bourg :

" The city of Boston is built like nearly all English towns; the houses, of brick or wood, are small ; the interiors are extremely clean. The inhabitants live entirely in the English style; they seem to be worthy and very affable people. I have been very well received in the few visits that I have been able to make. Much tea is drunk in the morning. The dinner, which is usually at two o'clock, is composed of a great quantity of meat; they eat very little bread at it. At five o'clock they again drink tea, wine, madeira and punch, and this ceremony lasts until ten o'clock. Then they

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on the *Concorde*, was Cromot, Baron du Bourg. Since the publication of this book was begun, I have received from M. Camille Rousset, the learned keeper of the archives of the War Department, and from M. de Varaigne, Baron du Bourg, the grandson of Cromot du Bourg and prefect of the palace, information which leaves me no further doubt on this point. This information will be found in the biographical notice on Cromot du Bourg.

sit down to table, where they have a supper not so large as dinner. At each meal they remove the cloth at the time of dessert and put on fruit. Altogether, the greater part of the time is devoted to the table."

After mentioning that he first paid a visit to the French consul at Boston, to Hancock, the governor of the city, and to Dr. Cooper, he adds:

"During the 7th of May, I saw as much of the city as I could; it is very large and still shows that before the war it must have been a charming residence. It has a splendid situation, a superb harbor; and from an elevation called the Beacon, there is the finest view in the world. This beacon is lighted in case of a surprise, and at this signal all the militia of the country assemble; it is seen from a great distance. From it you can see the position that General Washington took when he captured the town and forced the English to abandon it.

"I left Boston on the 8th to go to Newport. I spent the night fifteen miles from there, and I found in the inn where I stopped the same neatness as in the city; it is the custom of the country. Our innkeeper was a captain. The different grades here are still granted to all callings; or rather, the military profession not being a calling, there are some shoemakers who are colonels, and the Americans often ask the French officers what is their business in France.[163]

"The country that I passed through during these fifteen miles is very like Normandy, between Pont d'Ouilly and Condé-sur-Noireau; it is well wooded, very hilly and intersected by numerous brooks. The cultivated fields that you

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[163] The following anecdote is well known: An American asked a superior French officer what he did in France. "I do nothing," said he. "But your father?" "He also does nothing, or else he is a minister." "But that is not a calling." "But I have an uncle who is a marshal." "Ah! that is a very good trade." Perhaps the anecdote is invented; some ascribe it to Lauzun, others to de Ségur, or de Broglie. But it describes American customs well.

meet there are enclosed by walls of stone, placed one upon another, or wooden fences.

"The morning of the 9th, I left my lodging place to proceed to Newport. The country seemed to me less wooded, but as little cultivated as it seemed the day before. Upon the whole, it is not inhabited. The villages are immense; there are some that are four, five, and even fifteen and twenty miles long, the houses being scattered. I passed through Bristol, which was a town that had a good deal of commerce before the war; but the English, on leaving, burnt more than three-quarters of the houses, which have not yet been rebuilt. Lastly, I crossed Bristol Ferry, which separates Rhode Island from the mainland; the arm of the sea is about a mile wide.

"Rhode Island in its greatest length is a little more than fifteen miles long, and its broadest part five miles wide. It must have been, before the war, one of the pleasantest places in the world, since, notwithstanding its disasters, a few houses destroyed and all its trees cut down, it still affords a charming residence. The ground is much cut up, that is to say, all the grounds of the different owners are enclosed either by walls of piled-up stones, or by wooden fences. There are some cleared spaces in which rye and the different grains thrive wonderfully; maize is also cultivated there. There are, also, as in Normandy, large orchards, and the trees bear about the same fruits as in France.

"I found the army in the best possible condition, very few sick, and the troops in good order. The island seemed to me to be fortified in such a way as to dispel all fear of a landing. Newport is the only town on the island; it has only two important streets, but it is rather pretty, and must have had some trade before the war. Three-fourths of the houses that are scattered over the remainder are small farm houses. In front of the harbor, to the southwest of the town, is Goat Island, about half a mile away, on which there is a battery of eight twenty-four pounders that defends the en-

trance to the port. To the southwest of Goat Island is the Brenton Battery of twelve twenty-four pounders and four twelve-inch mortars, the fire of which crosses with that of the ships in the harbor. The Brenton Battery is half a mile from Goat Island.[164]

"About three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Goat Island is the battery of Rase Island, composed of twenty thirty-six pounders and four twelve-inch mortars, upon which the right of the position of the ships rests, and it defends not only the roadstead, but also the vessels that may leave it. . . . . It seems to me, from the position of the batteries and the fire of our ships, that it would be quite impossible for the enemy to enter the roadstead.

"There is little game on the island, but a great many domestic animals. The horses are generally pretty good, although there are not as many kinds as I should have believed, the English having brought their breed into this country as well as on the mainland; they are extremely dear, and a horse that is worth twenty louis in France here brings at least forty or fifty. Their great talent is jumping well, to which they are accustomed very early. They all have a gait like that which we call the amble and of which we have great difficulty in breaking them."

On the 16th, the Count de Rochambeau learnt that the English squadron, commanded by Arbuthnot, had left New York. On the 17th, it appeared in front of the channel, six leagues in the offing, and anchored there. It remained there until the 26th, and on the 23d allowed six transports, coming from Boston, to go by.

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[164] Commissioner Blanchard, visiting, a few days after his landing, one of the mixed schools at Newport, noticed the handwriting of a young girl, nine or ten years old, and admired the beauty and modesty of the child, whose name, *Abigail Earl*, he preserves in his journal. "She is what I desire to see my daughter when she is of her age," he says; and he traced on the copy-book, after the young girl's name, the words, "very pretty." "The master," he adds, "had the air neither of a pedant nor of a missionary, but of the father of a family."

During the nights of the 28th and 29th of May, 1781, a captain of artillery, La Barolière, was nearly assassinated by a sergeant of his company, without any one knowing his motive for the attempt. The murderer tried in vain to drown himself; he was tried, had his hand cut off, and was hanged. Although La Barolière had received several sabre blows, he recovered.

Rochambeau received confidential information from his son that the Count de Grasse had orders to come into the American seas in July or August to free the squadron of de Barras. While advising Rochambeau to put in safety at Boston the fleet of de Barras, at the same time that he carried out such and such a move as might be pointed out to him, they left him at liberty to concert with Washington any expedition that they might think useful and which could be protected by the fleet of the Count de Grasse during the short time that that admiral was ordered to stay in those waters.[165] Rochambeau, consequently, had nothing more urgent than to ask an interview of Washington, which took place on May the 20th, at Westerfield, near Hartford. The Chevalier de Chastellux accompanied Rochambeau. Washington had with him General Knox and Brigadier du Portail. De Barras could not be present at the interview on account of the blockade of Newport by the English squadron.

The American general thought that they ought to attack New York at once; that they would thus deal a more decisive blow at English rule. He knew that General Clinton was much weakened by the detachments that he had sent successively to the south, and he did not believe that

[165] It seems to me certain that this plan was decided and arranged at the Court of Versailles, and that it is to Rochambeau, much more than to de Grasse, that we should ascribe the merit of having concentrated, by skilful tactics, all the efforts of the allies upon Yorktown. Therefore, he ought to receive the greater part of the glory in the success of this campaign, which decided the fate of the United States.

the bar at Sandy Hook was so difficult to pass as it had been said to be since the attempt made by d'Estaing two years before.

Rochambeau, on the contrary, was of opinion that it would be better to operate in Chesapeake Bay, where the French fleet could approach more quickly and more easily. Neither of these two opinions was rejected, and they decided first to assemble the two armies upon the left bank of the Hudson, to threaten New York, and to hold themselves ready, while they waited for the arrival of the Count de Grasse, to whom they would send a frigate, either to push the attack vigorously against New York, or march towards Chesapeake Bay.

After this conference, a dispatch from Washington to General Sullivan, a member of Congress, and another letter from de Chastellux to the French consul at Philadelphia, de La Luzerne, were intercepted by English scouts and forwarded to General Clinton, while a dispatch from Lord Germaine to Lord Clinton was brought to Washington by an American privateer.

These letters were more useful to the cause of the allies than the most skilful diplomacy.

Washington said, in fact, in his letter, that they were about to push the siege of New York vigorously, and that they would write to de Grasse to come to force the bar of Sandy Hook, while the English minister announced the decision of pushing the war in the south. Washington then understood the correctness of Rochambeau's ideas. As for de Chastellux, he expressed himself respecting Rochambeau in very unbecoming language. He alleged that he had brought him over to the ideas of Washington.

The English officer, intrusted with the service of the spies, sent a copy of this letter to the French general, who sent for de Chastellux, and, as sole punishment, showed him the copy and threw it into the fire. He took good care not to undeceive him, nor to confide his real designs to him.

On returning to Newport, Rochambeau found that the

squadron, according to the instructions given to de Barras, was making ready to withdraw to Boston, while the army went to join Washington. The port of Boston, it is true, was by land only thirty leagues from Newport; but by sea, owing to the route passing round the banks of Nantucket, it was more than a hundred; besides, the winds blew generally from the north. Moreover, they were obliged to intrust to the fleet all the siege artillery, which the army, already burdened with its field artillery, could not have taken away. The junction of the two squadrons thus became more difficult. Rochambeau proposed to de Barras to hold a council of war to decide about this difficulty. The council met on the 26th. De Lauzun was of the opinion that the fleet should withdraw to Boston; de Chastellux wished that they should leave it at Rhode Island. De Lauzun, in speaking of the discussion that followed, found sufficient reason in Chastellux's opposition to say that he was wanting in judgment. De la Villebrune declared that if de Grasse was coming, they ought to wait at Rhode Island to effect a speedy junction with him. "But if he does not come," he added, "we depart from the orders of the Council of France and assume the risk of exposing ourselves to fatal occurrences." De Barras uttered this remarkable declaration: "No one is more interested than I in the arrival of M. de Grasse in these seas. He was my junior; he has just been made lieutenant-general. As soon as I know that he is within reach of this place, I shall set sail to serve under him; I shall serve in this one campaign more, but not in another." Nevertheless, he believed in remaining at Rhode Island, and his feeling prevailed. De Lauzun was charged to carry the news of this decision to Washington, and he asserts in his memoirs that the general was very angry at their adopting a measure so contrary to what had been agreed upon at Westerfield. Lauzun's account appears to me to be questionable, and it might well be that he only displays on this subject his own displeasure at seeing his opinion disregarded.

Rochambeau then hastened to write to de Grasse to explain to him La Fayette's position in Virginia and Washington's before New York. He proposed as his own project an expedition against Lord Cornwallis in Chesapeake Bay; he believed it practicable and unexpected by the enemy. To attain this end, he asked him to beg earnestly the Governor of St. Domingo, de Bouillé, to grant him for three months the body of troops that was commanded by Saint-Simon, and intended to act in concert with the Spaniards. He asked him, also, to send him, as quickly as possible, on the same frigate, with his reply, a sum of one million two hundred thousand *livres* which he would borrow from the colonies. This letter went on the *Concorde* in the early part of June.

On the 9th of the same month, the Viscount de Noailles, who had gone, out of curiosity, to Boston, returned to inform his general of the arrival in that city of the *Sagittaire*, escorting a convoy of six hundred and thirty-three recruits and four companies of artillery, and bringing twelve hundred thousand *livres*. This flotilla had started, as I have mentioned above, three days before the *Concorde;* but it arrived a month later. After following the fleets of de Grasse and de Suffren as far as the Azores, that frigate had separated from them and had met with bad weather and been pursued by the enemy. Three ships of the convoy were missing: the *Diane*, the *Daswout*, and the *Stanislas*. The first two arrived a few days afterwards; but the third had been captured by the English.

The aid-de-camp of Rochambeau, who had come on the *Concorde*, and had left his luggage on board of the *Louis-Auguste*, one of this convoy, obtained leave to go to Boston to procure what was indispensable to him for the campaign. His manuscript furnishes some interesting details concerning the country through which the army had to pass. I extract the following passages from it:

"From Newport, I went to sleep at Warren, a tolerably

pretty little town, which is on the mainland, eighteen miles from Newport. A few small merchant ships were built there before the war, and there are some partially built that are rotting away. I was received at my inn by the master, Mr. Millers, who is an officer in the service of Congress, and by his brother, who, last year, commanded all the militia of Rhode Island. They are both excessively fat.

"On the 10th of June, I left Warren at four o'clock in the morning, very desirous of reaching Boston. I cannot well express how surprised I was at the change that I perceived in the places I had passed through six weeks before. Nature had restored herself; the roads were mended; I really believed that I was in another country.

"On the 12th, after looking up my property on board of the *Louis-Auguste* in Boston harbor, I walked out to Cambridge, a small town three miles off. It is one of the handsomest places that it is possible to see; it is situated in a fertile country on the same river as Boston, and the houses are handsome. At one end of the town, upon a large, green lawn, there is a college that assumes the title of University; it is one of the finest in America; it has about a hundred and fifty scholars who are studying Latin and Greek. There are a fairly large library, a laboratory of natural philosophy, full of the handsomest and best instruments, and a museum of natural history which is just beginning.

"On the morning of the 13th, before leaving Boston, I went five miles to see the little town of Miltown, where there are a large paper mill and two chocolate mills. The river, which is their motive power, makes, farther up, a sort of cascade that is rather pretty. The view, from the top of the mountain of the same name, is also rather fine.

"On the 14th, I left Boston; but before quitting that town, which, perhaps, I might never see again, I wished to become acquainted with the fair sex. There is a dancing class twice a week where the young people meet to dance from noon until two o'clock. I spent a short time there. I found the

hall tolerably handsome, although the English, on deserting the city, had broken or carried away a score of mirrors. I found the women very pretty, but at the same time very awkward; it is impossible to dance with less grace, or to dress worse, though with a certain kind of luxury.[166]

"I set out in the evening for Providence, and slept at Dedham, where I found the seven hundred recruits who had come on the convoy and were on their way to join the army."[167]

Meanwhile, on the 10th, the regiments of Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts left Newport to go to Providence, where they arrived at ten o'clock at night. It was too late to lay out the camp, to settle themselves, and to procure the necessary straw and wood. The Baron de Viomenil, who led this portion of the army, obtained for that night, from the magistrates of the town, the use of some empty houses in which the soldiers slept. The next morning, the 11th, the regiment of Deux-Ponts encamped on the hill that commands Providence; and the brigades of Soissonnais and Saintonge, which arrived the same day, took position on its left.

The squadron that remained at Newport had nothing to protect it except four hundred recruits who had arrived on the *Sagittaire*, thirty artillerymen, and a thousand American militiamen, all under the command of de Choisy.

"Providence is a rather pretty little town, which had a good deal of commerce before the war. There is nothing remarkable in it except a magnificent hospital.[168] The army remained in camp there for eight days. That time was necessary to collect the horses for the artillery, the field hospital, and the wagons for the equipments, and the oxen that were to draw them, and to receive the recruits, a part of whom had been sent to M. de Choisy.

[166] It is well to compare this criticism with that which the Prince de Broglie pronounced two years afterwards, with reference to a festival given at Boston. (See the end of this work.)

[167] I have said that according to the *Mercure de France*, the exact number of the recruits was six hundred and thirty-three.

[168] *Journal* of Cromot du Bourg.

"On the 16th, the Baron de Viomenil held a review preliminary to beginning the campaign, and the army began to march in the following order:

"On the 18th of June, the regiment of Bourbonnais (M. M. de Rochambeau and de Chastellux); on the 19th, that of Royal Deux-Ponts (Baron de Viomenil); on the 20th, the regiment of Soissonnais (the Count de Viomenil); on the 21st, the regiment of Saintonge (M. de Custine) successively left the camp at Providence, and, always remaining one day's march apart, they encamped the first day at Waterman's Tavern, the second at Plainfield, the third at Windham, the fourth at Bolton, and the fifth at Hartford. These stopping places are fifteen miles apart. The roads were bad, and the artillery was hardly able to keep up; the baggage was left behind.

"At Windham, the army camped in a valley surrounded by woods, which soon took fire, without any one knowing how; three hundred men were at once employed to put it out; but they did not succeed. The fire, however, only destroyed the brushwood, and did not attack the large trees. This accident, which would really be alarming and cause a veritable disaster in other countries, is viewed with indifference by the Americans, whose country abounds in forests. Sometimes they are even well satisfied with a fire, for that saves them the trouble of cutting down the trees to clear the land.

"On the 20th, nine men deserted from the regiment of Soissonnais, and one from that of Royal Deux-Ponts.

"The host of M. de Rochambeau at Bolton was a clergyman, who was at least six feet three inches high. He was named Colton, and he proposed to the wife of a grenadier of Deux-Ponts, on her way, to adopt her child, to secure its future and to give her thirty louis for herself; but she refused his offers."[169]

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[169] *Journal* of Cromot du Bourg. See, for the march of the troops, the map that I have prepared expressly for this history.

Arriving at Hartford on June the 22d, the regiment of Bourbonnais left camp on the 25th, that of Deux-Ponts on the 26th, that of Soissonnais on the 27th, and that of Saintonge on the 28th. The first day they encamped at Farmington (twelve miles), the second at Baron's Tavern (thirteen miles), the third at Breakneck (thirteen miles), and the fourth at Newtown (thirteen miles).

The route was better and more open; the stopping places were pleasant, except Breakneck, which, on account of its difficult access and want of supplies, seems rather well named. The artillery was unable to arrive until late. De Béville and Adjutant Dumas went in advance to prepare the lodgings.

While these movements were in progress, Lauzun, who had left Lebanon, covered the march of the army, which was about fifteen miles to his right. The way in which they established the different camps after leaving Newport had no other object in view than to allow the troops to go as far as possible without too much difficulty and fatigue; they were still too far from the enemy to require any other precautions except those that the need of provision and discipline demanded. But once they were at Newtown,[170] they would have been guilty of negligence if they had continued to show the same confidence in the impossibility of attacks from the enemy. Rochambeau wished to concentrate his troops at Newtown in order to march towards the Hudson in close columns; but on the evening of the 30th, he received a courier from Washington, who begged him not to stay at Newtown, as he had intended, and to hasten the march of his first division and of Lauzun's legion.

The first division, consisting of the regiments of Bourbonnais and Deux-Ponts, started from Newtown, early in the morning of the 1st of July, to proceed to Ridgebury;

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[170] A tolerably pretty little town, inhabited by Tories. (Cromot du Bourg.)

it was only one brigade. The second brigade, composed of the regiments of Soissonnais and Saintonge, left the next day for the same destination. The road, about fifteen miles long, was hilly and difficult; two men deserted from the regiment of Bourbonnais.

On the morning of the 2d, the grenadiers and *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais left Ridgebury for Bedford, which they reached after a painful march across a hilly country. The distance they had travelled was fifteen miles. At Bedford, this detachment joined Lauzun's legion, which, till then, had marched on the left flank of the army, and which now occupied a strong position in front of Bedford. There was, besides, as an advanced guard, a body of a hundred and sixty American horsemen of Sheldon's legion, which Washington had sent to co-operate with the legion of Lauzun in an expedition against the English.

CHAPTER XIV.

Operations against Clinton and Cornwallis.—Washington opens the campaign on the 26th of June—Junction with Rochambeau—Situation of the English troops before New York—Washington decides to attack them—Lauzun's account of this attack—Different movements and attacks from the 5th to the 21st of July—Reconnoitring by the whole army—Accounts of de Rochambeau and Cromot du Bourg on this subject—As a result the allies succeed in keeping Clinton before New York and in making Cornwallis fall back.

The American general had begun the campaign on June the 26th. Combining his movements with those of the French army, on that day he left his winter quarters, at New Windsor, and advanced to Peakskill, where he was to join Rochambeau. He then learnt that General Clinton had divided his army into several corps and that he was

scattering it around New York. There was one English force in particular that had advanced towards West Chester. The day before the arrival of the French troops at Bedford, a party of English dragoons belonging to that force had burnt some houses in front of that village. Washington resolved to attack it; he formed, consequently, an advanced force of twelve hundred men under General Lincoln's command, and sent to Rochambeau the messenger that the latter had received on the 30th of June and who had hastened the departure of the troops from Newtown to Bedford and from Bedford to North Castle, where they were to be ready to march at the shortest notice. The last march was only five miles; but the second brigade marched, without stopping, from Newtown to North Castle, and so in one day, the 3d of July, made a march of twenty miles. Thus the regiments of Soissonnais and Saintonge had not had a single day's rest since their departure from Providence. It is true that de Custine and the Viscount de Noailles set a good example by marching on foot at the head of their regiments.

The Duke de Lauzun relates as follows the attempt that he made with General Lincoln to surprise the nearest English force.[171]

" On June the 30th, after receiving General Washington's letter, which did not enter into details, M. de Rochambeau sent for me in the middle of the night, fifteen miles from Newtown, where he was.[172] I arrived on time at the place, although the excessive heat and the bad roads made this march difficult. General Washington was there, well in advance of the two armies, and told me that he intended me to surprise a body of English troops encamped in front of New York to support Fort Knyphausen, which was consid-

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[171] It seems to me that this is the most accurate account and the one that harmonizes best with the various narratives that have been given of the attack of the advance guard.

[172] De Lauzun was encamped at that time at Bridgefield.

ered the key to the fortifications of New York.[173] I was to march all night so as to attack them before daybreak. He added to my regiment a regiment of American dragoons (Sheldon), some troops of light horse and a few battalions of American light infantry. He had sent by another route, about six miles to the right, General Lincoln with a corps of three thousand men to surprise Fort Knyphausen, which I was to prevent from receiving assistance. Lincoln was not to show himself until I had begun my attack, when I was to send him word to begin his. He amused himself by skirmishing with a little post that had not perceived him, and so aroused the corps that I was to surprise. That corps withdrew into the fort, made a sortie against General Lincoln, who was beaten, and who would have been lost and cut off from the army had I not promptly come to his assistance.

"Although my troops were worn out with fatigue, I marched upon the English; I charged their cavalry, and my infantry skirmished with theirs. General Lincoln took advantage of this to retreat in a good deal of disorder. He had two or three hundred men killed or taken prisoners and a large number of wounded.[174] When I saw him safe, I began my retreat, which was effected very successfully, for I lost scarcely any one.

" I rejoined General Washington, who was marching with a very considerable part of his army to the assistance of General Lincoln, about whom he was uneasy; but his troops were so tired that they could not go further. He showed great joy on seeing me, and wished to profit by the opportunity to reconnoitre very close to New York. I accompanied him with a hundred hussars; we were often fired at with muskets and cannon, but we saw all that we

[173] This corps was commanded by Delancey.

[174] Guillaume de Deux-Ponts says in his *Mémoires* there were eighty killed or wounded, but he was not present, and only repeats what was currently reported. The figures of Lauzun, however, seem exaggerated.

wished to see. This reconnoitring lasted three days and three nights, and was extremely fatiguing, for we were on foot both day and night, and had nothing to eat except the fruits that we found along the road."[175]

On the 5th of July, Washington, who had returned from his reconnoitring of New York, came to see the French troops at the camp at North Castle; he conferred with Rochambeau and dined with him and his staff. He went away the same evening.

On the 6th of July, the French army left North Castle to march seventeen miles, in order to join the American army, encamped at Philipsburg. The road was fairly good, but the heat was so excessive that the march was accomplished with great difficulty; more than four hundred soldiers dropped from fatigue, but with many halts and great care they arrived in safety. Two men deserted from the regiment of Deux-Ponts.

The right of the allied armies, where were the Americans, was posted upon a steep eminence that commanded the Hudson, which in this place was called *Tappansee.* Between the two armies a brook flowed at the bottom of a ravine; and the two brigades of the French army formed the left of the line, which was protected by Lauzun's legion, encamped four miles off, at Whiteplains. All the approaches were guarded with pickets.

On the 8th, Washington reviewed the two armies. The

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[175] The account of this little affair, as given by other writers, does not quite agree with this; but I think that no one was better able to know what happened than Lauzun.

Thus, de Fersen and de Vauban, aids-de-camp of Rochambeau, who had received permission from their general to follow the legion of Lauzun in his expedition, returned on the 4th to the camp at North Castle, and related what had happened. They said that the corps of Delancey, which the expedition had hoped to surprise at Morrisania, was at Williamsbridge, and warned of the threatened attack. They estimated the losses of Lincoln's corps only at four killed and about fifteen wounded. (*Journal* of Cromot du Bourg.)

American army, which he visited first, consisted at most of four thousand five hundred men, among whom were some very young men and a great many negroes. They had no uniforms and seemed badly equipped. In this respect they presented a striking contrast to the French army, with whom Washington seemed well satisfied. The Rhode Island regiment seemed to the French officers to be the only one that presented a good appearance. The American general wished to visit the tent that Dumas, Charles de Lameth and the two Berthiers had pitched near the headquarters of de Béville, in a pleasant position, between rocks and under some magnificent tulip trees. They had also arranged a pretty garden around their temporary residence. Washington found on the table of the young officers the plan of Trenton, that of West Point, and those of a few others of the principal actions of the war where Washington had distinguished himself.

On the evening of the 10th of July, the *Romulus* and three frigates commanded by de Villebrune, left Newport and advanced into the Sound as far as Huntington Bay. The guard-ship, which they thought was a forty-four, withdrew at their approach, and the other small boats took refuge in the bay. The pilots, who were not well up in their business, did not dare to enter by night, which forced d'Angely, who was in command of two hundred and fifty men on board the ship, to postpone to the next day the attack that he wished to make upon Fort Lloyd at the point of Oyster Bay. During the night the English had been able to make some arrangements that caused the enterprise to fail; a landing was effected, but the fort was better guarded than the French had expected. There were four hundred men in it. D'Angely was compelled to withdraw after a rather sharp cannonading and musketry fire which wounded four men. He re-embarked and returned to Newport.

On the 11th, Washington visited the legion of Lauzun that was encamped at Chatterton Hill, two miles to the left. The Americans were well satisfied with its appearance.

On the 12th, Rochambeau, followed by an aid-de-camp,[176] wished to see the fortifications that the Americans were building at Dobb's Ferry, to defend the passage of the North River. He found a redoubt and two batteries well advanced, under Du Portail's direction. Then, on his return he visited the posts of the two armies.

On the 14th, after a dinner at General Lincoln's, at which Washington and de Vioménil, de Chastellux, de Lauzun and Cromot du Bourg were present, Rochambeau ordered his troops to march. The first brigade (Bourbonnais and Deux-Ponts), the heavy artillery and the legion of Lauzun prepared to start. The weather was awful. The tattoo was to serve for the general beat of the drum; but at seven o'clock there was a counter order, without any one being able to explain the cause of this call to arms or this counter order.

On the 15th, at nine in the evening, they heard, in the direction of Tarrytown, a few cannon shots, followed by a brisk fusillade. At once the Marquis de Laval had the drums beaten and two alarm guns fired. The army was instantly under arms; but Rochambeau ordered the soldiers to return to camp. Washington asked him, an hour later, for two hundred men, with six cannon and six howitzers; but just as this artillery was about to start, a counter order was again received. The next morning, at five o'clock, there was a similar alarm, followed by a demand for two twelve pounders and two howitzers. This time G. de Deux-Ponts started in advance for Tarrytown, and Cromot du Bourg, who was on duty with Rochambeau, was ordered to lead the artillery. He discharged this mission with eagerness, for he was going under fire for the first time. The cannon reached Tarrytown at eleven o'clock. The cause of all these

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[176] Cromot du Bourg. It is according to his *Journal* that I relate most of the events which occurred during the stay of the allied armies before New York. The *Souvenirs* of Dumas, *Mes Campagnes en Amérique* of G. de Deux-Ponts, and the *Journal* of Blanchard have been of use to me, especially to verify and complete these accounts.

alarms were two English frigates and three schooners that had ascended the Hudson and attempted to seize five boats laden with flour, which they were bringing from Jersey to Tarrytown for the supply of the army. Another vessel had already been captured during the night; it contained bread for four days, intended for the French. In consequence of this loss the soldiers were reduced to four ounces of bread. Rice and an additional quantity of meat were given to them, and they bore this transient annoyance with a gayety and steadiness of which the officers set them the example. On the same boat that the English captured there was some clothing for Sheldon's dragoons. The frigates had then put their crews into their small boats to make a landing and capture the rest of the provisions at Tarrytown; but a sergeant of Soissonnais, who was guarding that post with twelve men, kept up so brisk and well timed a fire that the English had to stay in their boats. Half an hour later the Americans came up and lost a sergeant and had an officer wounded. Fortunately, in the meantime, the four pieces of French artillery arrived; they were immediately put in position, and over a hundred shots fired that forced the frigates to retire; but they remained in sight during the 17th and 18th. In the meanwhile, Rochambeau had ordered de Neuris and de Verton, artillery officers, to establish a small battery of two cannon and two howitzers at Dobb's Ferry, at the narrowest part of the river. The frigates had to pass by this post, on the 19th, to return to King's Bridge. They were given a warm reception. Two shells fell on board of one of them and set it on fire. A French prisoner, who was on board, took advantage of the occurrence to escape; soon fear impelled seven sailors also to jump into the water. Some were drowned, three captured, and the others regained the frigate where the fire was extinguished.

During the night of the 17th, an officer of the legion of Lauzun, Nortmann, while patrolling with six hussars, was killed in an encounter with some of Delancey's dragoons.

An alarm ensued. The hussars answered with pistol shots, and the infantry was already advancing to support them, when the dragoons, aided by the woods and the night, disappeared. A singular circumstance during this skirmish caused an alarm in the French camp. When Nortmann was killed, his horse returned alone, at full speed, towards the camp of Lauzun's legion. The hussar, who was sentinel, not knowing what it was, called to it three times, "Who goes there?" and at last, perceiving that he received no answer, fired his gun at the horse and killed the unfortunate animal.

On the 18th, Rochambeau employed Dumas, his aid-de-camp, to reconnoitre the country and the outlets in front of the camp towards New York; he ordered him to push his reconnoitring as far as possible, even to within sight of the first redoubts of the enemy. For this object Rochambeau gave Dumas a detachment of lancers of Lauzun's legion, at the head of which was Lieutenant Killemaine.[177] Owing to the courage and intelligence of this young officer, Dumas was able to fulfil his mission perfectly. After forcing a few outposts of Hessian *chasseurs* to fall back, they advanced to within rifle shot of the enemy's works, and joined at that point a body of American light infantry that had likewise explored the country to the right. The object of this reconnoitring was to prepare for that which the generals-in-chief intended to make a few days later with a large force, so as to attract more forcibly the attention of General Clinton and leave him no doubt about the plans of the allied generals.

On the 21st, at eight o'clock in the evening, this movement was begun.[178] The tattoo served for the general beat

[177] He afterwards became a general. The wits loved to connect his name with that of Lannes, saying: "Voilà Lannes et voici Killemaine (*qui le mène*). See *Biographical Notices.*

[178] The following details agree with those of Washington's journal, which Sparks quotes, VIII., p. 109.

of the drums, and the troops marched in the same order as on the 14th. The first brigade, the grenadiers and *chasseurs* of the four regiments, two twelve and two four pounders, proceeded in the centre under the lead of de Chastellux. The right, commanded by General Heath, was composed of a part of General Lincoln's division. The legion of Lauzun protected the army on the left. There were, altogether, about five thousand men with two field batteries. The head of the columns arrived on the 22d, at five in the morning, at the hill that commands King's Bridge. The roads were bad, and the artillery had difficulty to keep up. Nevertheless, the two armies marched in perfect order, preserving the strictest silence. An American regiment marched boldly, under a heavy fire, to take a redoubt. One of its officers had his thigh cut off. Meanwhile Rochambeau and Washington went forward to reconnoitre the forts. Then they crossed Harlem Creek and continued their explorations, constantly under the fire of the enemy's outposts and forts. Afterwards they recrossed the river, returned over their route of the morning, and pushed forward, along the island, until opposite to New York. Some frigates stationed in the North River fired a few shots at them that did no harm. Then they changed their course towards Morrisania, where the enemy's fire was more severe. The Count de Damas had a horse killed under him. Finally, the generals returned to their lines, after being twenty-four hours on horseback.

During that time each aid-de-camp made special reconnoitring expeditions. The legion of Lauzun compelled the enemy's outposts to fall back, and captured a large number of prisoners.

On the 23d, the generals again mounted on horseback at five in the morning to continue this work. They first examined that part of Long Island which is separated from the mainland by the Sound; they returned to Morrisania to examine again a part of the Island of New York that they

had not studied sufficiently the evening before; then the generals returned to their troops.

"In this reconnoitring," says Rochambeau, "we tried the American plan of making the horses swim across a river, by collecting them in a drove after the manner of wild horses. We had crossed to an island, which was separated from the enemy, who were on Long Island, by an arm of the sea, the width of which General Washington desired to have measured. While our engineers were engaged in this geometrical operation, we fell asleep, worn out by fatigue, in front of a hedge, exposed to the fire of the cannon on the vessels of the enemy, who wished to interrupt this work. Awakening first, I called General Washington and told him that we had forgotten the hour of the tide. We returned quickly to the causeway of the mill upon which we had crossed this little arm of the sea that separated us from the mainland; it was covered with water. Two small boats were brought to us, in which we embarked with the saddles and harness of the horses; then two American dragoons were sent ahead, who led by the bridles two horses that were good swimmers; these were followed by all the rest, who were urged on by the cracking of the whips of some dragoons who remained on the other side, and to whom we sent back the boats. This operation took less than an hour; but fortunately our predicament was not known by the enemy."

The army returned to its camp at Philipsburg on the 23d, at eleven o'clock at night.

"This reconnoitring[179] was carried out with all the care imaginable; we received six or seven hundred cannon shots that cost the Americans two men killed. We took twenty or thirty of the English prisoners, and killed four or five men. We also captured about sixty horses. I cannot too often repeat how astonished I have been at the American army; it is inconceivable that troops nearly naked, badly

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[179] *Journal* of Cromot du Bourg.

paid, and composed of old men, negroes and children, should march so well, both on the road and under fire. I have shared this astonishment with M. de Rochambeau himself, who spoke of it to us continually on our way back. I have no need to speak of General Washington's composure; it is well known: but this great man is a thousand times more noble and glorious when at the head of his army than at any other time."

From the 23d of July to the 14th of August, the army remained quiet in its camp at Philipsburg. The legion of Lauzun alone was engaged in a very active and severe service.

The rapid march of the French troops and their discipline made a great impression on the Americans. The junction of the allied armies produced all the effect which might have been expected. It kept at New York General Clinton, who had orders to embark with a corps of troops to separate Washington from La Fayette and confine the former to the left bank of the Hudson. It also helped to make Lord Cornwallis retreat from the small expedition that he had undertaken in Virginia, and, following the same instructions, go to Chesapeake Bay to select and fortify a permanent post. A few days after the junction of the forces at Philipsburg, the French and American generals learnt that Cornwallis was falling back along the James River towards Richmond, where La Fayette came to besiege him.[180]

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[180] The English General Philips died on the 13th of March, 1781. He was very ill in his bed at Petersburg, when a cannon ball from La Fayette's batteries passed through his room without, however, touching him. It was a strange coincidence, that this same general had command of the battery at Minden, a cannon of which had killed La Fayette's father. (*Mémoires* of La Fayette.) See *Maryland Papers*, 133-143, for the correspondence between Philips and Weedon. Arnold was accused in the English army of having poisoned General Philips. (*Mercure de France*, September, 1781, p. 160.) See, also, *The Bland Papers*, by Charles Campbell, Petersburg, 1848, II., 124.

CHAPTER XV.

Campaign of Virginia.—Rochambeau receives, August the 14th, news of the *Concorde*—De Grasse informs him that he is on his way to Chesapeake Bay with twenty-six vessels, three thousand five hundred men, and 1,200,000 *livres*—General Clinton, with the reinforcements that he receives from England, finds himself at the head of fifteen thousand men—The allies have only nine thousand to oppose him with—March of Cornwallis—Skill of La Fayette—The latter believes for a short time that the English are leaving Virginia to reinforce New York—Letters of La Fayette and Washington; that of the latter is intercepted—Happy effect that results from this—Washington abandons the attack on New York—The allies direct their efforts against Virginia—La Fayette devotes himself to preventing Cornwallis escaping to Carolina—As soon as their plan of campaign is positively settled, the allied generals commence their march.

On the 14th of August, Rochambeau received a letter from Newport, telling him that the *Concorde* had been back since the 5th from its trip to Admiral de Grasse. It had joined him at St. Domingo after the capture of Tabago, had communicated to him the instructions of Rochambeau, and had started to return on the 26th of July. De Grasse informed Rochambeau that he would start with all his fleet, twenty-six vessels strong, on August the 3d, to proceed to Chesapeake Bay. He would bring three thousand five hundred men of the garrison of St. Domingo, where de Lillencourt was governor, and convey the twelve hundred thousand livres, furnished by Don Solano, that had been demanded of him; but he added that his orders would not allow him to remain later than the 15th of October.

It was learnt also that the English troops, who a few days before had entered New York, were not those of Cornwallis, as La Fayette himself had written, but the garrison of Pensacola in Florida, which the Spanish general, Don Galvez,

had allowed to march out unconditionally after the capture of that town.[181] General Clinton also had received from England a convoy bringing three thousand recruits, which brought his force up to twelve thousand men. The allies had only nine thousand men to oppose to him.

From Williamsburg, Lord Cornwallis retired to Portsmouth, near the mouth of the James River, and consequently not far from Chesapeake Bay. The sea was open to him, and this course of retrograde movements seemed to indicate that he intended to evacuate Virginia. La Fayette had displayed great ability in this campaign, in which, with only fifteen hundred militiamen, he was able to force General Cornwallis, who was at the head of more than four thousand men, to retreat. It was by avoiding a general engagement, by constantly deceiving the enemy as to the real number of his forces, by making skilful moves or carrying out operations that were at once full of audacity and prudence, that La Fayette secured this unexpected result. "The child cannot escape me," Cornwallis had written at the beginning of the campaign, in speaking of that general, whose youth he despised and whose ability he did not recognize. In his turn, he was about to fall into the trap to which La Fayette was gradually leading him.

The English embarked at Portsmouth, and La Fayette believed for an instant that they were abandoning Virginia entirely to reinforce the garrison of New York. He even wrote to Washington to that effect. But he soon learnt that their sole object was to take up a strong position at Yorktown and Gloucester to wait for the reinforcements that were to come to them. It was exactly what La Fayette wished them to do. On the 6th of August, in announcing his successes to Washington, he said to him:

"In the present state of affairs, I hope, my dear general,

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[181] Thus the success of the Spaniards at Pensacola was more injurious than beneficial to the cause of the Americans.

that you will come to Virginia, and that if the French army also follows this route, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you with my own eyes at the head of the combined armies; but if a French fleet occupies the bay and the rivers, and we shall have formed a land force superior to that of the enemy, his army must sooner or later be compelled to surrender."[182]

For his part, Washington wrote a letter, entirely friendly and confidential, to La Fayette to congratulate him on his previous successes, and he added that, now that he had saved Virginia, he would allow him to join in the attack upon New York. He admitted, however, the necessity of La Fayette's presence at the head of the army of Virginia.

These two letters had quite a different fate, and, by one of those chances of which we have already had an example after the conference at Hartford, the letter of Washington was intercepted by James Moody in the Jerseys, while that of La Fayette reached its destination. General Clinton believed more than ever that he would be attacked. This delusion lasted some time after the combined armies had begun their march to the south.[183]

As soon as Rochambeau had received the dispatches brought by the *Concorde*, he took counsel with Washington, who entirely renounced the project that he had always entertained of making a general attack on New York. The

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[182] *Mémoires* of La Fayette.

[183] This occurrence was so useful to the Americans, and so completely deceived the English generals, that it seems likely that it was not altogether owing to a lucky chance, but in consequence of a skilful manœuvre of Washington that his letter, written for the purpose, fell into the hands of James Moody. Such was the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, who could not forgive himself after his defeat for having been deceived in this way. (See the *Mercure de France*, 1781.) Sparks, VIII., 141, also relates how a false order, signed by La Fayette and commanding General Morgan to advance his troops, was seized by Cornwallis on an old negro purposely sent in his direction, which decided the English to retreat.

allied generals agreed that they ought to lead their forces to Virginia, and nothing remained but to organize the means for putting into execution the new plan of campaign. While Rochambeau sent, on August the 15th, de Fersen to the Count de Barras to inform him of the proposed expedition, Washington wrote to La Fayette to maintain his position before Yorktown and await the arrival of de Grasse's fleet, of the troops which he would bring under the command of Saint-Simon, and of the combined armies.

All of La Fayette's efforts were then directed to prevent Cornwallis from escaping to Carolina and so causing the campaign of the allies to miscarry. This is why he sent troops to the south of the James River, under pretence of driving the English out of Portsmouth, which also had the happy result of causing the troops and artillery, who, upon the arrival of the Count de Grasse, would have escaped by Albemarle Sound, to rejoin the main army. It was with the same object that he kept some other troops on the same side, under pretence of sending General Wayne and his Pennsylvanians to the Army of the South in order to reinforce General Greene. At the same time he sent to Cornwallis the brave soldier, Morgan, who remained for some time in the midst of the enemy as a deserter, and who, on his return from his difficult and dangerous mission, was unwilling to accept any other reward than the return of a gun that he prized highly.[184]

As soon as the plan of campaign was settled, the allied generals put it into execution. Upon the quickness of their march in great part depended success, which would be assured if they could join La Fayette before the departure of de Grasse. De Barras persisted in his determination to join Admiral de Grasse, although he was permitted by a private letter from the minister of the navy, de Castries, to cruise

[184] See the *Mémoires* of La Fayette for an account of Morgan's conduct. Sparks, VIII., 152.

before Boston, if it was unpleasant to him to serve under the command of an admiral younger in rank than himself. Rochambeau, therefore, had instructed him to transport to Chesapeake Bay all the siege artillery left at Newport with de Choisy's corps. For his part, Washington induced two thousand men from the Northern States to follow him into Virginia to join La Fayette. Lastly, one hundred thousand crowns that remained in the military chest of the French corps were divided between the two armies.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of de Grasse in Chesapeake Bay.—The allies cross the Hudson—Strength of the army—Names of the different commanders—The Hudson being passed, Washington arranges the march of his troops—He keeps one day's march in advance—Then comes Lauzun—The brigade of Soissonnais closes the march—Washington intrusts to General Heath the defence of the State of New York and the North River—Narrative of the movements from the 25th of August to the 3d of September—On the 4th of September, the army passes in review before Congress at Philadelphia—Description by Cromot du Bourg of the city of Philadelphia, of Benezet and other remarkable persons—The allied generals learn that the English admirals, Hood and Graves, have joined forces—Uneasiness which this news gives them—Nevertheless, the allies continue their march—On arriving at Chester, Rochambeau learns from Washington that de Grasse has arrived in Chesapeake Bay with twenty-eight vessels and three thousand men—Joy that this news causes everywhere.

The troops began to march on the 19th of August to cross the Hudson at King's Ferry. The Americans followed the road along the river, while the French went back over the ground of their previous marches.

The first day's march from Philipsburg to North Castle

(eighteen miles) was very laborious. The drum was beaten at four in the morning, and at half past five Rochambeau, on visiting the camp, perceived that the provision wagons were wanting and that there remained in camp not more than five hundred or six hundred rations. He sent for some more and had to postpone his departure until midday. In the meantime, he gave the command of the battalion of the grenadiers and the *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais to Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, and that of the battalion of Soissonnais to de La Valette, lieutenant-colonel of Saintonge; he joined them to Lauzun's legion to form the rear guard, the whole of which, placed under the command of the *Baron* de Vioménil,[185] was deputed to guard the approaches while the artillery and the baggage were starting. He did not take up his pickets until two o'clock. But the wagons were too heavily laden, and the roads hilly and cut up by the rains. The carts broke down or stuck in the mud, so that by eight o'clock in the evening they had only gone four miles, and the regiments were unable to reach North Castle until the 20th, at four in the morning. De Custine had been obliged to leave the Viscount de Rochambeau, with all the artillery and two hundred men, twelve miles from North Castle. In this situation, which would have been disastrous to the army if the garrison of New York had made a sortie, the rear guard neither was able nor ought to have advanced much. The Baron de Vioménil stopped at the house of Alexander Lark, where he bivouacked and where he and his officers were able to dry and rest themselves. He received orders to advance at once to King's Ferry, by way of Leguid's Tavern, where he arrived on the 20th, at eleven o'clock at night, and by Pensbridge, on the Croton, where he rejoined the bulk of the army.

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[185] G. de Deux-Ponts, says the *viscount;* but it is probable that this important post, which conferred superiority over Lauzun, could not be intrusted to such a general as he whom they called the *baron.* His brother, however, had the rank of major-general.

This had left North Castle on the 21st, early in the morning. Two miles from there it crossed the small stream which bears that name; then two miles further on the Croton River at Pensbridge, where there was a wooden bridge. The Croton is not navigable, yet it is not fordable except at certain seasons. In the evening the troops camped at Hun's Tavern, which is a suburb of Crampond. From that time the legion of Lauzun marched as the advance guard, while the battalion of the grenadiers and the *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais were the immediate rear guard of the army, and the regiment of Soissonnais remained on the banks of the Croton River until all the wagons had passed.

On August the 22d, the army left Hun's Tavern and, after a march of nine miles, went to Peekskill, a village that contained hardly a score of houses and which is situated on the North River. Four miles further on it arrived, at last, at King's Ferry, and took up a position upon the hill that commands the North River. As there was in that place only the house of the man to whom the ferry boat belonged, the headquarters remained at Peekskill. Rochambeau was unwilling to pass so near West Point without visiting that fortress. He devoted the 23d to the visit and went to the fort in a boat with Washington and several officers. On his return he received letters from de Choisy, who informed him that on the 21st he had embarked on de Barras' fleet with all the artillery and the five hundred French troops that he commanded. He had left a hundred men at Providence under the command of Desprez, major in the regiment of Deux-Ponts, who were to guard the magazines and the hospitals.

That same day the wagons and the legion of Lauzun crossed the Hudson and halted at Haverstraw, near Smith's house, in which Arnold had held his last interview with Major André. In another direction Guillaume de Deux-Ponts protected the embarkation with the brigade of Bourbonnais, which he had advanced as far as Verplank's Point.

This brigade crossed in its turn on the 24th, and the rest of the army on the 25th.

All the superior officers of the army agree in saying that the English general, during all these movements, showed singular want of ability, and they are unable to explain his inaction. There is no doubt that the numerous demonstrations made in front of New York, and especially the letters that were intercepted, as I have mentioned, completely deceived General Clinton respecting the real intentions of the allied generals. Besides, the greatest secrecy was maintained respecting the objective point of the movements of the armies, so much, indeed, that the generals, as well as the colonels and aids-de-camp, were ignorant of the point that it was proposed to attack. The opinion generally entertained was, as in the English camp, that they wished to turn the flank of the city and attack New York from Paulus Hook or Staten Island.

When the whole army had crossed the Hudson, Washington arranged the order of march of his troops as follows: He kept one day's march in advance, at the head of three thousand men; the next day the legion of Lauzun and the brigade of Bourbonnais followed; lastly, the third day, the brigade of Soissonnais occupied the encampments abandoned by those who had preceded it. Before starting, Washington left in the camp at Verplank's Point a corps of three thousand militiamen, under the command of General Heath, to defend the State of New York and the North River.

On the 25th, the first brigade (Deux-Ponts and Bourbonnais) reached, by way of Hackensack, Suffren's, in the middle of a magnificent valley. The day's march was fifteen miles.

On the 26th they went from Suffren's to Pompton. The route, fifteen miles long, was superb; the country, open and well cultivated, was inhabited by Dutchmen, generally very rich. The little river of Pompton, which the army had to cross three times within four miles of the town of the same

name, was provided with bridges at each crossing. When the troops were settled in their camp, several generals and officers took advantage of the proximity of Totohaw Fall to go to see that singular cataract that de Chastellux describes in his *Travels.*

At Pompton, Washington's corps directed its course towards Staten Island. At the same time, Rochambeau sent de Villemanzy, the commissioner, beyond Chatham, to put up ovens and make demonstrations of collecting provisions, so that the enemy might hold to their idea that they were about to receive an attack from that quarter. De Villemanzy successfully discharged this commission.[186]

On the 27th, after sixteen miles of march, the army encamped at Hanover or Vibani, between Wipanny and Morristown. The first division remained at that camp on the 28th, while the second joined it.

It was at that time that the allied generals abandoned all pretence with their aids-de-camp and chief officers. They set out in advance for Philadelphia and had their troops turn sharp round towards the other side of the mountains that separate the interior of the State of New Jersey from those parts of it which are situated on the sea coast. Rochambeau took with him de Fersen, de Vauban and de Closen as aids-de-camp.

On the 29th, the first brigade, under command of the Baron de Viomènil, after a march of sixteen miles, arrived at Bullion's Tavern. They passed through Morristown, a rather pretty town in which there were from sixty to eighty well-built houses. The American army had encamped there in 1776 and 1779. It is known that, in the first of those years, General Lee, who had imprudently separated himself from his army, was carried off by an English corps, but the second time Washington occupied a fine position on the high ground between Menden and Baskeridge, to guard the

[186] He died a peer of France, under Charles X.

crossing of the Delaware. He thus held there the command of all the routes by which the enemy could pass.

On the 30th, the army arrived at Somerset Court House, after a march of twelve miles; on the 31st at Princeton (ten miles); on the 1st of September at Trenton on the Delaware (twelve miles). The river was fordable. The wagons crossed it at once; but the troops halted and did not cross it until the next day, when they went into camp at Red Lion's Tavern, eighteen miles from the last camp, which was at Somerset Court House.

The legion of Lauzun always watched with indefatigable zeal over the safety of the army, either to clear the road, or protect the flanks, or guard the rear. When the generals had the army turn suddenly in the direction of the Delaware, the Baron de Viomênil received information that a thousand men of the garrison of New York had been ordered to hold themselves ready to march, and that the light armed troops were not more than a mile away. De Viomênil, who had been kicked by a horse and so forced to travel in a carriage, did not know what course to pursue; he was, indeed, almost without resources in case of attack. Thereupon, Lauzun left his camp at Somerset and marched to meet the enemy as far away as possible, so as to give de Viomênil time to withdraw into the woods. He sent strong patrols along all the roads by which the English might advance. He himself, at the head of fifty well-mounted hussars, pushed forward more than ten miles on the road to New Brunswick, over which the enemy would probably advance. He met three strong patrols of light-armed troops, who withdrew after an exchange of a few pistol shots, and, satisfied that the English troops were not moving forward, he returned to reassure the Baron de Viomênil.

On the 3d of September, the army marched from Red Lion's Tavern to Philadelphia, which the first division entered, in full dress uniform, at eleven o'clock in the morning.

On the 4th, the second brigade arrived nearly at the same

time as the first had the day before and produced no less effect. "The regiment of Soissonnais, which has rose-colored facings, also had its grenadier caps with the white and rose feathers, which struck the beauties of the city with astonishment."[187] Rochambeau went ahead with his staff; and this brigade passed before Congress amidst the acclamations of the people, who were charmed with its fine appearance.

When the troops were defiling before Congress, with their respective commanders at their head, the President asked Rochambeau whether he ought to salute or not; the general answered that when the troops passed before the king, his Majesty kindly condescended to salute them. As they were paying the same honors to Congress as to the king, "the thirteen members who composed it took off their thirteen hats at every salutation by a flag or an officer."[188] Cromot du Bourg, whom I have often quoted, younger and better educated, though less seasoned as a soldier than Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, discovered many *honest* (*honnêtes*) and *remarkable* things in Philadelphia.[189] He boasts of the generous and kind reception which he received at the house of the French minister, de la Luzerne, of whose affability and merit all the writers of that period make mention. He speaks in his journal of the English dinner at which he was present in company with the French generals and their family (as the Americans called the aids-de-camp) at the house of the President of the States.

"There was," he says, "a turtle that I considered perfect, and which might weigh from sixty to eighty pounds. At dessert they drank all possible toasts (Santés)." He also

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[187] Cormot du Bourg.

[188] Deux-Ponts.

[189] See also, respecting this same subject, the *Voyages* de Chastellux, the *Mémoires* de Pontgibaud, and that part of the *Mémoires* of the Prince de Broglie, which I have inserted later on.

mentions Mr. Benezet[190] as the most zealous Quaker in Philadelphia. "I talked with him for some time; he seemed to me permeated with the excellence of his morality; he is little, old and ugly, but he is truly a worthy man, and his face bears the stamp of a tranquil soul and a calm conscience."

Of remarkable things, Cromot du Bourg first mentions the city itself: "It is large and pretty well built; the streets are very wide and laid out by rule and line; on both sides there are footwalks for pedestrians; there is a large number of shops richly stocked, and the city is very lively, for there are at least forty thousand inhabitants. In Market Street there are two immense halls built of brick, one of which is devoted to butchers' stalls. I found no other fault with them except that they are in the middle of a superb street which they entirely disfigure. The port may, perhaps, be about two miles long. It is merely a quay, with nothing handsome about it but its length. There are several handsome Protestant churches, and a college of some size, which is called a University."

This aid-de-camp of Rochambeau, like Chastellux and many others, paid a visit to the museum of curiosities of Du Simitiere, the Genevese, and to that of natural history of the learned doctor, Chauvel.[191] In the former he was surprised to see, in the midst of a crowd of interesting things, an old pair of stout boots, and he could not refrain from laughingly asking Du Simitiere whether that was an object of curiosity. He answered that " they had always attracted the attention of Americans, because they had never seen any but these, and that, perceiving their astonishment, he had allowed them to pass for the boots of Charles XII. But it is probable that after the passage of the French army the

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[190] There is a *Life* of this eminent philanthropist who was the first to raise his voice against the slave trade. Watson's *Annals*, II., 209.

[191] Watson, *Annals.*

stout boots ceased to be an extraordinary object for the Americans."

It was at Philadelphia that the allied generals learnt that the English admiral, Hood, had arrived at New York, where he had joined forces with Admiral Graves, and that their combined fleets were in full sail for Chesapeake Bay. This news made them uneasy for two days, for they had learnt nothing as yet about the movements of Count de Grasse.[192] Nevertheless, the troops continued their march. From the camp on the banks of the Schuylkill, one mile from Philadelphia, which they had occupied on the 3d and the 4th, they proceeded on the 5th to Chester, sixteen miles distant. The second division, however, did not leave Philadelphia until the 6th. Washington followed the land route, but Rochambeau wished to visit the defences of Philadelphia on the Delaware, and he went on a boat with de Mauduit-Duplessis and an aid-de-camp.[193] They landed first on Mud Island, where the unfinished Fort Mifflin was; they then passed over to the left bank, at Redbank, where de Mauduit found nothing but the ruins of the fort that he had so bravely defended on October the 22d, 1777, against Colonel Donop's troop of Hessians. They arrived finally at Billings Fort that had been built to support the *chevaux de frise*, which were placed in the river, and defend the passage against hostile ships that might try to ascend it. This fort alone was in good condition and furnished with a battery which was well placed and solidly built.

On reaching Chester, Rochambeau saw Washington upon the bank waving his hat with demonstrations of great joy. He said that he had just heard from Baltimore that de Grasse had arrived in Chesapeake Bay with twenty-eight ships of the line and three thousand men whom he had already landed,

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[192] Laurens returned at the beginning of September, 1781, on the frigate, the *Résolue*, which brought money for the French and the Americans. (*Journal* of Blanchard.)

[193] Cromot du Bourg.

and who had gone to join La Fayette. "I was as much astonished as I was moved," says Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, "at the truly genuine and pure joy of General Washington. Of a cold temperament and a grave and noble bearing which in him is nothing but true dignity and which is so becoming to the head of a nation, his features, his physiognomy, his bearing, all were changed in an instant; he divested himself of his character as the arbiter of North America and was satisfied for a moment with that of a citizen happy in the happiness of his country. A child, all of whose wishes had been gratified, could not have experienced a more lively sensation, and I believe that I am doing honor to this rare man by endeavoring to describe all the vivacity of them."

There was no less joy in Philadelphia when this news was known. De Damas, who had remained there after the departure of the troops, related on his return that it was difficult to imagine the effect which it had produced in the city. The enthusiasm was so great that the people proceeded to the house of the Minister of France, and de la Luzerne had to show himself on his balcony in answer to the acclamations of the crowd.

CHAPTER XVII.

Prudent Reserve of La Fayette.—La Fayette marches against Williamsburg, where he has Saint-Simon join him—Cornwallis finds himself hemmed in on all sides—He reconnoitres in front of Williamsburg, but finds that it is impossible to attack the place—Plans that La Fayette adopts to cut off his retreat—De Grasse urges La Fayette to attack—In spite of urgent solicitations, La Fayette prefers to wait—Washington and Rochambeau hasten their march—Movements from the 6th to the 13th of September—De Grasse attacks and drives back the English squadron.

At the time when the Count de Grasse arrived in Chesapeake Bay, La Fayette made a rapid march on Williamsburg, and had the corps of the Marquis de Saint-Simon, of three thousand two hundred infantry and about three hundred hussars, join him. As soon as he had landed at Jamestown, he had General Wayne's corps cross the river, and joined it to his own ; then he stationed a body of militia on the other side of the York River, opposite Gloucester. The English army thus found itself enclosed on all sides, and Lord Cornwallis had no chance of escape except by a dangerous move. Nevertheless, he reconnoitred Williamsburg with the intention of attacking it; but this position was firmly fixed. Two creeks, one of which emptied into the James and the other into the York River, greatly narrowed the peninsula in this place, and it would have been necessary to force these two well-defended passages. Two houses and two public buildings in Williamsburg, built of stone, were well situated for defending the front. There were five thousand American and French soldiers, a strong body of militia and field artillery well manned. Lord Cornwallis did not think he ought to risk an attack. He might have crossed to Gloucester or ascended the York River, the Count de Grasse having neglected to send ships higher up the

stream; but he would have had to abandon his artillery, supplies and sick. Besides, La Fayette had made arrangements for cutting off Cornwallis' retreat in a few marches. He, therefore, resolved to await the attack. He might have found still one chance of safety in a hasty attack, if La Fayette had yielded to a tempting solicitation. The Count de Grasse was anxious to return; the idea of waiting for the generals and the troops from the north annoyed him greatly. He warmly urged La Fayette to attack the English army with the American and the French troops under his command, offering him for this sudden attack not only the detachments of marines on his ships but also as many sailors as he should ask for. The Marquis de Saint-Simon who, though subordinate to La Fayette by the date of his commissions, was much older than he both in years and in length of service, added his entreaties to those of the admiral. He argued that Lord Cornwallis' fortifications were not finished, and, according to all appearances, an attack by a superior force would capture Yorktown and then Gloucester. The temptation was great for the young general of the combined armies, who was barely twenty-four years old. He had an unanswerable excuse for making this attack in the assertion of de Grasse that he could not wait for the generals and forces which were coming from the north. But he reflected that if this attack might have a brilliant and glorious success for himself, it would cost, necessarily, much blood. He was unwilling to sacrifice to his personal glory the soldiers who had been confided to him. Not only did he refuse to follow the advice of Count de Grasse, but he also tried to persuade him to await the arrival of Washington, Rochambeau and Lincoln, all of whom were either his superiors or seniors in the service. La Fayette lost, thereby, the chief command, but the defeat of Cornwallis would become a certainty obtained at small cost. With regret de Grasse yielded to these arguments.

Washington and Rochambeau, on their side, hastened the march of their troops.

On the 6th, they left Chester for Wilmington (eleven miles), where they arrived after leaving the battle-field of the Brandywine on their right. On the evening of the 7th they were at Elkton, where an officer with dispatches from Count de Grasse was waiting for them. On the 8th they were busy finding transport ships in which to embark as many men as possible. Indeed, they were still a hundred leagues from the point where they were to join La Fayette, and it was important that he should not be left in a critical position. The way by water was the shortest, and at the same time the least fatiguing for the troops. But the English, in their different incursions, had destroyed so many American boats that it was impossible to collect enough to embark more than two thousand men. This was barely enough to convey the two advance guards of the two armies. The men were put on board of all sorts of boats. De Custine commanded the French advance guard, consisting of grenadiers, *chasseurs* and Lauzun's infantry; in all twelve hundred men. General Lincoln followed a short distance behind with the eight hundred men of his advance guard.[194] The Duke de Lauzun, who was eager to arrive among the first on the field of battle, asked permission to go on with his infantry, and he left his cavalry to follow by land with the artillery and the bulk of the army under command of the two Viomenils. The same day Washington and Rochambeau went ahead to rejoin La Fayette by land. Each of them took only two aids-de-camp. Those of the French general were de Damas and Fersen. Rochambeau allowed the others to go by whichever way they chose. De Vauban and Lauberdières embarked with de

[194] All the provisions that could be obtained, with great difficulty, in this country, which is more like a desert than a country formed for the habitation of man, were some cattle, half of which were cooked and the rest salted; there was enough for four days. To supply food for the rest of this journey, a pound of cheese was given to every man, officer as well as soldier; to that were added a little rum and biscuit for seventeen days. (*Mercure de France*, September, 1781.)

Custine, while Closen and du Bourg took the by-roads with Lauzun's cavalry, and Dumas continued with the army as adjutant.

On the 9th, while the advance guards that had embarked were leaving Head of Elk by water, the troops that had remained on land continued their march. The wagons had to be separated from the troops, owing to the difficulty in crossing the Susquehanna Ferry. To Dumas was intrusted the supervision of this crossing. Learning from the people of the country that this large river was fordable in good weather a short distance below the falls, he went seven miles above Lower Ferry, where the boats slowly carried the men and the horses across, and, after carefully sounding the bottom of the river, he did not hesitate to advise the generals to send the wagons and the artillery across, which was accomplished without much loss. The soldiers, deprived of their baggage for several days in consequence of this separation, had to do without tents, and they cheerfully accepted their temporary situation. On the 10th of September they encamped at Burch Hartford or Burch Tavern, and on the 11th at Whitemarsh, where the wagons and tents rejoined the army. On the 12th they reached Baltimore.

The Baron de Viomésnil at once directed Colonel de Deux-Ponts and Count de Laval to examine and calculate exactly how many men each of the boats at his disposal could hold. They soon found out that it was impossible to embark the whole army. They even made a trial on the 13th, and the generals were convinced that they could not expose the troops to the uncomfortable and perilous position in which they would be forced to remain for several days in small boats badly fitted out. The Baron de Viomésnil, therefore, decided to resume his march by land.

Not until the 13th did the wagons, which had set out with Dumas at the crossing of the Susquehanna, rejoin this division. On the 15th they learnt that bad weather had compelled the grenadiers and the *chasseurs* who had embarked at Head of Elk to put into port at Annapolis after a

voyage of three days. De Custine, anxious to arrive first, took a quick sailing sloop and sailed, without stopping, as far as the James River. He thus left the convoy of which he had charge without a commander. It is true that the Duke de Lauzun might supply the want; but nothing had been agreed upon between these officers, and Lauzun found himself without orders or instructions. The boats were in such a bad state that two or three upset, and seven or eight men were drowned. Nevertheless, the whole convoy was about to set sail again, when Lauzun received a messenger from Washington, who advised him to land the troops, and not to start again without new orders. This was because the English fleet had appeared in Chesapeake Bay on September the 5th, and Count de Grasse, who had started to fight it, had not yet returned.

Although the French admiral, at that time, had detailed fifteen hundred of his sailors for the landing of the troops of Saint-Simon on the James River, he did not hesitate to cut his cables and advance to meet the English fleet with twenty-four ships. The English admiral coming up to windward, the French advance guard commanded by de Bougainville then attacked the enemy, who were roughly handled. De Grasse pursued them in the offing for three days without coming up with them, and, on re-entering the bay, found the squadron of de Barras, who, after having skilfully convoyed the ten ships which had the siege artillery on board, had, under cover of this engagement, reached the anchorage. De Barras had even pursued and captured, at the entrance of the bay, two English frigates, the *Isis* and the *Richmond*, and a few small vessels, which were at once sent to Annapolis with the transports that had come from Rhode Island.[195]

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[195] It seems to me, judging from the different documents in my possession, that the English admiral was upset by the appearance of the squadron commanded by de Barras. I shall return to this subject. See the *Biographical Notices* of de Grasse, de Bougainville and de Barras.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Allies before Williamsburg.—The successes of de Grasse allow Lauzun to re-embark his troops—Movements of de Vioménil's corps —This corps embarks at Annapolis in de la Villebrune's squadron, and arrives at Williamsburg on the 26th of September—Lauzun goes to Washington, who informs him that Cornwallis has sent his cavalry to Gloucester—An American, General Weedon, is detailed to watch him—That general's lack of initiative—Lauzun is sent to him —Lauzun informs Rochambeau of his poor opinion of the militia— Rochambeau sends him some artillery and eight hundred men— De Grasse and Barras blockade Chesapeake Bay—Choisy acts energetically on the side of Gloucester—The allied army before Williamsburg.

Lauzun, as soon as he learnt of de Grasse's success, re-embarked his troops and continued his route. The winds were not very favorable, and he was not less than ten days in reaching the mouth of the James River.

The corps that had remained on shore under the command of the two de Vioménils, left Baltimore on the 16th of September and encamped at Spurer's Tavern.[196] There de Vioménil received a letter from de la Villebrune, captain of the *Romulus*, who told him of his arrival at Annapolis with the necessary means for transporting the army. Consequently, on the 17th of September, de Vioménil took the road to Annapolis and camped at Scot's Plantation. During the 18th, 19th and 20th, which he spent at Annapolis, the war stores and the troops were embarked. The small

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[196] "Whoever should travel in this country ten years from now," says Cromot du Bourg, "or even in one year, and should wish to make use of my journal as a guide, would be greatly astonished to find the taverns and ferries with different names; changes in this respect are most common in this country, for the places always take the names of the owners."

squadron that de Villebrune commanded consisted of the line of battle ship the *Romulus* and the frigates the *Gentille*, the *Diligente*, the *Aigrette*, the *Isis* and the *Richmond*. There were, besides, nine transports. On board the *Diligente*, on which Guillaume de Deux-Ponts embarked, Lord Rawdon, Colonel Doyle and Lieutenant of the Navy Clark, the two latter accompanied by their wives, were prisoners. They were captured by de Barras on the frigate *Richmond*, and there had not been time before leaving Cape Charles to put them on shore. This squadron was more fortunate than the convoy of the Duke de Lauzun, for it set sail on the 21st of September in the evening and entered the James River on the 23d, at five o'clock in the morning.

The wagons that could not be embarked and everything that pertained to the baggage department continued to follow the land route, and made a great circuit to reach Williamsburg.

The navigation of the James River was difficult, and the expedition could only ascend it by sounding constantly; yet several vessels ran aground, and they could be floated again only by the tide.

This corps of the army landed on the evening of the 24th at Hog's Ferry, and encamped on the 26th at Williamsburg. Washington and Rochambeau, accompanied by de Chastellux and two aids-de-camp apiece, after forced marches of sixty miles a day, had arrived in that town on the 14th of September. As for Lauzun's infantry, it had been on shore since the 23d. The cavalry had come by land and had been at Williamsburg for several days.

On arriving, the Duke de Lauzun found de Custine, who ought to have conducted this detachment instead of going on in advance of it. While he was giving him an account of what had happened, Washington and Rochambeau, who were on a corvette but a short distance off, sent word to Lauzun to come on board. Washington then told the duke that Lord Cornwallis had sent all his cavalry and a rather

large body of troops to Gloucester. He feared that he might make an attempt to escape on that side; and to prevent this retreat, which would have lost the benefit of the whole campaign, he had posted on that side, to watch the English, a body of three thousand militiamen, commanded by Brigadier-General Weedon. This general was formerly a tavern-keeper, whom events had promoted rapidly; but, if we may believe Lauzun, he was an excellent man who did not like war. "The way in which he blockaded Gloucester was odd. He had established himself fifteen miles from the enemy, and he did not dare to send a patrol further than half a mile from camp." Washington, who knew what to depend upon in this respect, wished that Lauzun, whose merit he esteemed and whose courage he appreciated, should take the command of the militiamen who were on that side, and combine them with his legion. He proposed to the duke to write to Weedon that he should no longer meddle with anything, while keeping his rank before the army. De Lauzun would not accept this equivocal position, and, on the 25th, he proceeded by land with his infantry to General Weedon to serve under his orders. The cavalry of de Lauzun, that Rochambeau had sent, was already before Gloucester.

De Lauzun proposed to Weedon to move nearer to Gloucester and the next day reconnoitre the English posts. They started with fifty hussars. Lauzun went near enough to form a correct idea of the enemy's position; but General Weedon, though following him, incessantly repeated that he would go no further.

Lauzun at once informed Rochambeau of what he had seen. He gave him to understand that he ought not to rely on the American militia, and that it was necessary to send to Gloucester at least two more battalions of French infantry. He asked, besides, for artillery, powder and provisions, of which he was in absolute need.[197]

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[197] Neither Lauzun nor Choisy does justice to General Weedon, whose inexperience in warlike matters led the French officers to ridicule him.

Without further delay, on the 27th, Rochambeau sent over to the Gloucester side some artillery and eight hundred men, who were taken from the mariners on the ships, under the command of de Choisy. By the priority of the date of his commission, he ranked General Weedon and Lauzun.

Thus, on the 28th, while Admirals de Grasse and de Barras blockaded Chesapeake Bay, de Choisy prepared on the side of Gloucester for some vigorous offensive movements, and the united army of the Americans and the French was massed at Williamsburg.

This latter town, the capital of Virginia, was of great importance before the war. It consisted of two large parallel streets intersected by three or four others. The college, the government house and the capital were still handsome buildings, although they had been damaged since they had been partly abandoned. The churches were only used for storehouses and hospitals. The inhabitants had deserted the city. The country had been laid waste by the English to such an extent that neither hay nor oats could be found any longer for the horses, and it was necessary to let them graze in the fields.

We may find in the *Maryland Papers* some letters from Weedon to La Fayette, the English General Philips and others, which bear witness to the worth of his character and his dignity. The behavior of the militia at Camden, where they abandoned de Kalb and the regular troops on the Maryland Line, inspired the French with this contempt, which they expressed on all occasions.

CHAPTER XIX.

Investment of Yorktown.—On the 28th of September the army starts to invest Yorktown—Saint-Simon—The English evacuate their advance posts—Brilliant engagement on the part of de Choisy.

On the 28th of September, the whole of the combined army began to move at an early hour to invest Yorktown. It marched in a single column to within five miles of Williamsburg, where two roads meet. The American army followed that on the right, while the French advanced along the one on the left. The French army was composed as follows: 1st, Volunteers under the command of the Baron de Saint-Simon, a brother of the general;[198] 2d, Grenadiers and *chasseurs* of the seven regiments of the army, commanded by the Baron de Viomênil; 3d, The brigades of Agénais, Soissonnais and Bourbonnais. Within a mile of the town the three brigades separated and advanced to within pistol range, and, by taking advantage of some woods and marshy creeks as screens, formed a continuous line that extended from the York River on the left to the marsh near Governor Nelson's house.

The brigade of Bourbonnais had hardly reached the place that it was to occupy, when information was given of the approach of a force of the enemy. Rochambeau at once sent orders to de Laval to take the artillery pickets of the brigade to drive them away. Five or six cannon shots sufficed to disperse this force.

Whether Lord Cornwallis did not expect so prompt a movement, or whether he considered it useless to extend

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[198] On returning from this campaign, he was appointed a colonel in France; he was only twenty-three years of age. But he resigned and devoted himself to economic studies. He is the head of the famous Saint-Simonian School. See *Biographical Notices*.

his posts beyond the redoubts that comprised his entrenched camp, the advance guards met with nothing but this feeble obstacle. The woods, moreover, favored their approach. This successive deploying of the columns to occupy the ground, which was uneven and intersected by hedges, was accomplished with great rapidity.

Washington, on his side, at the head of the American forces, had to halt in front of some swamps where the bridges were broken. A whole day and part of a night were spent in repairing them.

On the 29th, the American troops were able to advance over the bridges which had been rebuilt. The English who were opposed to them retired, but not without firing a few cannon shots which killed three soldiers and wounded three others. The French, on their side, did some reconnoitring without meeting much opposition from the enemy. Only one man was wounded.

During the night of the 29th and 30th, the English, whose outposts touched those of the French, evacuated two redoubts opposite to the French, and one opposite the Americans, as also all the small batteries that they had erected for the defence of a creek to the right of these works. Doubtless, they considered that this line of defence was far too extensive. It is none the less true that in surrendering these important positions to the allies, without striking a blow, they facilitated their success by delivering them from many hesitations and embarrassments. On the morning of the 30th, Rochambeau forthwith sent his aids-de-camp, Charles de Lameth and Dumas, at the head of a hundred grenadiers and *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais, to occupy the strongest of these redoubts, called Pigeon Hill. The guide who conducted these officers assured them that they were within half a gunshot of the fort; and as yet they could not see it. This was owing to its position in the middle of the woods. They expected some sharp skirmishes at least. The ground was well suited for this kind of defence. But

the place was quite deserted, and they had nothing to do but to establish themselves there.

Rochambeau then reconnoitred the abandoned line. He was accompanied by Guillaume de Deux-Ponts. Three hundred paces from the redoubt, on the side of the city, they came to a ravine twenty-five feet deep, which was no longer defended, although it formed a natural circumvalation around the city. Fifty *chasseurs* of the regiment of Deux-Ponts occupied the second redoubt, while the Americans took possession of the third and fortified it. They even built a fourth, to connect the latter with the other two. While they worked at this, the enemy's cannon killed four or five of their men.

During the same morning of the 30th, the Baron de Viomenil, wishing to reconnoitre the enemy's works that were on the left of the French, ordered the volunteers of Saint-Simon to advance. They easily took possession of the wood in front of them. But the outposts that they had forced to fall back to a redoubt kept up a lively fire of round shot and grape, which killed one hussar, broke the arm of another, and broke the thigh of de Bouillet, who was an officer of Agénais. After this reconnoitring, Rochambeau had the camp occupied by the brigade of Bourbonnais advanced half a mile.

On the 1st of October, the two redoubts on which the Americans were at work were not yet finished, and the enemy did not cease to cannonade them. They killed, however, only two men, and could not stop the work, which was not finished until the 5th. The losses of the Americans after that were trifling, the enemy's fire having slackened very much during the last two days. I ought to mention as a strange occurrence, the destruction of a patrol of four American soldiers, on the 2d, by a single round shot. Three of these men were killed outright, and the fourth severely wounded.[199]

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[199] Cromot du Bourg.

Neither were the French inactive; Guillaume de Deux-Ponts reconnoitred every point in front of the troops and ascertained that the right of the enemy's fortifications was the strongest part of their defences.

On the 3d, de Choisy had fought a brilliant engagement. Lauzun thus speaks of it in his memoirs:

"M. de Choisy, immediately after his arrival, began by sending away General Weedon and all the militia, telling them that they were cowards,[200] and in five minutes he frightened them almost as much as the English, and certainly that was saying a good deal. The next morning he wished to occupy the camp that I had reconnoitred. A moment before entering the plain of Gloucester, some dragoons of the State of Virginia, who were very much frightened, came to tell us that they had seen some English dragoons outside, and, for fear of accident, they had come at full speed without reconnoitring. I went forward to try to learn more. I saw a very pretty woman at the door of a small house on the high road; I went and questioned her; she told me that Colonel Tarleton had left her house that instant; that she did not know whether many troops had come out of Gloucester; and that Colonel Tarleton was anxious to *shake hands with the French Duke.* I assured her that I had come expressly to give him that satisfaction. She pitied me much, thinking, I believe from experience, that it was impossible to resist Tarleton; the American troops were in a similar state of mind.

"I was not a hundred paces from that place when I heard my advance guard firing pistol shots. I went forward at a full gallop to find a piece of ground on which I could draw up my force in order of battle. On arriving, I saw the English cavalry, which was three times as numerous as my own.[201] I charged it without halting. Tarleton

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[200] See *ante*, page 185, note also page 191.

[201] It was composed of four hundred horsemen, and was supported by two hundred infantry, who were foraging.

recognized me, and came towards me with his pistol raised. We were about to fight between the two troops, when his horse was thrown down by one of his dragoons pursued by one of my lancers. I rushed towards him to take him prisoner;[202] a troop of English dragoons got between us and protected his retreat; I kept his horse. He charged a second time against me without breaking my ranks. I charged him a third time, routed a part of his cavalry, and pursued him to the entrenchments of Gloucester. He lost an officer and about fifty men, and I took a pretty large number of prisoners."

In this brilliant engagement, during which de Choisy remained in the rear with a part of the militia[203] to support Lauzun's legion, the commander of the English infantry was killed, and Tarleton himself seriously wounded. The loss of the French was small; three hussars were killed and eleven wounded. Billy, Dillon and Dutertre, captains of the legion, were slightly wounded; Robert Dillon, Sheldon, Beffroy and Monthurel distinguished themselves. As an immediate result of this success, de Choisy was able to move forward his advance posts to within a mile of Gloucester. In this new position the pickets were firing continually at one another, and de Lauzun says that he could not sleep during the rest of the siege.

De Lauzun does not relate in his memoirs the following occurrence preserved by another officer,[204] and which does de Lauzun credit. As he returned with his troop, he perceived one of the lancers of his legion, at some distance, defending himself against two of Tarleton's lancers. Without saying a word to any one, he gave his horse his head and went to his soldier's aid.

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[202] One should notice this trait in Lauzun's character; his adversary being unhorsed during this sort of a duel, he runs towards him, not to kill him, but to take him prisoner.

[203] Does not this conduct of de Choisy justify that of Weedon, who was unwilling to expose his militia imprudently? See page 185.

[204] Cromot du Bourg.

CHAPTER XX.

Continuation of the Operations before Yorktown.—From the 4th to the 12th of October, de Vioménil commands the works for the siege of Yorktown—Daily composition of the investing forces—The English redoubts delay the attack.

The following nights (the 4th and 5th of October), the Baron de Vioménil, the commanding officer of the day, ordered the patrols to advance up to the intrenchments of the enemy, which they did successfully. They all had to fire some shots, and the enemy, being uneasy, incessantly fired cannon, but without doing any harm.

On the 6th of October, nearly all the siege artillery had arrived; the faggots, gabions and hurdles were prepared; and the site of the trench was thoroughly reconnoitred. Rochambeau gave orders for commencing it that very night.[205]

The details for this service were:

Major-General, the Baron de Vioménil.

Brigadier, the Count de Custine.

Bourbonnais, two battalions.

Soissonnais, two battalions.

Night-workers, a thousand men.

These thousand men consisted of two hundred and fifty, drawn from each of the four regiments which were guarding the trenches, that of Touraine, which was intrusted with a special piece of work that I shall mention hereafter, not being included.

De Vioménil, at five o'clock in the evening, drew up the regiments in the places that they were to cover. The engineer officers (de Querenet for the French, and du Portail for

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[205] I have found the details of the service during the siege in the *Journal* of de Ménonville.

the Americans) at nightfall, about eight o'clock, posted the laborers, who at once set to work in the most profound silence. They were not disturbed by the English, who turned all their attention to and directed all their fire upon the regiment of Touraine. That regiment was ordered to erect, at the extreme left of the French line, a battery of eight cannon and ten mortars to serve for a false attack. During that night, and on that side only, one grenadier was killed, six others wounded, and an artillery captain, de La Loge, had his thigh carried away by a cannon ball. He died a few hours afterwards.

The left of the attack began at the York River, about four hundred yards from the town, and the parallel extended to the right, sloping down to the new redoubt built by the Americans, which was about five hundred yards from the town. At that point the parallel joined the one the Americans were building.

On the 7th of October, the service was organized as follows:

Major-General, de Chastellux.

Agenais, two battalions.

Saintonge, two battalions.

Night-workers, nine hundred men.

At daybreak the works for the principal attack were in a condition to receive troops. They busied themselves in establishing batteries and also communications between these batteries and the open trenches. Three men were wounded.

On the 8th, the major-general was the Marquis de Saint-Simon.

Brigadier, de Custine.

Gâtinais, two battalions.

Royal Deux-Ponts, two battalions.

Auxiliaries, the grenadiers of Soissonnais and Saintonge.

Night-workers, eight hundred men.

The battery erected by the regiment of Touraine was

finished, as well as another built by the Americans; but orders had been given not to fire again. The enemy, on the contrary, cannonaded continually. That night they killed but one man and wounded another.

On the 9th, the major-general was the Count de Vioménil.

Bourbonnais, two battalions.

Soissonnais, two battalions.

Auxiliaries, the *chasseurs* of Agenais and of Gâtinais.

Night-workers, seven hundred men.

A frigate of the enemy, the *Guadeloupe*, of twenty-six guns, having attempted to ascend the river, the battery of Touraine fired on it with hot shot. The frigate took refuge under the fire from the town; but the *Charon*, an enemy's ship of fifty guns, was hit and burnt.[206] In the evening, the American battery also commenced a steady fire. Deserters said that Lord Cornwallis had been astonished at this artillery attack. His troops were disconcerted by it, for their general had assured them that the besiegers, in spite of their numbers, were not formidable, since they had no cannon. That day two men were wounded.

On the 10th, in the morning, eight flat boats of the enemy, laden with soldiers, ascended the river about a mile and attempted to land on the side of de Choisy. He, informed of their project, received them with discharges of artillery and forced them to return. The same day, the French unmasked a strong battery in the centre of their front. Its fire seemed to do much havoc among the batteries of the enemy, who slackened their fire.

Major-General, the Baron de Vioménil.

Brigadier, de Custine.

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[206] "Never could a more horrible or more beautiful spectacle be seen. On a dark night, the ships with all their open port-holes discharging sheafs of fire, the cannon shots that were going off, the appearance of the whole roadstead, the ships under topsails flying from the burning vessels, all that formed a terrible and sublime spectacle." (*Mercure de France*, November, 1781; report of a French superior officer.)

Agenais and Saintonge, each two battalions.
Night-workers, three hundred men.
One soldier was killed and three wounded.

On the 11th, with de Chastellux as major-general, eight hundred laborers, under the protection of two battalions of Gâtinais and two battalions of Deux-Ponts, began the construction of the second parallel at about three hundred yards in front of the first and within gunshot of the town. They expected a vigorous sortie and, consequently, had reinforced the usual four battalions on service with some auxiliary companies of grenadiers of Saintonge and *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais. But only a few shots were exchanged with some weak English patrols, who, doubtless, did not expect to find the besiegers so near. Four men were wounded in the great attack and three in that of the regiment of Touraine. The Americans maintained their works on a level with those of the French.

On the 12th, the major-general was de Saint-Simon.
Brigadier, de Custine.
Bourbonnais, two battalions.
Soissonnias, two battalions.
Auxiliaries, grenadiers of Agenais and of Gâtinais.

Six hundred men were employed to finish the second parallel and construct batteries. The enemy kept up on this point a steady fire, which killed six men and wounded eleven. Two of the officers of Soissonnais, de Miollis and Dursne were wounded.

On the 13th, six hundred men, protected by four battalions of Agenais and Saintonge, under the command of the Viscount de Viomênil, major-general, were busy erecting works along the same points. Many bomb-shells and round shots were fired on both sides. One man was killed and twenty-eight wounded.

That this second parallel, like the first, might extend to the

right as far as the York River, it was necessary for the allies to capture two redoubts which were in their road. One of these redoubts was at the extreme right, on the bank of the river in front of the American forces; the other, which was not more than two hundred yards from the first, was at the junction of the parallel of the Americans with that of the French, and to the right of the latter. The capture of these redoubts had become indispensable.

CHAPTER XXI.

Siege and Capture of the Redoubts of Yorktown.—De Vioménil wishes to make an assault—Rochambeau dissuades him from it—Rochambeau's coolness in reconnoitring—The attack is decided on—The regiment of Gâtinais—Details respecting the forces that participated in the assault—The French troops and the American militia vie with one another in ardor—La Fayette and de Vioménil—Colonel Barber—The redoubts are taken.

On the 12th, the generals, accompanied by a few officers of their staff, among whom was Dumas, repaired to a battery that was situated at the attacking point of the French beyond a ravine which separated it from the redoubt that was farthest from the river. The Baron de Vioménil showed great impatience. He maintained that the cannon of the battery in which they were had sufficiently damaged the redoubt, and that the attack was delayed unnecessarily, since the fire of the enemy seemed to have ceased. "You are mistaken," Rochambeau said to him; "but by reconnoitring the fort from a nearer point we may be assured of it." He ordered the firing to cease, forbade his aids-de-camp to follow him, and allowed only his son, the Viscount de Rochambeau, to accompany him. He went out of the trenches, slowly descended into the ravine by making a circuit, and

then, ascending the opposite slope, went as near the redoubt as the abatis that surrounded it. After having examined it thoroughly, he returned to the battery without the enemy having disturbed him by a single shot. "Well," said he, "the abatis and the palisades are still in good condition. We must redouble our fire to break them and destroy the top of the parapet; we shall see to-morrow whether the pear is ripe." This act of coolness and courage moderated the Baron de Viomênil's ardor.[207]

The attack on the redoubts was appointed for the night of the 14th. The Baron de Viomênil was the major-general on duty and de Custine the brigadier. There were in the trenches two battalions of Gâtinais, two others of Deux-Ponts, and, in addition, some auxiliaries drawn from the grenadiers of Saintonge and the *chasseurs* of Bourbonnais, Agenais and Soissonnais.

In the morning, de Viomênil separated the grenadiers and *chasseurs* from the two regiments in the trenches and formed them into a battalion, the command of which he gave to Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, and at the same time told him that he thought he thereby gave him a proof of his confidence. These words were very pleasing to de Deux-Ponts, who had no doubt of what was expected of him. In the afternoon de Viomênil came for de Deux-Ponts and led him away with the Baron de l'Estrade, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Gâtinais, whom he gave to Deux-Ponts for his second in command, and two sergeants of the grenadiers and *chasseurs* of the same regiment, Le Cornet and Foret.

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[207] On the 12th of October, 1781, there were in the hospital of Williamsburg four hundred sick or wounded and thirteen officers, with an entire want of supplies. Assistance was needed not only for the ambulance, but also for de Choisy, who was on the side of Gloucester. Blanchard displayed in the discharge of his office great activity and praiseworthy zeal; but he confessed that if the number of the wounded had been greater, it would have been impossible to have paid them the necessary attention.

These last two, as brave as they were intelligent, according to Guillaume de Deux-Ponts' account, were especially charged to reconnoitre with great exactness the road that the attacking force was to follow during the night. They were to march at the head of the axe-men. De Deux-Ponts then returned to form his battalion, and led it to the point of the trenches that was nearest to that from which it was to start.

At this moment Rochambeau came to the trench, and, addressing the soldiers of Gâtinais, he said to them: "My children, if I have need of you this night, I hope that you have not forgotten that we have served together in that brave regiment of *Spotless Auvergne* (*Auvergne sans tache*), an honorable surname which it has deserved from the time of its creation." They answered him that if the restoration of their name was promised them, they would allow themselves to be killed to the last man. Rochambeau promised it to them, and they kept their word, as we shall see. The king, on the report that Rochambeau made to him of this affair, wrote with his own hand, "Good for Royal Auvergne."

The Baron de Vioménil directed the attack; but the immediate command of it was given to Guillaume de Deux-Ponts. The *chasseurs* of Gâtinais, commanded by the Baron de l'Estrade, were at the head of the column. They were divided into platoons. In the front ranks were the two sergeants, Foret and Le Cornet, with eight carpenters, preceding a hundred men, some of whom carried fagots and others ladders or axes. Charles de Lameth, who had just given up service in the trenches to Dumas, joined the first troop, as also de Damas. The grenadiers of Gâtinais came next, drawn up in files, under the command of de l'Estrade, and then the grenadiers and *chasseurs* of Deux-Ponts in a column divided into sections. The *chasseurs* of the regiments of Bourbonnais and Agenais followed, a hundred paces in the rear of the battalion that was commanded by Guillaume de

Deux-Ponts.[208] The second battalion of the regiment of Gâtinais, commanded by the Count de Rostaing, completed the reserve. De Vauban, whom Rochambeau had detailed to bring him an account of what should happen, kept himself near to de Deux-Ponts. The latter gave orders not to fire until they had reached the parapet, and forbade any one to leap into the intrenchments before he was ordered to do so. After these last instructions, they waited for the appointed signal for commencing their march.

The attack of the French troops against the redoubt on the left was combined with that of the Americans, under the command of La Fayette and Steuben upon the redoubt to the right. Both attacks were to begin at the same signal. The regiment of Touraine was to support them simultaneously by a feigned attack, and de Choisy by a demonstration on the side of Gloucester.

The six bombs that were to give the signal were fired about eleven o'clock, and the four hundred men that Guillaume de Deux-Ponts commanded commenced to march in profound silence. When about a hundred and twenty paces from the redoubt, they were perceived by a Hessian sentinel, who, from the top of the parapet, cried in German, *Wer da?* (*Who goes there?*) No answer was given, but they doubled their pace. Immediately the enemy fired. They did not reply to this, but the carpenters, who marched at the head, attacked, with their axes, the abatis, which, in spite of the continuous fire of the previous days, were still strong and in good order. It checked for some moments the attacking column, which, finding itself twenty-five paces from the fort, would have been much exposed, had not darkness prevented the enemy from firing with precision. As soon as the abatis and the palisades were crossed, the faggots were thrown into

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[208] It should be noticed that Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, although he was only a lieutenant-colonel, was always intrusted with more important posts than the marquis, his brother, who was colonel of the same regiment.

the ditch, and all rivalled one another in ardor and activity to break through the fraises or to mount to the assault.

Charles de Lameth was the first to reach the parapet, and he received at the very muzzle of the guns the first discharge of the Hessian infantry. One ball shattered his right knee, and another passed through his left thigh. De l'Estrade, notwithstanding his age, scaled the parapet with him. But such was the ardor of the soldiers that one of them, not recognizing his leader, hung on to his coat to aid himself to mount, and precipitated him into the ditch, where more than two hundred men passed over him. Although he was bruised all over, de l'Estrade got up and again mounted to the assault. De Deux-Ponts also fell into the ditch after a first attempt. De Sillègue, a young officer of the *chasseurs* of Gâtinais, who was a little in advance, saw his embarrassment and offered him his arm to help him in mounting. At the same instant he received a musket shot in the thigh. A small number of men finally gained the parapet, and de Deux-Ponts gave the word to fire. The enemy kept up a warm fire and charged with the bayonet, but without forcing any one back. The carpenters had made, at last, a large breach in the pallisades, which enabled the bulk of the troops to reach the parapet. They filled it quickly, and the fire of the assailants became sharper, while the enemy posted themselves behind a sort of intrenchment composed of casks, which did not protect them very much. The moment had come to rush into the redoubt, and de Deux-Ponts was about to order a charge with the bayonet, when the English laid down their arms. A general cry of *Long live the King!* (*Vive le roi!*) was raised by the French, who had just taken the fort. This cry was echoed by the troops in the trenches. But the English answered it from the other posts with a salvo of artillery and musketry. "Never did I behold a more majestic spectacle. I did not stay there long; I had to attend to the wounded, to have order preserved amongst

the prisoners, and to make arrangements for holding the post I had just captured."[209]

The enemy fired a few shots against the redoubt, but made no serious attempt to retake it. As a sentinel came to inform de Deux-Ponts that the enemy was appearing, he raised his head above the parapet to look; at the same moment a ball struck the parapet near to his head and ricochetted, filling his face with sand and gravel. This wound was trifling, but nevertheless it compelled him to leave his post and to go to the ambulance.

During the seven minutes that sufficed to take this redoubt, the French lost forty-six men killed and sixty-two wounded, amongst whom were six officers: Charles de Lameth, Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, de Sireuil, captain in the regiment of Gâtinais, de Sillègue and de Lutzon. De Berthelot, captain in second in the regiment of Gâtinais, was killed.

As soon as Dumas was told of the wound of his friend, Charles de Lameth, he hastened to him at the ambulance. At first the surgeons declared that he could not be saved without the amputation of both thighs, but the chief surgeon, Robillard, rather than reduce a young officer of so much promise to a cripple, was unwilling to perform the amputation, and trusted to nature for the cure of such serious wounds. Success crowned his confidence. Charles de Lameth quickly recovered, and two months afterwards returned to France.

De Sireuil died of his wound forty days afterwards.

The enemy also lost heavily. Eighteen of their dead were counted remaining in the redoubts. Forty soldiers and three officers were taken prisoners. The hundred and seventy other men escaped, carrying their wounded off with them.

The redoubt opposite the American army was taken still

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[209] Deux-Ponts.

more quickly, and we may say that in this respect the allied armies were eager rivals. This rivalry on the part of the leaders even caused some jealousy. On the eve of the attack the Baron de Vioménil was so unceremonious as to show to La Fayette the little confidence that he had in the American troops for the proposed attack, and too openly displayed his contempt for these unseasoned militia. La Fayette, a little piqued, said to him: "We are young soldiers, it is true; but our tactics on such an occasion are to unload our guns and go straight ahead with the bayonet." He did as he had said. He gave the command of the American troops to Colonel Hamilton, and took Colonels Laurens and de Gimat under his command. The ardor of the troops was so great that they did not give the sappers time to clear the way by cutting down the abatis. Colonel Barber's battalion, which was at the head of the column intended to support the attack, having been detached to help the advance guard, arrived just as the besiegers were beginning to take possession of the fortifications. According to La Fayette's own account the Americans did not fire a gun, but only used the bayonet. De Gimat was wounded by his side. The rest of the column, under Generals Muhlenberg and Hazen, advanced with perfect discipline and wonderful steadiness. The battalion of Colonel Vose deployed on the left. The remainder of the division and the rear-guard successively took their positions, under the fire of the enemy, without replying, in perfect order and silence.[210]

The redoubt was instantly taken. It was defended by only forty men, while there were a hundred and fifty in the other fort. As the fire of the French still continued, La Fayette, considering it a good opportunity to give the Baron de Vioménil a lesson in modesty, sent his aid-de-camp, Colonel Barber, to ask him whether he needed any assistance

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[210] *Mémoires* of La Fayette.

from the Americans. This proceeding was really useless, for the French were only seven minutes in making themselves masters of the position they had attacked. Besides, they had encountered more serious obstacles and a more vigorous resistance. But Colonel Barber exhibited on this occasion a coolness that astonished the French officers. On his way he was wounded by the wind from an enemy's ball, which caused a contusion in his side. Yet he would not suffer his wound to be dressed until he had delivered his message, which, moreover, received no answer.

During the night and the following day, the allies were employed in continuing the second parallel through the redoubt taken by the French as far as that which the Americans had captured; then they planted in this parallel a battery of cannon which immediately commenced firing.

While the French and the Americans rivalled one another in courage, two feigned attacks held in check a part of Lord Cornwallis' forces. To the left of the French, on the bank of the York River, the batteries erected by the regiment of Touraine opened a sharp fire upon the enemy's works. The French did not lose a man at that point.[211]

On the side of Gloucester, de Choisy also received orders to make a feint. Carried away by his bravery, he resolved to make it as serious as he could and, sword in hand, to carry the enemy's intrenchments. With this object, he had axes distributed to the American militia, to cut down the palisades. But at the first shot, many of the militia threw down their axes and guns and took to flight. Thus abandoned, with only a few companies of French infantry, de Choisy had to fall back upon Lauzun's cavalry after having lost a dozen men. Furious at his failure, he was preparing two days afterwards to renew his attack, when he was prevented by the preliminaries of surrender.

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[211] After the night of the great attack (the 14th and 15th of October, 1781), the number of sick in the ambulance was about five hundred, including twenty officers. (Blanchard).

CHAPTER XXII.

Capture of Yorktown; Surrender of Cornwallis.—Cornwallis' position becomes untenable—He sends a flag of truce to Washington on the 17th—Articles of capitulation are signed on the 19th—Unhappiness of the English officers—Barbarous orders of the English ministry—Revolting cruelties of the English officers—Losses on both sides—Noble behavior of Governor Nelson.

Meanwhile, the success obtained by the allied troops on the night of the 14th of October had filled with too much confidence the soldiers of Agenais and Soissonnais, who were to be in the trenches the next night with de Chastellux as major-general. They were not sufficiently watchful, stationed but few sentinels, and, for the most part, went to sleep, leaving no one on guard at the batteries. At five o'clock in the morning, the English sent a body of six hundred picked men against the advanced posts of the French and the Americans. They surprised these posts, spiked a battery of seven cannon on the side of the French, killed one man, and wounded thirty-seven others, as well as several officers: Marin, captain of Soissonnais; de Bargues, lieutenant of Bourbonnais; d'Houdetot, lieutenant of Agenais; de Léaumont, sub-lieutenant of Agenais; and de Pusignan, lieutenant of artillery. De Beurguissont, captain of Agenais, who had been intrusted with the guard and the defence of the redoubt that was captured the previous night, was himself wounded and taken prisoner. The English only retired upon the arrival of de Chastellux, who came up late with his reserve. He made every exertion to repair the mischief that the enemy had done in their successful sortie. He pushed on with vigor the erection of new batteries, and, thanks to the zeal of d'Aboville, the commander of the artillery, the cannon, badly spiked, were able to recommence their fire six hours after this check.

By the morning of the 16th, other batteries were ready and began to rake the enemy's works. The fraises were destroyed in a number of places and some breaches made. The enemy did not fail to reply to this attack, and the French had two men killed and ten wounded. The Marquis de Saint-Simon, who was on duty as major-general, with de Custine as brigadier, was slightly wounded. But he would not leave the trenches until after the expiration of his twenty-four hours of service, when the Count de Viomênil came to relieve him with two battalions of Bourbonnais and two of Royal Deux-Ponts. An artillery officer, de Bellenger, was also killed on that day.

Lord Cornwallis' position, however, was no longer tenable. He had resisted to the last extremity, and a fourth of his army was in the hospitals. In vain he had expected succor from New York, and he found himself destitute of provisions and ammunition. Already, on the 17th, at ten o'clock in the morning, he had sent an officer with a flag of truce to the camp of the allies to ask for a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours. But Washington, not having found his request sufficiently explicit, had ordered the firing to continue. In fact, the firing was kept up until four o'clock; at that hour another officer with a flag of truce came, who submitted new proposals to the generalissimo. The attack was discontinued, and all the 18th was taken up in negotiations. The Viscount de Noailles, on behalf of the French army, Colonel Laurens for the American army, and de Granchain on behalf of the fleet, had been named by their respective generals to draw up, in conjunction with some officers of Lord Cornwallis' army the articles of capitulation. Cornwallis asked to march out with drums beating and flags flying, according to the usage when the *honors of war* are granted. The Count de Rochambeau and the French officers, who had no especial complaint against the English general, were of opinion that these should be accorded to him. The American generals were

not opposed to this opinion. But La Fayette, who recollected that the same enemy, at the time of the surrender of Charleston, had compelled General Lincoln to keep the American flags furled and not to play a national march, insisted that they should use reprisals towards the enemy and succeeded in having the terms of surrender drawn up on these same conditions, which were adopted.

The surrender was signed on the 19th, at noon. At one o'clock the allies took possession of the English works, and at two o'clock the garrison defiled between the two lines that the Americans and the French formed, and laid down their arms, at the command of General Lincoln, in a field to the left of the French lines. The garrison of Gloucester defiled on their side before de Choisy; then the captured army reentered Yorktown and remained there until the 21st. It was divided into several corps, which were led into different parts of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Lord Cornwallis feigned sickness so that he might not go out at the head of his troops. They were commanded by General O'Hara. Adjutant-General Dumas was ordered to meet these troops and guide the column. He placed himself to the left of General O'Hara, and as the latter asked him where Rochambeau was stationed, Dumas replied: "On our left, at the head of the French line." Immediately, General O'Hara quickened his horse's pace that he might give up his sword to the French general. Dumas, guessing his intention, galloped forward to place himself between the English general and Rochambeau, and at the same time Rochambeau pointed out to the English general Washington, who was opposite him at the head of the American army. "You are mistaken," Dumas said to him; "the general-in-chief of our army is on the right;" then he led him to Washington. As General O'Hara raised his sword to give it up, Washington stopped him, saying, "*Never from so good a hand.*"

The English generals and officers seemed much affected by their defeat, and especially showed their dissatisfaction

at having had to submit to rebels, for whom, until then, they had always professed publicly the greatest disdain, and even a contempt which they had often carried so far as to forget the most usual laws of humanity.[212]

Dumas, in describing this spite of the English officers, which he was well able to observe, since he led the column of prisoners, relates that Colonel Abercromby, of the English guards, at the moment when his troops laid down their arms, went away quickly, covering his face and biting his sword.

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[212] The English troops committed, during the war of independence, and in all parts of the world where they had to fight, acts of barbarism that were revolting in character, and opposed, not only to the laws of humanity, but also to those which custom has consecrated in the wars between civilized people. The generals, still more than the soldiers, are responsible before posterity for the outrages of every sort that they coolly ordered, and over the execution of which they presided unmoved.

From 1775, while Parliament was talking of peace, orders were given to put everything in America to fire and sword. These barbarous commands found executors zealous to carry out the views of the ministry. General Gage, shut up in Boston, avenged himself for his forced inaction by ill-treating the American prisoners, which drew down upon him just reproaches from Washington and threats of reprisals that were never executed. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore committed ravages that procured him the name of tyrant of that province, and which were only forgotten owing to the depredations of the traitor, Arnold. At the same time Guy Carleton reigned as a sanguinary despot over the unhappy people of Canada.

Every method of doing an injury seemed legitimate to them. In 1776, they counterfeited so great a quantity of paper money that they discredited this fictitious currency, the compulsory circulation of which Congress had to order. While the revolted colonists confined themselves to employing the Indians against the hostile tribes and thus opposing them to one another, the English promised a reward to the Indians for every American scalp that they brought in.

After the victory of Saratoga, General Gates found the town of Oesopus on the Hudson, as also the villages in the neighborhood, reduced to ashes by orders of Generals Vaughan and Wallace. The inhabitants had taken refuge in the forests and preferred to expose themselves to the pangs of hunger rather than undergo the outrages which a ferocious conqueror inflicted on the sick, the women, the old men and the children.

Both sides behaved with the greatest courtesy, and exchanged visits. But in these demonstrations of politeness there cropped out on the side of the vanquished a feeling of bitterness, which appeared in satirical or contemptuous references to the Americans, to whom the English were unwilling to admit that they had had to surrender. Thus Washington, Rochambeau and La Fayette each sent an aid-de-camp to present their compliments to Lord Cornwallis, who detained La Fayette's aid-de-camp, Major Washington, a relation of the general. He told him that he considered it important that the general against whom he had carried on this campaign should be satisfied that he had only surrendered owing to the impossibility of defending himself any longer.[213]

In the beginning of May, 1778, during an expedition in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, Colonel Mawhood did not fear to publish the following notice: "The colonel will reduce the rebels, their wives and their children to beggary and destitution, and he has appended hereto the names of those who will be the first objects of his vengeance." (Ramsay I., p. 335.)

On the 17th of June, 1779, the inhabitants of Fairfield, near New York, were subjected to the last excesses of that ferocity so often charged against the British troops. Their excursions in Chesapeake Bay were marked by those same atrocities that the pen is unable to describe.

It would be too long to mention the shameful exploits of Butler, Arnold and Rodney; but there is one occurrence, less widely known, which I cannot pass over in silence.

To stop the march of the allied forces before Yorktown, Lord Cornwallis, instead of attacking them like a soldier, had recourse to tricks that the Indians alone would have been capable of. He had the heads of oxen, dead horses, and even the corpses of negroes thrown into all the wells. The French army suffered, indeed, from the want of water, but it might have been molested in a braver and more worthy manner. It was, however, with similar arms that Cornwallis had attempted previously to destroy La Fayette's little army. All the negroes who had deserted from their plantations, or whom he had carried off, he had inoculated, and then compelled them to go back to carry the contagion into the American camp. La Fayette's vigilance defeated this barbarous trick. (*Mercure de France*, December, 1781, p. 109.)

[213] On the 21st, Lord Cornwallis gave a dinner to the Duke de Lauzun, who, returning from Gloucester, was passing by the park; the general

The same General O'Hara, who had wished to surrender his sword to Rochambeau rather than to Washington, when one day at the table of the French generals, pretended that he did not wish to be heard by La Fayette and said that he was pleased that he had not been captured by the Americans alone. "It seems," La Fayette at once replied, "that General O'Hara does not like repetitions." He thus reminded him that the Americans alone had already taken him prisoner, for the first time, with Burgoyne. Some years afterwards, the French alone captured him, for the third time, at Toulon.

Besides fifteen hundred sailors and sixty-eight men taken prisoners during the siege, the captured garrison amounted to six thousand one hundred and ninety-eight men. But there were eighteen hundred and seventy-five in the hospitals of Yorktown. These troops comprised the first battalion of the King of England's Guards; the 17th, the 23d, the 33d and the 45th regiments of infantry; the 71st, the 76th and the 80th regiments of Scotch Highlanders; some Hessian regiments of the Hereditary Prince of Boos; some German regiments of Anspach and Bayreuth; the light infantry of the British legion and the Queen's Rangers.[214]

In addition, there were two hundred and fourteen pieces of artillery, of all calibres, seven thousand three hundred and twenty small arms, twenty-two flags and four hundred and fifty-seven horses. The English also lost sixty-four vessels, about twenty of which they sank. But the forty that remained were in good condition, five were armed, and

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was pretty lively and very amiable. The next day, the Viscount de Damas, on behalf of Rochambeau, went to invite him to dinner. That day he seemed sadder than usual. He had nothing to reproach himself with; but he complained of Clinton.

[214] Two days after the surrender, the troops of Anspach, officers as well as men, proposed to the Duke de Lauzun to serve in his legion. The duke answered them that they belonged to the Americans, and that he could not take them into the service of the king of France without the consent of the king and of Congress.

the frigate the *Guadeloupe*, of twenty-four guns, which had been sunk, could be raised.

The French had lost during the siege two hundred and fifty-three men killed or wounded, of whom eighteen were officers. Only one of the officers was killed, on the last day of the siege; it was Lieutenant of Artillery de Bellanger.

Although the French troops were treated in all respects as auxiliaries, and the French generals, as we have seen, had always acknowledged the supremacy of the American generals, yet the latter anxiously gave to their allies the preference in the matter of provisions and of all those attentions that depended on themselves. Thus it was that when the troops of the Marquis de Saint-Simon joined those of La Fayette, the young general ordered that flour should not be given to the American soldiers until the French had received provisions for three days. Consequently, the Americans hardly ever had anything but Indian meal. La Fayette took the horses of the gentlemen of the country to mount the French hussars, and the superior officers gave up their horses for the same object. Yet not the least complaint was made respecting these preferences, which the American soldiers admitted were properly granted to strangers who had come from a distance to fight in their behalf.

During this campaign, General Nelson, the Governor of Virginia, gave proofs of devotion, courage, disinterestedness, and respect for the laws which have become celebrated and which I cannot pass over in silence. At the head of his militia he displayed uncommon bravery and zeal. He paid them with his own money by mortgaging his property. Besides, after having had the allied army encamped among his crops and the artillery fire directed on the houses of Yorktown, of which the finest, behind the enemy's works, belonged to himself and his family, he made no claim for the losses that he had suffered. Still more, as he was in want of some means of transportation to bring provisions

and the siege artillery more quickly, he put into requisition some carriages and horses of the country; but first he took those of his farmers and his own finest teams. Yet his fellow-citizens called this action criminal, as they said it was arbitrary; and he was summoned before the legislative assembly. He did not hesitate to resign his functions as governor to come to clear himself before his fellow-citizens; and, while he gave an account of his conduct, he could truthfully challenge any one whomsoever to show that he had contributed of his own property and fortune more than himself to the success of that important campaign. He was acquitted with praise, but he would not resume his duties as governor, which he left to Harrison. The friendship of Washington and the proofs of esteem that Rochambeau came to give him in his retirement must have consoled him somewhat for the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sequel to the Surrender of Yorktown.—Lauzun is intrusted with carrying the news of the surrender to France—Enthusiasm which the taking of Yorktown excites at Philadelphia—Congress reassembles—Resolutions adopted as marks of gratitude to Washington, Rochambeau and de Grasse—G. de Deux-Ponts leaves for France to carry a detailed account of the surrender—Satisfaction and promises of the king—The death of Maurepas prevents their fulfilment—Fall of the North Ministry at London—The surrender of Yorktown settles the question of American independence—Clinton contents himself with placing a feeble garrison at Charleston—He withdraws to New York—Dumas is detailed to destroy the intrenchments of Portsmouth—Departure of de Grasse for the West Indies.

As soon as the surrender was signed, Rochambeau sent for de Lauzun and told him that he wished him to carry this great news to France. Lauzun excused himself from the mission and advised him rather to send de Charlus, who would thereby find an opportunity of getting again into favor with his father, the Duke de Castries. But Rochambeau answered de Lauzun that, as he had commanded in the first engagement, it was for him to be the first to bear the news of success, and that Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, who had begun the second action, should start on another frigate to carry the details. De Lauzun says in his memoirs that de Charlus never forgave Rochambeau or himself for not having been intrusted with this commission. However, Rochambeau sent out de Charlus a few days later with Guillaume de Deux-Ponts.

Lauzun embarked on the 24th on the frigate the *Surveillante*, and reached Brest after a passage of twenty-two days. At the same time, Washington sent his aid-de-camp, Tighlman, to Congress. The news of the capture of Yorktown, which immediately spread in Philadelphia, caused inex-

pressible joy there.[215] Congress reassembled on the 29th and adopted a resolution to have a marble column erected at Yorktown, adorned with emblems commemorating the alliance between the United States and France, and giving a concise account of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army to Washington, Rochambeau and de Grasse.[216] Congress likewise decided to give two flags to Washington and four English cannon to Rochambeau and de Grasse, with an inscription testifying the gratitude of the Congress of the United States to them for the glorious part they had taken in this brilliant expedition.[217]

On the 26th, Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, with the details of the siege and the surrender which Rochambeau had given him in writing, as well as the report which he had been on board of the *Ville de Paris* to receive from the Count de Grasse, embarked on the *Andromaque*, de Ravenel as captain, with Damas, de Laval and de Charlus, who had obtained permission to return to France. The winds were unfavorable until the afternoon of the 27th. Then they set sail about two o'clock. The *Andromaque* had passed the banks of the Middle Ground and had gone as far as Cape Henry, when the *Concorde*, repeating the signals of the *Hermione* which was cruising between Cape Henry and Cape Charles, signalled that an English fleet was near by. This consisted of twenty-seven ships, and had on board Prince William Henry and six thousand men, who had come from New York under the command of General Clinton.

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[215] "Many private persons gave proof of their satisfaction by illuminations," says Cromot du Bourg, "and this event furnished material to the gazetteers to display themselves, a thing which the Americans no more neglect than the English. Too happy, when the public papers are not filled with falsehoods." We may conclude from this passage that *canards* are not of recent invention.

[216] This monument is not yet built [1870].

[217] One of these cannon is now in the Museum of Artillery at Paris.

The *Andromaque* had to re-enter the James River and wait, under the protection of the French fleet, until November the 1st, till the English fleet had quite disappeared. At length the *Andromaque* was able to go out on that day, about eleven o'clock, under the protection of the *Hermione*, which escorted it until night. On the 20th of November, the *Andromaque* reached Brest without having encountered any serious danger, and on the 24th the Count de Deux-Ponts fulfilled at Court the mission with which he had been intrusted.

The king received de Lauzun and de Deux-Ponts with great pleasure and made them fine promises for the army engaged in the expedition and for themselves; but his prime minister, de Maurepas, died about this time, and de Castries and de Ségur took advantage of this to violate the royal promises in respect to Lauzun and to grant no favors either to him or the officers of his corps, who had distinguished themselves the most. De Castries even deprived de Lauzun of the four hundred men of his legion, who had remained at Brest, to send them to Senegal, a country noted for its unhealthy climate, to act as a garrison until the end of the war.

While the news of the surrender of Yorktown gave occasion for new festivals at Versailles, it caused at London the fall of the North Ministry. It was felt in England, as throughout Europe, that this check had decided the outcome of the struggle between England and the United States, and from that time it was only a question of the recognition of the independence of the latter on conditions advantageous to Great Britain. Washington and La Fayette desired to take advantage of the superiority of the Count de Grasse's forces, to attack Charleston and the English forces that remained in the Southern States. La Fayette, with his light infantry, the French grenadiers and *chasseurs*, and also the corps of Saint-Simon, was to land near Charleston to co-operate with General Green, who remained in Carolina. It is even said that Lord Cornwallis, who knew of this project,

when he saw La Fayette enter a boat to go to see the Count de Grasse, said to some English officers: "He is going to decide about the fate of Charleston." Cornwallis showed the same apprehension, when he saw La Fayette return to Yorktown. But the Count de Grasse refused obstinately to engage in any new operations on the coast of North America. He wished to return, as his instructions also advised him, to the defence of the West Indies.

When General Clinton had learnt of the capture of Yorktown, he withdrew with his fleet, and contented himself with throwing three regiments into Charleston and then returned to New York. But his presence led Rochambeau to suspect that the English might attempt to land outside of the bay, between Cape Henry and the great marsh, called the Dismal Swamp, to establish themselves in Portsmouth, on the Elizabeth River. That post, where Arnold at first had taken refuge, was well fortified; and Lord Cornwallis, who had occupied it before preferring Yorktown to it, had extended and perfected the fortifications. Adjutant-General Dumas was ordered to destroy these works as rapidly as possible; and with this object a battalion of American militia was placed under his orders. Dumas found these intrenchments in good condition; he took advantage of a violent west wind to burn the fagots, the palisades and the abatis; but he was then obliged to spend more than eight days, with the assistance of all the militiamen and all the workmen that he could collect, to entirely destroy the fortifications.

The Count de Grasse, as soon as the surrender was completed, had prepared for his departure. During the 1st, 2d and 3d of November, he took on board his ships the soldiers of Saint-Simon and laid in some provisions, and on the 4th set sail for the West Indies. He left in Chesapeake Bay only a small squadron, composed of the *Romulus*, commanded by de La Villebrune, and three frigates. The same day, the vessels promised to the English to transport them to New York or to England were placed at their disposal.

Lord Cornwallis embarked for New York. The first successes of that general had led the English to hope that he was about to become the conqueror of the rebellious provinces and their *punisseur*.[218] He himself had long counted upon success.

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[218] An old French word used for the last time by Corneille, who recognized its value, and which deserves to be restored.

During the whole of the campaign of 1781, Cornwallis constantly wrote to his government that he had finally conquered the Carolinas; and as this conquest had always to be made over again, the success of Cornwallis was likened in England to the capture of an American militiaman by a Scotch soldier, who called to his captain: "I have taken a prisoner." "Well, bring him in." "But he is unwilling." "Then come back yourself." "But he won't let me go."

Cornwallis, however, did not retain his illusions long. Six months before the fall of Yorktown, when the title of marquis was offered to him, he wrote as follows to Lord Germaine: "I beg you to present my most humble thanks to His Majesty for his good intentions and to represent to him, at the same time, all the dangers of my position. With the few soldiers that I have, three victories more will complete my ruin, if the reinforcements that I ask for do not arrive. Until I shall have received some reinforcements that will give me some hope of finishing my expedition successfully, I beg you to speak to me neither of honors nor rewards."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Suspension of Hostilities.—The allied troops make arrangements to go into winter quarters—The Baron de Vioménil returns to France—Rochambeau is so posted as to be able to send aid to the provinces most threatened by the enemy—La Fayette sets out for France.

The troops scattered to go into winter quarters. On the 5th of November, the Virginia militia left their camp to go to the south to be under the orders of General Green. On the 6th, while Dumas was destroying the fortifications of Portsmouth, the engineers destroyed the parallels laid out by the allies before Yorktown, and restored the exterior defences of the town, bringing them closer to it.

Washington, who had sent the Virginia militia to the south, also dispatched La Fayette with the Maryland and the Pennsylvania troops to reinforce General Green's army. He himself embarked at Yorktown and led back all the rest of the American army to Head of Elk, to move from there towards the Hudson River.

The Baron de Vioménil obtained leave to return to France, where private affairs required his presence. His brother, the Viscount de Vioménil, took his command.

From the 15th to the 18th, the French went into their winter quarters and took up their positions as follows:—

The legion of Lauzun, commanded by de Choisy, at Hampton. The regiment of Soissonnais, with the grenadiers and the *chasseurs* of Saintonge, at Yorktown; the regiment of Saintonge between Yorktown and Hampton, at Half Way House; one company of artillery and a detachment of fifty men at Gloucester; all these detachments were commanded by the Viscount de Vioménil.

The headquarters of Rochambeau, where de Chastellux was also, were at Williamsburg. The entire regiment of

Bourbonnais and that of Deux-Ponts also were encamped there.

Three companies of Deux-Ponts were placed at Jamestown under the command of a captain, and the siege artillery was placed at West Point, in Virginia, under the orders of an officer of artillery.

From this central position, between the army of the north and the army of the south, Rochambeau was in a position to send aid to the provinces that might be most threatened by the enemy. But the decisive blow had been struck, since nothing remained in the possession of the English except the cities of New York, Savannah and Charleston.

While La Fayette was hastening by forced marches to join Green, the latter, fearing that the reinforcements which had arrived at Charleston and the four thousand men who were expected there from Ireland might enable the English to resume the offensive, earnestly entreated Rochambeau to send him a strong detachment of French troops. But the French general, judging that General Green had allowed himself to be influenced by false reports that the enemy had given rise to, made no change in his arrangements. He left his infantry in their winter quarters, and satisfied himself by extending those of Lauzun's legion, commanded by de Choisy, as far as the frontiers of North Carolina. But he ordered Adjutant-General Dumas to reconnoitre far beyond that and to prepare means for marching in case unforeseen circumstances should force him to send forward a part of his army. Dumas was engaged during the whole winter in the discharge of these duties, and seldom returned to Williamsburg, and then only to give an account of his operations to the general and to nurse his friend, Charles de Lameth, who was still suffering a great deal from his wounds, and who returned to France as soon as he was able to bear the sea voyage.

La Fayette also left Boston for France, on the *Alliance*, on the 23d of December, 1781. He reached his country in

twenty-three days, where he again devoted himself to the cause of the Americans, employing for that purpose the favor which he enjoyed at Court and the sympathies which his conduct had gained for him in public opinion.

CHAPTER XXV.

Defeat of Admiral de Grasse: Proposals of Peace.—A tacit armistice on the continent—First successes of Admiral de Grasse over the English in the West Indies—Rodney again meets him on the 12th of August, 1782—De Grasse is defeated and taken prisoner—England proposes to America to acknowledge her independence—Congress refuses peace—It desires that it shall include France—Owing to the events in the West Indies, Rochambeau moves up to the north—Interview of Rochambeau and Washington—They try to prevent the dispatch of any reinforcements from New York.

During this winter a sort of armistice existed also on the continent. Yet news was brought by some frigates that arrived from France[219] that a great convoy and reinforcements for the West Indies were in preparation there, so that the Count de Grasse might be in a position to maintain the contest with the English fleet, commanded by Admiral Rodney. Already, in the latter part of January, they had learnt of the capture of St. Eustachius and St. Christopher by de Bouillé, and of the Island of Minorca by de Crillon. But the favors of fortune were about to have a fatal end for de Grasse. The great convoy that had left France under the escort of de Guichen was scattered by a storm. The English assembled all their naval forces at the Windward Islands; and the Count de Grasse, in spite of the inferiority of his

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[219] On the 7th of January, 1782, the *Sibylle*, a French frigate, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with two million on board for the army.

fleet, ventured to put to sea to guard the troops of de Bouillé on their way to St. Domingo, where they were to join those under the command of the Spanish general, Don Galvez. Admiral Rodney, manœuvring to separate the French fleet from its convoy, could reach only the *Zélé*, the worst sailer of the rear guard. The Count de Grasse wished to save the ship, and so brought his advanced guard, commanded by de Vaudreuil, into action. The French gained the advantage in this first engagement, fought on the 9th of April, 1782. Admiral Rodney followed them, however, and, having gained the windward side, began on the 12th a general engagement, which resulted disastrously for the French fleet. The admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, and six others were disabled and captured after a glorious resistance. The Count de Grasse recovered his liberty only with the advent of peace. The deck of his ship was entirely cut to pieces by the enemy's shot, and when he surrendered, only himself and two other officers were on their feet and unwounded.[220]

Admiral Rodney was unable to keep any of the four vessels he had taken, as they were too much injured.

In addition, the *César* caught fire and perished, with about four hundred Englishmen who had taken possession of her.

As this news reached the United States, Congress had just received from General Carleton, who had succeeded Clinton in the command of the English army, the offer of the English government to acknowledge the independence of the United States without reserve, on condition that they renounced their alliance with France. Congress was not influenced by the news of the disaster that had befallen the French in the West Indian Seas. It was indignant and refused to admit the negotiator who was intrusted with the proposal. The States declared unanimously that they would consider as high treason every proposition for mak-

[220] See *Biographical Notice*, de Grasse.

ing a separate peace. These proposals, as well as the armistice which was asked for at that time by the commanding officer in Charleston, and refused by General Green, showed conclusively that the English, in spite of their recent success in the West Indies, at last gave up trying to subjugate their former colonies. The Americans certainly desired peace, but they showed great firmness, and proved their gratitude to France in preparing for new sacrifices in order to obtain this peace on terms as honorable for their allies as themselves. On its part, the French government, as far as the bad state of its finances permitted, continued to send aid to the Americans. Two frigates, the *Gloire* and the *Aigle*, under the command of de La Touche-Tréville, were sent from Brest on May the 19th, 1782. I shall soon return to the voyage of these two frigates, which, besides assistance in money, brought the flower of the French nobility to America.[221]

I return to the movements which the French army had to make owing to the recent events in the West Indies.

After the engagement of the 12th of April, in which the Count de Grasse was taken prisoner, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had assumed command of the fleet, received orders to come to Boston to repair his squadron there. According to the notice that Rochambeau gave about this matter to the French minister, de La Luzerne, the French general felt the necessity of drawing nearer with his army to the northern provinces. The excessive heat of the climate of Virginia had caused much sickness. Moreover, the preparations that the English were making for the evacuation of Charleston rendered a longer sojourn of the French army in the Southern States unnecessary. Rochambeau learnt at the same time that preparations were going on at

[221] The unpublished account of the Prince de Broglie, which I possess, will aid me to complete the narrative of this new expedition, an account of which de Ségur has given us in his *Mémoires*. The MSS. of Dupetit-Thouars also give numerous details on this subject.

New York to embark troops with the intention of attacking some of the French colonies. He decided, therefore, to set his troops in motion so as to draw near New York and to ask Washington for an interview at Philadelphia. This conference was held, and it was decided at it that the two armies would resume their old positions on the Hudson River and approach New York as much as possible, so as to threaten that city and prevent the dispatch of any part of its garrison.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FRENCH ARMY BEFORE NEW YORK.—Retrograde movement of the French army—General Carleton again offers a separate peace to America—Position of the French army before New York.

THE return of the French army began immediately. It was made slowly, the soldiers marching by night and resting by day. Rochambeau had gone on ahead to confer with Washington, and he had left to the Chevalier de Chastellux and the Count de Viomênil the duty of leading the troops according to the judicious instructions which he had given. A month's rest was given to the troops at Baltimore, from where they set out by battalions to avoid confusion at the crossing of the Susquehanna, which Dumas was again directed to superintend.[222]

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[222] The army took nearly a month to march from Williamsburg to Baltimore, although the distance between those two cities is only two hundred and twenty-six miles. The advance guard started on the 1st of July and arrived on the 24th, while the rear guard, comprising the wagons and the ambulance, did not reach Baltimore until the 27th. This latter force had been on the march since the 23d of June. Besides, they went over the same route that they had followed the year before.

At this time the generals assembled in Philadelphia learnt that Savannah had been evacuated, and that the garrison had been partly left at Charleston and partly sent to New York. General Carleton, who always intended to evacuate New York to proceed to some point in the West Indies, spread a report of the acknowledgment of American independence by both houses of Parliament, and again attempted, by this move, to separate the allies and to negotiate with Congress alone. He did not succeed better than before, and Rochambeau hastened the march of his troops. They passed through Philadelphia and then crossed the Delaware and marched through New Jersey. The cavalry of Lauzun's legion, commanded by Count Robert Dillon, reconnoitred on the right flank on the other side of the hills, alongside of which the army marched. Then, as at the beginning of the last campaign, the army crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry; and the junction of the two armies was made at that point. The French defiled between two lines of the American army, which, for the first time since its organization, was fully equipped. Their arms came in part from France and their uniforms from the storehouses of Yorktown. That day was truly a family festival.

The American army remained encamped at King's Ferry, with its rear guard posted at the point where the Croton empties into the Hudson River. The French army took up, in front of Crampond, a strong position on the mountains. The corps of Lauzun was stationed as an advance guard on the high ground bordering on the Croton, and in that position the two armies could, in one day's march, advance on New York and Staten Island.

The principal halting places were again Drinking Spring, Bird's Tavern, New Castle, Port Royal, Hanovertown, Brunk's-bridge, Bowling Green, Fredericksburg, Stratford, Dumfries, Colchester, Alexandria, Georgetown, Bladensburg, Brimburg, Elkridge. (See the map at the end of this volume, and the *Journal* of Blanchard.)

CHAPTER XXVII.

Reinforcements sent in 1782.—The French government prepares to send fresh reinforcements in 1782—The English cruisers prevent this convoy from starting—The *Gloire* alone departs with two million *livres* and some officers—This vessel runs aground on the French coast—It takes refuge in the Loire—It comes back to Rochefort—Departure from this port with the *Aigle*—Stop at the Azores—Engagement with an English vessel—The two French ships arrive at the mouth of the Delaware.

I have mentioned that the French government intended to send fresh aid to America. From the early part of April, 1782, it had, indeed, been assembling in the port of Brest several frigates and a large fleet of merchantmen and transports, and also two battalions of recruits that were to reinforce Rochambeau's army. The Count de Ségur, the son of the minister of war, who had been appointed colonel in second of the regiment of Soissonnais in place of de Noailles, received orders to take command of them, to inspect them, and to instruct them until the time of sailing. But an English squadron, informed of these preparations and favored by the winds, which were unfavorable to the French, cruised before the harbor, so that the departure of the reinforcements had to be postponed for six weeks, and at the end of that time the frigate the *Gloire* received orders to set out alone, carrying a sum of two million, intended for Rochambeau's army, and a large number of officers, among whom were the Duke de Lauzun; the Count de Ségur; the Prince de Broglie, a son of the marshal; de Montesquieu, grandson of the author of *The Spirit of the Laws;* de Vioménil, the son; de Laval; the Count de Loménie; de Sheldon, an officer of English extraction; Polleresky, a Polish gentle-

man; de Ligliorn, an aid-de-camp of the king of Sweden; the Chevalier Alexandre de Lameth, who was going out to take the place of his brother Charles; the Viscount de Vaudreuil, son of the post-captain of that name; de Brentano; de Ricci; de Montmort; de Tisseul, and others.

This frigate, armed with thirty-two twelve pounders, was commanded by de Valongne, an old sailor, who, in spite of his merit, was still but a lieutenant. It sailed on May the 19th, 1782, with a breeze strong enough for them to hope that they could escape the vigilance of the English fleet; but it had gone hardly three leagues when a violent storm drove it towards the coast. The arrival of the twenty-two English cruisers forced it to remain for a long time in this dangerous place. When it had become calm again, one of the masts of the *Gloire* was broken; it had to enter the Loire and put into port at Paimboeuf for repairs. It remained until the 15th of July on the coast of France, receiving sometimes orders to set sail and sometimes commands to wait, and going from Brest to Nantes, from Nantes to Lorient, and then from Lorient to Rochefort. In this last port it met the *Aigle*, another frigate of greater strength, with forty twenty-four pounders, which was to proceed to America as a consort to the *Gloire*. It was commanded by de La Touche, a brave and educated man, who had the fault of having too recently entered the navy and of owing his rapid promotion to the influence of many friends, and especially of the Duke of Orleans. As he was a post-captain, he at once outranked de Valongne, who did not submit without murmur at seeing himself thus forced to serve under an officer younger in the service than himself. The passengers of the *Aigle* were not inferior in rank to those of the *Gloire*. They were the Baron de Viomênil, who was on his way to resume his command with the title of major-general; de Vauban; de Melfort; Bozon de Talleyrand; de Champcenetz; de Fleury; de Laval; de Chabannes, and others.

De La Touche was, doubtless, too little accustomed to the

severity of the rules of the navy to accept them in all their strictness. A woman, with whom he was much smitten, had followed him from Paris to La Rochelle, and, as he could not take her on board his frigate, he conceived the strange idea of putting her on a merchantman, which was towed by the *Aigle.* The speed of the frigate was, of course, much retarded; indeed, its safety was compromised; but fortunately this method of reconciling love and duty was fatal only to those who had conceived it.

They took three weeks to reach the Azores, and as there were some sick on board and they needed water, de La Touche decided to enter some port of this little archipelago. The wind prevented the frigates from entering the harbor of Fayal. As that of Terceira was not safe, the commanders were obliged to resign themselves to cruise before the islands, while they sent boats for the necessary provisions. The young and noble passengers of the two frigates landed and, during several days that they remained there, visited all the remarkable persons and things that were in those fortunate islands. I shall not recount the receptions that were given to them by the French consul and the Portuguese governor. Neither shall I speak of that singular agent, at the same time consul of two hostile nations, England and Spain, a familiar of the inquisition and a dancer of the *fandango;* and I shall only refer, that the details may be found in memoirs already cited,[223] to the gallant interviews of the French officers, which their host obtained for them, in a convent of young Portuguese nuns before the face of their compliant abbess. The merry company would have remained much longer in this enchanting abode, had not duty called them elsewhere. De La Touche sailed again on the 5th of August, and at first steered to the northwest to learn, before continuing his voyage, the contents of his instructions which he was not to open until he was in a cer-

[223] *Relation de Broglie. MSS. Dupetit Thouars.*

tain latitude. These dispatches instructed him to use the greatest diligence, to avoid any engagement, and to deliver, as quickly as possible, to the Count de Rochambeau and the Marquis de Vaudreuil the plan of a new campaign. He repented, but too late, the time he had lost, allowed the merchantman to go by the usual way, and wished to take the shortest route by steering the frigates directly to the west. He was mistaken in his expectations, for the frequent calms caused him a loss of more than two weeks, so that the merchantman, which he had allowed to go alone, and which was driven forward by the trade winds, reached the mouth of the Delaware at the same time as himself.

On the night of the 4th of September, the two frigates were in the latitude of the Bermudas, when the signal of a man overboard was given. It was a sailor of the *Aigle*, whom they succeeded in saving by lighting lanterns and launching a boat. They put out the light immediately, as they always did at night. But that instant sufficed to attract to the frigates the attention of an English ship, which immediately began the attack. It was the *Hector*, a seventy-four, recently captured from the Count de Grasse, and which was carrying a convoy of French prisoners. The *Gloire* endured alone the fire of the enemy for three-quarters of an hour, and resisted bravely; then the *Aigle*, in turn, maintained the fight until daylight. They would have captured the English vessel, in spite of her superior armament, had they not seen a large fleet in the distance, from whom they feared attack. They afterwards learnt that the *Hector* had suffered so much that she had sunk at three hundred leagues from the coast. An American ship that was in those waters saved the captain and a part of the crew.

For this brilliant action, de La Touche received great praise, and de Valongne was promoted to the rank of post-captain.

The two frigates lost about thirty or forty killed and a hundred wounded. The *Gloire* was also much damaged

and leaked everywhere. However, they succeeded in repairing its damages fairly well. Land was not far away. They sighted it on the 11th of September. On the 12th they recognized the entrance of the Delaware, and they were preparing to anchor near Cape May, when a contrary wind prevented them. At the same time, an English corvette placed itself thoughtlessly between the two French frigates, which it thought belonged to its own nation. It was captured after the interchange of a few shots. Owing to the heavy sea that was running, it took some time to man it. De La Touche had to anchor along the coast while he sent a boat to look for pilots to take him into the Delaware. The wind wrecked this boat on the shore. Only the officer[224] and two sailors were able to save themselves by swimming. I leave the rest of this narrative to the Prince de Broglie.

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[224] Gandeau, the captain of a merchantman, who served as second in command to de Valongne during the voyage. He had distinguished himself in the engagement with the *Hector* and, perhaps, had saved the *Aigle* by a skilful manœuvre.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Narrative of the Prince de Broglie.—Detailed account of his voyage until his arrival in Philadelphia—Glimpses of Congress and of American society.

"Early the next morning, at day-break, an English squadron, composed of a line-of-battle ship of sixty-four guns, of another of fifty, of two frigates and two small vessels, appeared about two cannon shots off and to windward; it was commanded by Captain Elphinston. Prince William Henry was on board one of the ships.

"The appearance of so large a fleet compelled M. de La Touche to weigh anchor with the *Gloire* as quickly as possible, and, although he had no pilot, to hasten to enter the Delaware. The navigation of that river is dangerous, owing to the moving sand-banks which obstruct its course; besides, we took the wrong channel; the *Aigle* grounded twice, and the way which we took seemed so dangerous to the enemy that he anchored at two cannon shots from us. M. de La Touche anchored likewise. At last the pilots came on board.

"A council of war was held on board the *Aigle*, in which, considering the extreme danger of our position, the Baron de Viomênil decided to order all the officers who were passengers on the two frigates to embark at once in boats and follow him on shore. He also ordered, at the same time, that the longboats should be used to send ashore the two million five hundred thousand *livres* with which the frigates were freighted. The first of these orders was executed without delay, and we landed on the American shore on the 13th of August, about six o'clock in the evening, without valets, without shirts, and with the smallest possible amount of luggage in the world. We stopped first of all at the house of a

gentleman named Mandlau,[225] who gave us something to eat, after which General de Vioménil, who decided to spend the night in this place, sent all of us young men throughout the neighborhood, some to call out the militia, others to find wagons and oxen, or boats, so that the next morning we could transport the money that the longboats were to bring ashore during the night. The Count de Ségur, Lameth and myself set out, under the guidance of a negro, to execute these orders, and during the night we walked about twelve miles to reach a sort of an inn, badly kept, which was called Onth's tavern, which belonged to an American called Pedikies. I succeeded in finding three wagons, with four oxen each; and the next day, at four in the morning, I mounted a horse that they let me have, and started to conduct my convoy to the general. I was within a league of the sea-beach when I met de Lauzun, who told me that the money had arrived at three in the morning, and that about half of it was already piled up on the beach, when two armed boats, which were supposed to be full of Tories, had appeared; that they had advanced with boldness towards the place where the boats, freighted with our riches, were anchored; that General de Vioménil, having with him but three or four musketeers, had thought that he had no means of defence, and so had twelve hundred thousand *livres*, which there had not yet been time to land, thrown into the sea; and with the rest of the money, which he loaded on the backs of some horses and afterwards in a wagon, he was making his way towards Dover, where he, Lauzun, was preceding him.

"This information caused me to change my route. I resolved to inform my companions of what was going on. So I paid the wagon-drivers and commenced to gallop in the direction of my friends, when I heard cries in the wood which was near me. I stopped and saw some sailors and two or three of our valets, who, fancying they were chased

[225] My endeavors to identify this name have been fruitless.

by the enemy, were running away as fast as their legs could carry them. They thought themselves cut off when they heard me gallop up to them. I reassured them, and learnt from them that the Marquis de Laval, de Langeron, Bozon and a few others were wandering about the woods, lost and anxious. I left these scared creatures, believing that I saw a wagon which I imagined to be that of the Baron de Viomênil. . . . Finally, I rejoined my companions, to whom I gave an account of my adventures; whereupon they decided immediately to make their way to Dover, which seemed to be the meeting place.

"We left at once for that town, which was seventeen miles distant. All my baggage consisted of a large portfolio, which bothered me a good deal, when I met a sailor of the *Gloire* who, being as much frightened as his comrades, had fled and was dying of hunger. As necessity makes one tender, he threw himself at my feet, or rather at those of my horse, and begged me to have compassion on him. I lifted him up in true princely style. I began by giving him something to eat; then, reflecting that I was altogether without servants, I thought proper to make of this forlorn creature, though all covered with tar, the intimate associate of my misfortunes. Consequently, I hired a horse for my squire, on which he anchored himself as best he could. I gave him my portfolio to carry, and began already to plume myself towards my comrades in the superiority which my new confidant gave me over them.

"We had gone about half way to Dover, when we met an aid-de-camp of M. de Viomênil, who told us that that general had just received news that the enemy and the tide had withdrawn together, and that it might be possible to try to recover the chests of money that had been thrown into the sea, and that the general was returning to the place of landing to oversee this work. The aid-de-camp added that General de Viomênil ordered us to conduct to Dover the first convoy of money, which he left entirely to our care. This

convoy arrived a few minutes afterwards. It was of about fifteen hundred thousand *livres*. We divided it among three wagons which the Duke de Lauzun had sent forward, and we reached Dover slowly but safely, where the general rejoined us only at eleven o'clock at night; he had succeeded in saving the rest of his millions.

"We passed that day at Dover, which is a rather pretty little town, with about fifteen hundred inhabitants. I there made my entrance into Anglo-American society, under the auspices of the Duke de Lauzun. As yet I could speak only a few words in English, but I knew how to relish excellent tea with the best of cream; I knew enough to say to a young lady that she was *pretty*, and to a gentleman that he was *sensible*,—that is to say, good, honest and amiable—with this knowledge I had the elements of success.

"We had not yet heard what had become of our frigates. Their fate disquieted us, and I resolved to go to the beach, with my telescope, on a reconnoitring expedition. On arriving at a sort of bluff, I had the grief of seeing the *Aigle*, with its decks as bare as a scow, wrecked on a spit and still surrounded by English boats, which had come to break it up and pillage it. The *Gloire*, more lucky and of a lighter draft, had grounded, but had escaped. I saw it three days afterwards at Philadelphia,[226] where M. de Vioménil had sent me as the bearer of letters for M. de Lauzun, and to notify the commanders of the militia along the route to furnish detachments for escort and for the safety of the convoy of money.

"During the next two days I marched rather fast so as to reach Philadelphia. It was very warm; but the beauty of the roads, the charms of the country through which I passed, the solemn majesty of the forests which I traversed, the

[226] De La Touche was taken prisoner while defending the *Aigle*, which he had run aground; he had learnt also that the merchantman which bore the lady of his affections had fallen into the hands of the English at the mouth of the Delaware.

appearance of plenty exhibited everywhere, the pretty complexions and the good breeding of almost all the women, all contributed to repay me with delicious sensations for the fatigues which I encountered, while trotting continuously on a miserable horse. At last, on August the 13th, I reached Philadelphia, that already celebrated capital of the new world. M. de La Luzerne took me to tea at Mrs. Morris', the wife of the Comptroller-General of the United States. Her house is simple, but well furnished and neat. The doors and tables are of a superb mahogany and beautifully polished. The locks and andirons of brass were charmingly bright. The cups were arranged with great symmetry. The mistress of the house had an agreeable expression and was dressed altogether in white; in fact, everything appeared charming to me. I drank excellent tea, and I should even now be drinking it, I believe, had not the ambassador [227] charitably notified me, at the twelfth cup, that I must put my spoon across my cup when I wished to finish with this sort of torture of warm water. 'For,' he said to me, 'it is almost as ill-bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you as it would be indiscreet for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one, when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her what your intentions are on this point.'

"Mr. Morris is a stout man, who is considered to be thoroughly honest and possessed of great intelligence. It is at least certain that he has the best of credit; and, while seeming often to have advanced his own funds for the service of the Republic, he has had the ability to make a large fortune and gain several million since the Revolution. Mr. Morris seems to have much common sense; he speaks well, at least as far as I could judge; and his large head seems, like that of *M. Guillaume,* [228] as well made as any other to govern an empire.

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[227] De La Luzerne.

[228] The King of England.

"Mr. Lincoln, the Secretary of War, is also corpulent; he has given proof of his courage, activity and zeal many times during the war, especially at the siege of Yorktown. His work is not great, for all important questions are decided by Congress; nevertheless, Mr. Lincoln passes for being slow in making reports, and it seemed to me as if they were already thinking of his successor.

"Mr. Livingston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, is quite as lank as the other two gentlemen above mentioned are rotund. He is thirty-five years of age, his face is fine, and it is generally conceded that he is a man of talent. His department will be more extensive and interesting as soon as peace is concluded, when the United States will take rank in the world; but as all important political decisions will always emanate from Congress, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, like his colleagues, will remain rather a secondary agent—a sort of head clerk.

"The president of Congress for this year seems to be a sensible man, but not very bright. The unanimous opinion of all those people, to whose opinion some respect is due, is that Congress is composed of ordinary people, and this for several reasons:—Firstly, that if, at the opening of the Revolution, the most active minds and most vigorous personalities had been chosen members of the general assembly, they would have led the others and made their own opinions alone prevail; secondly, that the persons of ability had discovered the secret of obtaining for themselves the important offices, governorships and other valuable posts, and therefore had deserted Congress. The assemblies of the several States seemed to avoid sending to Congress the men most distinguished for their talents. They prefer good sense and wisdom, which really are worth more, I believe, in the end.

"Of the men who appeared to me to possess much intellect and strength of mind among those whom I met in

Philadelphia, was a Mr. Morris, surnamed 'Governor.'[229] He is well informed and speaks French pretty well; however, I think that his superior abilities, which he has not concealed with sufficient care, will prevent his ever occupying an important office.

"The ladies of Philadelphia, although pretty magnificent in their attire, do not, as a rule, dress with much taste; in their manner of wearing their hair and in their heads they have less frivolity and fewer charms than our French women. Although they are well formed, they lack grace and make very bad curtsies. They do not excel in dancing, but know how to make capital tea. They bring up their children with great care, and pride themselves on a scrupulous fidelity towards their husbands; many of them have a great deal of natural wit."

CHAPTER XXIX.

End of the War: Treaty of Peace.—The French officers rejoin the army at Crampond—Orders of the Court—The English evacuate Charleston—The French army embarks at Boston on the 12th of December, 1782—Rochambeau returns to France—Reception which the king gives him—Honors that are bestowed upon him—Rewards given to the army—Lauzun and his troops are entirely forgotten—Preliminaries of peace at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782—Definitive treaty of the 3d of February, 1783.

De Lauzun, de Broglie and de Ségur rejoined the French army at Crampond, a few days march distant, as did also all their late fellow-travellers. Their great anxiety, from that time, was to know whether the campaign would not be closed by some enterprise against the enemy. But the or-

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[229] Gouverneur Morris is the person here mentioned. He was afterwards ambassador to France.

ders of the Court, brought by de Ségur, were positive. If the English evacuated New York and Charleston, or even one of those places, the Count de Rochambeau was to embark the French army on the French fleet to take it to St. Domingo to serve under the command of the Spanish general, Don Galvez. Just then the evacuation of Charleston became known. Rochambeau, therefore, informed de Vaudreuil that he had to place himself at his disposal, that he might embark his army at Boston. In fact, the troops left their encampments at Crampond on the 12th of October. Seven days later they reached Hartford, where they halted four or five days. There, Rochambeau announced publicly his determination to return to France with de Chastellux and the greater part of his staff.

But de Vaudreuil was not ready. He even declared that he would not be until the end of November, and that he could embark only four thousand men, including their officers and attendants. Rochambeau then proposed to the Baron de Viomênil and his brother that they should take command of two brigades of infantry and of a part of the artillery to lead them to the West Indies. He left Lauzun's corps, together with the siege artillery that had remained at Baltimore, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, under the command of de La Valette, and he intrusted to the Duke de Lauzun the command of the land forces, which were to remain in America under Washington's orders.

On the 4th of November the army advanced from Hartford to Providence, where it went into winter quarters, and on the 1st of December the Baron de Viomênil, now the sole head of the army, broke up the camp at Providence and led the army to Boston. On the 24th of December, he set sail; and the fleet, after encountering many dangers, touched, on February the 10th, 1783, at Porto-Cabello, on the coast of Caracas, where it was to join the Count d'Estaing and Admiral Don Solano.[230]

[230] "When the army departed, at the close of 1782," says Blanchard,

Rochambeau, after bidding his troops farewell, returned to New Windsor to see Washington for the last time, and then embarked on a frigate that was waiting for him in Chesapeake Bay. The English, who were informed of his embarkation, sent some ships from New York to capture the frigate that carried him; but de Quénai, the captain, knew how to baffle these attempts, and Rochambeau reached Nantes without difficulty.

Immediately after his arrival in France, Rochambeau went to Versailles, where the king received him with much distinction. The king told him that he was indebted to him and to the capture of Cornwallis' army for the treaty of peace that had just been signed. The general asked his permission to share this praise with a man, whose recent misfortune he had only learnt through the public papers, but whom he would never forget, and begged His Majesty not to forget that de Grasse, at his mere request, had arrived with all the aid that he had asked of him, and that, without his assistance, the allies would not have captured the army of Cornwallis. The king at once replied that he recollected all his dispatches perfectly; that he would never forget the services that de Grasse had rendered there in conjunction with him, and that what had happened since then was a matter which remained for consideration. The next day, the king gave Rochambeau the privilege of entering his chamber, and soon after the blue ribbon of his orders, instead of the red, and the government of Picardy, which became vacant a year afterwards.

The commanding officers, the subalterns and the soldiers of the expedition also received titles, pensions, promotion or honors.[231] By some unaccountable exception, of which

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"after a sojourn of two years and a half in America, we had not ten sick out of five thousand men. This number, which is less than the number of soldiers that are usually in the hospitals in France, shows how healthy the climate of the United States is."

[231] See the second part of this work.

de Lauzun complains bitterly in his memoirs, his legion alone received no favors. The disgrace which befell that brave colonel after the death of his protector, de Maurepas, was only the result of one of those changes so common at Court at that period. De Lauzun did not seem much surprised at it. But in extending, without distinction, to all the officers and soldiers of the legion the injustice done to their leader, the French government gave a new proof of the influence that jealousy and intrigue had upon its decisions. Perhaps we may date back to Lauzun's dissatisfaction on this occasion—a dissatisfaction which found nourishment in the liberal ideas that he had derived from America—his reason for supporting the royal authority in a half-hearted way, when, ten years later, it was subjected to assault. We know that Lauzun, who had become Duke de Gontaut-Biron, was the commanding general of the republican army destined to fight the Vendéens. We also know that the sincere ardor with which he accepted the new reforms did not save him from the scaffold.

Among the superior officers who were rewarded, the Baron de Vioménil was made lieutenant-general. La Fayette, de Choisy, de Béville, the Count de Custine, de Rostaing, d'Autichamp were made major-generals; D'Aboville, Desandroin, de La Valette, de l'Estrade, du Portail, du Muy de Saint-Mesme and the Marquis de Deux-Ponts were promoted to the rank of brigadiers. All the colonels in second were given regiments; the Viscount de Rochambeau, especially, was created a knight of St. Louis, and received at first the regiment of Saintonge, and afterwards that of Royal Auvergne, of which his father had also been colonel.

The capture of Yorktown was a decisive blow for the cause of American independence. The English, who still occupied New York, Savannah and Charleston, were on the defensive.

In other parts of the world, the Duke de Crillon took

Minorca. The Bailli de Suffren, sent to the East Indies to save the Dutch colonies, defeated the English in four naval engagements between February and September, 1782.

In the West Indies, the English preserved no island of importance, except Jamaica. De Grasse, as I have said, wished to capture the island; but being attacked near des Saintes by the superior forces of Rodney, he was defeated and taken prisoner on the 12th of April, 1782.

The defence of Gibraltar was a final success for the English. The Count d'Artois, a brother of Louis XVI., had gone there with twenty thousand men and forty ships. On the 13th of September, two hundred cannon from the side of the land and ten floating batteries opened a terrific fire on the citadel, which was admirably defended by its formidable position and the courage of Governor Elliot. The place was almost at the point of surrender when a red-hot shot blew up one of the floating batteries. The fire reached the neighboring batteries, and the Spaniards destroyed the rest to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The English kept Gibraltar.

The debt of England, however, was largely increased. Lord North had to resign the direction of affairs to give place to a Whig Ministry which asked the Cabinet of Versailles for peace. France, which was no less exhausted, accepted the proposals. The preliminaries were settled at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, between the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers, among whom, on the part of the United States, were Franklin, John Adams, John Jay and Henry Laurens. The final treaty was signed on February the 3d, 1783.

This news was rapidly borne to America. On the 11th of March, 1783, de Lauzun left Wilmington to take back the last French soldiers to their own country. Thus the independence of the United States was founded, and the world numbered one great nation more.

CHAPTER XXX.

Conclusion.—Influence of the participation of France upon the Revolution of 1789—Changes which the acknowledgment of American independence causes on the continent of Europe.

France, in aiding America to shake off the yoke of England, had done an act of good politics. But what was worthy of especial notice at the time when she interfered in the war was, that at the Court as in the cities, among the great as among the middle class, among military men as among financiers, every one looked with sympathetic attention on the cause of the revolted Americans. That was a singular epoch which could offer such contrasts in opinions, tastes and morals. Then one might see abbés writing licentious stories, prelates seeking to be made ministers, and officers busying themselves with philosophy and literature. Morality was discussed in the boudoirs, democracy by the nobility, and independence in the camps. The Court applauded the republican maxims of Voltaire's *Brutus*, and the absolute monarch who was then reigning embraced, finally, the cause of a people in rebellion against their king. This confusion in men's ideas and morals, this social disorganization, were the signs preceding a transformation to which the Americans were to give a powerful impulse.

I have related how a few Frenchmen, impelled by the taste of adventure, or by their enthusiasm, anticipated the declaration of war, which came too slowly for their taste; how the forces under the command of Rochambeau were sent out; and, finally, how the bravery of the allied troops, as well as the good understanding between the generals, and their ability, brought upon England irreparable reverses. The least important result to France of the success of her arms in the United States was the weakening of her old

enemy. A large number of the officers who, either by command of an absolute government or hurried on by their infatuation for the new ideas, had gone to America to defend the disregarded rights of citizens, returned with a warm feeling for liberty and independence.

The son of the minister, de Ségur, wrote on the 10th of May, 1782:

"Although young, I have already gone through many trials, and I have abandoned many mistakes. *Arbitrary power weighs heavily on me. The liberty for which I am going to fight inspires me with an ardent enthusiasm,* and I would wish my own country to enjoy that which is compatible with our monarchy, our position and our customs."

These last words indicate all the difficulty that stood in the way of realizing the dream that tormented the mind, not only of de Ségur, but also of all the younger French generation. How could they conceive of a liberty compatible with a monarchy essentially absolute, with a political position constantly threatened by jealous and easily offended neighbors, and with customs imbued with the spirit of feudalism?

Among the officers who fought alongside of the Americans, a large number, it is true, were afterwards hostile to all idea of reform in France, and even did not hesitate to bear arms against their country to combat the Revolution. They had not at first foreseen the consequences of their actions, and this contradiction in their conduct is an additional proof of the power of the ideas diffused throughout France, and under the impulse of which they had taken up arms, fifteen years before, in behalf of liberty.

At the beginning of the insurrection of the colonies, Voltaire and Franklin met at Paris. The old French philosopher had blessed the son of the wise and learned American. Both personified, in a marked degree, the spirit which animated their respective countries and which was to cause a revolution in them. Both were equally sincere in the

wishes that they formed for their country. But the vicinity of the vast ocean, the immense extent of the continent, and, above all, the absence of privileged classes and of proletaries, protected in America the seeds of liberty. In France—in that country which had become liberal, while still retaining a monarchical form of government and the customs of feudal times, on that land covered by a numerous population, but heterogeneous as to rights and duties, among those greedy neighbors, who were anxious to avenge their defeats or to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies—liberty could plant only feeble roots in a soil inundated with blood and harassed by all the elements of hatred and discord.

Many clear-sighted minds foretold the events which were in preparation in France.[232] Yet the majority had no idea that a transformation accomplished under the influence of liberty and justice could be anything else than peaceable and free from violence. Dr. Cooper, who well understood the state of the old French society, had expressed a juster view of it.[233]

The sovereigns of Europe, in particular, saw in the aid that they afforded to the Americans nothing but a method of restoring the *European equilibrium* which the maritime supremacy of England had disturbed. None of them dreamt that the wind of liberty, which stirred the popular masses on the other side of the ocean, would soon blow over their continent, and overthrow thrones and shake social order to its foundations.

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[232] There is no need to turn to the works of the profound thinkers of that period, among others, to those of Jean Jacques Rousseau, to find prophecies respecting the movement that was on the point of bursting forth in France. The commonest publications and those most unknown in our day are full of anticipations in this direction. I shall mention, among others, *le Procès des trois Rois*, an anonymous pamphlet that was published in London in 1783; *Discours sur la grandeur et l'importance de la révolution d'Amérique*, that was crowned at the Floral Games, Toulouse, 1784. This pamphlet is remarkable on account of the time and the place where it was written.

[233] See note 81 of this work.

That which the politicians since Choiseul and Vergennes foresaw still less, was the rapid and unprecedented development that the United States, placed in exceptionally favorable physical, moral and intellectual conditions,[234] were to exhibit under the protection of political and religious liberty, which was not only written in their codes, but also deeply rooted in their customs. The English colonies, it was thought, would form a counterpoise to the possessions which England had taken from France. But for a long time, already, the influence of the English colonies has not been confined to the American continent. They do not only counterbalance the power of their mother country, but also, from now on, all Europe must reckon with them in the destinies of the world.

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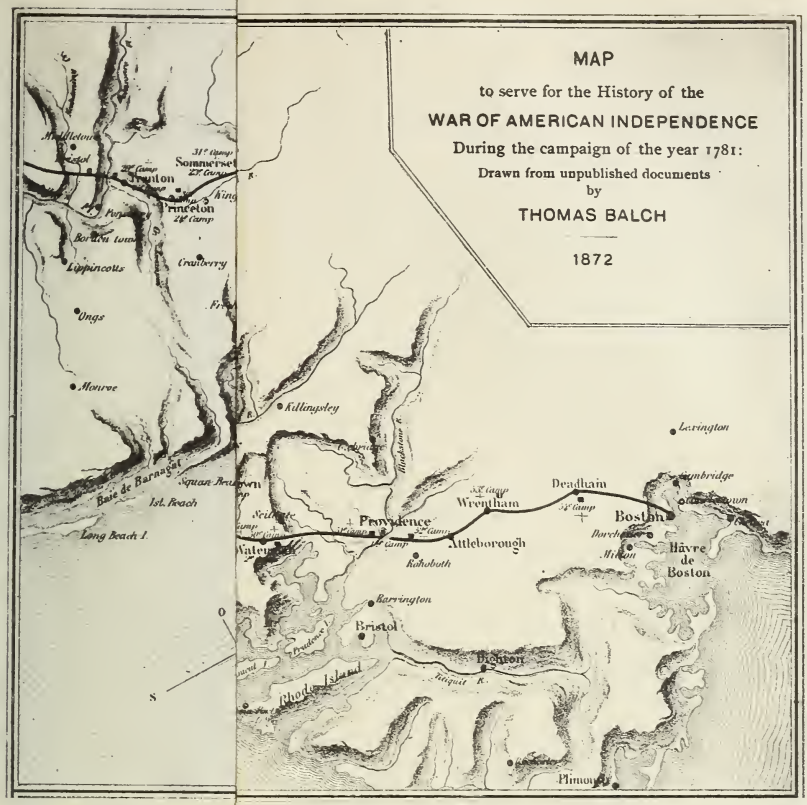
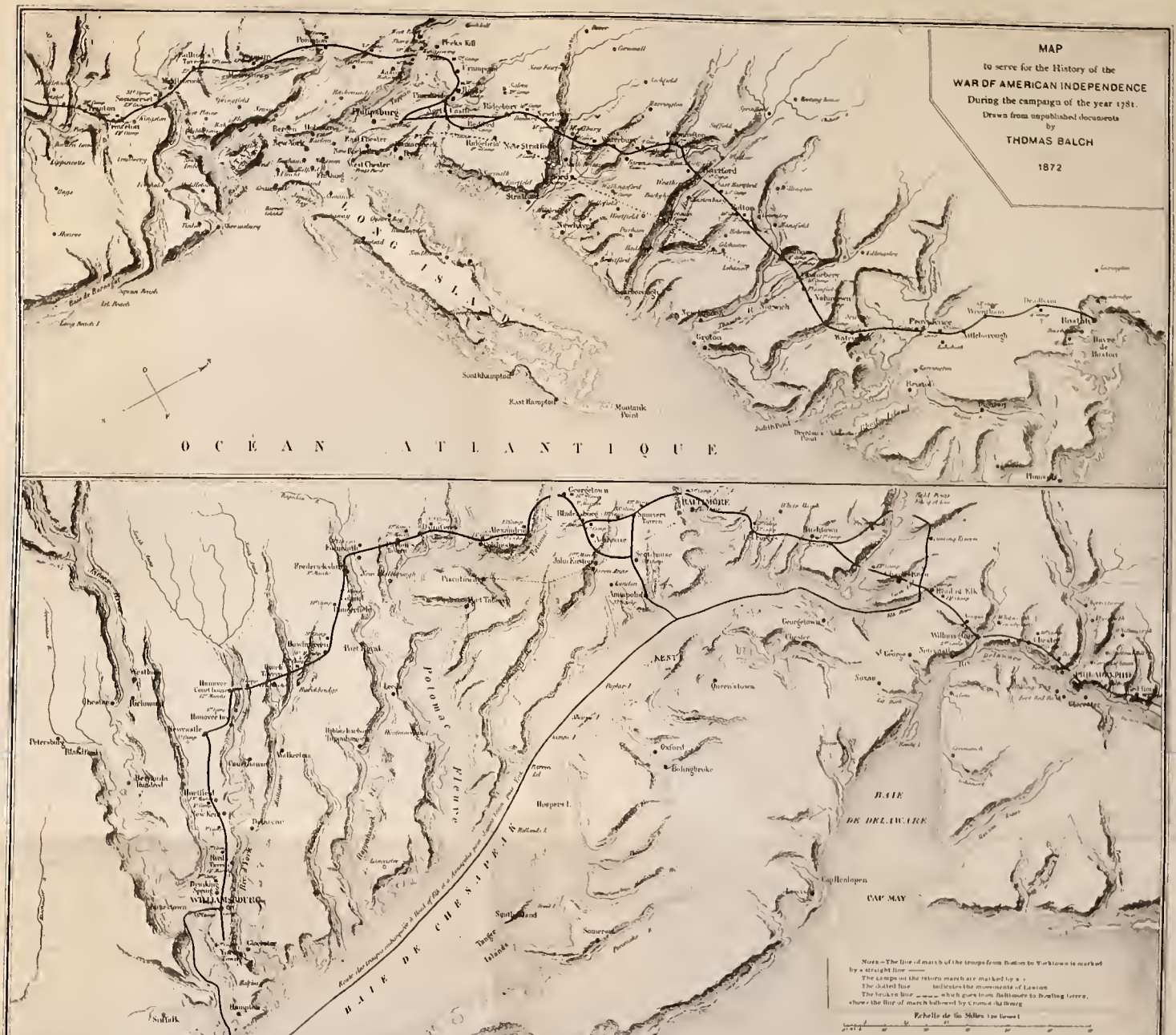
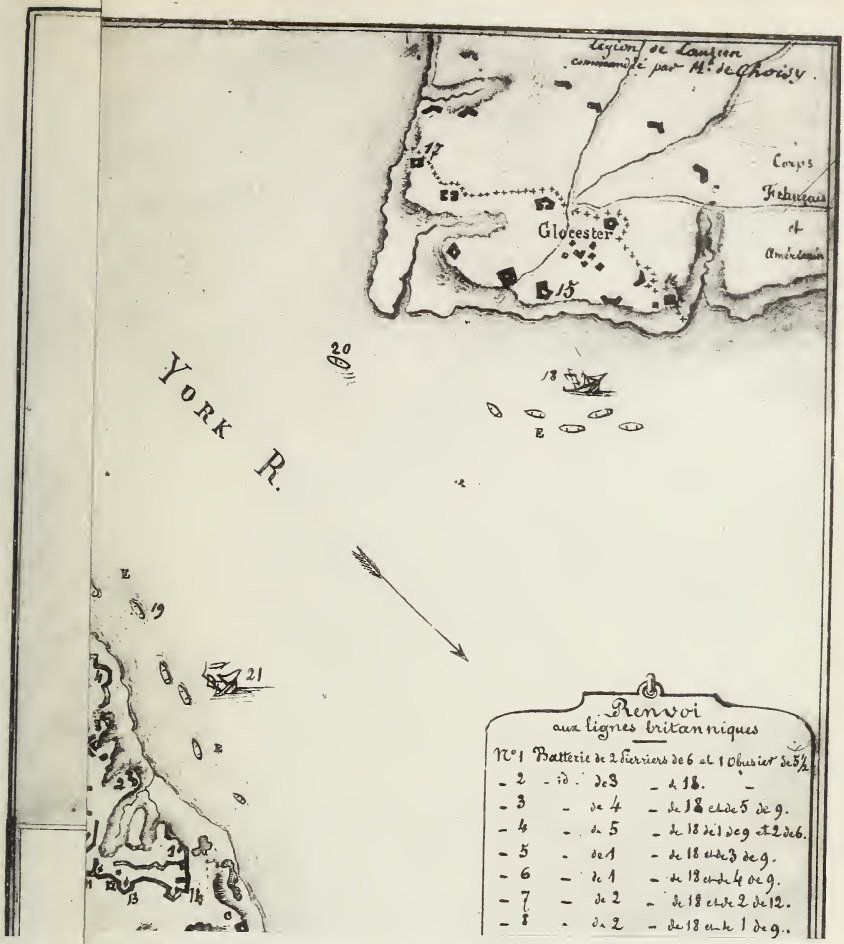
[234] The Abbé Raynal studied the question of the probable future of the United States in his book *Des Révolutions d'Amérique.* He even predicted the time when this power would possess itself of South America.

THE END.


MAP
to serve for the History of the
WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
During the campaign of the year 1781:
Drawn from unpublished documents
by
THOMAS BALCH
1872
Princeton
Lippincotts
Cranberry
Ungs
Monroe
Killingsley
Base de Barnegat
Squan
1st Beach
Long Beach I.
Providence
Wrentham
Deadham
Boston
Lexington
Cambridge
Charlestown
Attleborough
Rehoboth
Barrington
Bristol
Dighton
Taunton
Plimouth
Hâvre
de
Boston


MAP
to serve for the History of the
WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
During the campaign of the year 1781.
Drawn from unpublished documents
by
THOMAS BALCH
1872
OCÉAN ATLANTIQUE
BAIE DE CHESAPEAK
BAIE DE DELAWARE
Potomac River
Long Island
Southampton
East Hampton
Montauk Point
Block Island
Newport
Providence
Boston
Hartford
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Yorktown
Williamsburg
Cape Henlopen
CAP MAY
Rochambeau's route of march from Providence to Yorktown
Note.—The line of march of the troops from Boston to Yorktown is marked by a straight line
The camps on the return march are marked by . . .
The dotted line indicates the movements of Lauzun
The broken line _____ which goes from Baltimore to Bowling Green, shows the line of march followed by Crosmahaba


Légion de Lauzun
commandée par M.r de Choisy.
Corps
Français
et
Américain
Glocester
YORK R.
Renvoi
aux lignes britanniques
N°1 Batterie de 2 Pierriers de 6 et 1 Obusier de 5½
- 2 - id. de 3 - de 18.
- 3 - de 4 - de 18 et de 5 de 9.
- 4 - de 5 - de 18 et deg et 2 de 6.
- 5 - de 1 - de 18 et de 3 de 9.
- 6 - de 1 - de 18 et de 4 de 9.
- 7 - de 2 - de 18 et de 2 de 12.
- 8 - de 2 - de 18 et de 1 de 9.


PLAN OF
YORKTOWN IN VIRGINIA.
Showing the lines of attack and the camps of the allied armies of France and America.
Drawn from the most authentic documents by
THOMAS BALCH
1868
a—Redoubts abandoned by the English at the beginning of the siege.
b—Redoubts built by the besiegers.
c—Redoubts taken by assault.
d—Redoubts that supported the parallels
e—English Ships.
Echelle de 600 Toises.
YORK R.
Gloucester
York
Pigeon Hill
Champ où les Anglais déposèrent les armes
WASHINGTON
ROCHAMBEAU
Renvoi aux lignes britanniques